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ABSTRACT

CATESOL is an acronym for the California Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. "The CATESOL Journal" states that it is published annually, but in some years (1994 and 1996), it has had two issues. This document consists of the first eleven consecutive issues of the journal, from November 1988 through 1996 (8 years). Periodically the journal devotes entire issues to specific themes: "Content-Based Instruction" (v5 n1 Apr 1992); "Incorporating Context in Teaching" (v7 n1 Spr 1994); "Intersegmental Articulation" (v9 n1 1996). Typical issues contain 3-5 substantive articles, 5-6 shorter practitioner-oriented "CATESOL Exchange" articles, and half a dozen book reviews. (WTB)

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The CATESOL Journal

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The CATESOL Journal

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The CATESOL Journal

Editors' Note

As editors of *The CATESOL Journal* we are delighted to introduce the first issue. The change from *Occasional Papers* to the publication of an annual journal reflects the growth of our professional organization, growth in both stature and number of members.

The articles reflect the breadth of interest areas of the membership. This issue includes articles on language history (Nichols), refugees (Welaratna), writing (Casanave; Roy and Mano), content instruction (Addison), demographics (Fox and Wiley; Gosak), and syntax (Hubbard and Hix).

Of course, this journal would not be possible without the high quality of the contributions. These contributions will make the journal an important addition to other journals in the field of ESL through its focus on classroom teaching.

We look forward to beginning work on the next issue.

Denise Murray
Dorothy Messerschmitt
Editors

The CATESOL Journal

PATRICIA C. NICHOLS
San Jose State University

English As a Bridge Between Cultures: Scotland, Carolina, and California

■ **This paper examines the function of holy texts in unifying diverse societies. Scotland and South Carolina, usually considered to be monolingual and homogeneous societies, are compared with contemporary multicultural California. How Scotland and South Carolina used specific written texts to unify peoples speaking many languages is discussed, with implications for California. The established church and school in Scotland, the competing churches and schools in Carolina, and the public school system in California are examined as agents in social and language change. The texts that might serve as unifying ones for a society like that of contemporary California are discussed, as well as the central role of educators in choosing texts that express shared social and spiritual values.**

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As a teacher of prospective high school English Teachers, I often ask my students to participate in a Language Heritage exercise. In it, they first list the important points in their personal language history and then write an essay on their family language history—stretching as far back as their families have provided data in the form of stories and incidental memories (Heisch, Lamendella & Nichols, 1987). I do this because I have learned to expect diverse language backgrounds among Californians. Even those who are not immediately aware of the diversity within their own families become intrigued with the backgrounds of their classmates, as I ask groups from different language backgrounds to form panels and discuss their language experiences together and invite questions from the class. Sometimes, by the end of the course, students miraculously remember hearing about a Native American woman on one side of their family tree. Some suddenly remember speaking Yiddish as children. A larger number wonder at the silence in their families about what must have been rich German language backgrounds. Many make pilgrimages to the elders in their families to ask, before it is too late, who spoke what to whom—and how often, in what circumstances. Occasionally a student takes advantage of the miracles of modern technology to videotape a mother and a grandmother talking together in the ancestoral and the adopted languages. Always this exercise in getting in touch with personal roots illuminates and educates before we move on to the abstractions of what and whom these prospective teachers will encounter in this generation's English classes.

As we focus here on the larger topic of how English has formed a bridge between diverse cultures, I ask that each individual reader pause a moment to think about four sets of great-grandparents: what languages each of them probably (or possibly) spoke.

. . . . .

Most of us will remember that at least one of the eight ancestors spoke a language other than English or, at the very least, that some of them spoke a nonstandard or creolized variety of English. Very few of us will have great-grandparents who all spoke the variety of English that we now speak.

How then, did we evolve into an "English-speaking" nation, into a state whose official language is now English? While that question is our primary focus here, related questions have to do with where we are going with this language that is not ours in some profound personal and cultural sense; with what we might have lost—or gained—in adopting this alien language; and with how we together are changing this thing we keep calling *English*. The question we must continually focus on as we try to see the larger picture is how we personally are linked with the struggles of our students to acculturate and assimilate into this English-dominant culture.

I pose this particular question because I have learned that teachers connect most profoundly with students' experiences when the teachers themselves are engaged in a search for connections to both the past and to the potential future. As a teacher, I understand the struggles reflected in my classrooms best when I understand the struggles behind my own self. When I can imagine myself linked through blood or experience to the more immediate experiences of my students, my imagination allows me to create a classroom atmosphere in which the contemporary generation of English learners can explore the meanings of their experiences. Because many of my own students are the first of their families to attend college, I use their experiences of dislocation to help them connect with the sharper dislocations of immigrants from Central America, Southeast Asia, Afghanistan, and even the as-yet-unknown immigrants from the next political troublespot.

Just as our family language histories can help us to understand the struggles of the contemporary students before us, the communal language histories of older multicultural societies can help us to understand the struggles underway today in contemporary California. I propose to examine two societies that are usually thought of as primarily English-speaking and relatively homogeneous: Scotland and South Carolina. The evolution of these originally multilingual and multicultural societies into ones united by English as a common language will help us to understand both what is happening with us today and also how we might help make the birthing of our new society a joyous, rather than a bitter, one.

Scotland

Our story begins in Scotland, land of the first public-school system in all of Europe and model for the public-school system of North America. This was a land of three major languages: Gaelic, Scots, and English (Nichols, 1977)—a language diversity seldom recognized in the usual charts of the Indo-European language family or in the accounts of language variation in the British Isles printed outside Scotland. The Scots themselves know about the variation within their domain and are quite indignant about the failure of their United Kingdom cousins to recognize both the diversity and the literary excellence of the Older Scots tongue. They understand all too well that those who rule are the ones who determine which books get published—and thus establish the canon of literary works that get read. But they also revere and read daily a holy text written in the common language that unites the Protestant portion of the British Isles: the King James translation of the Bible.

Their own King James VI had become King James I of England just after the Protestant Reformation and had initiated the translation of this religious book that became so important in unifying his people under one language. Before ascending the English throne, James had been an active author in his native Scots; after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, he moved his court down to London and both he and his court began to use English as their literary and court language. If we look at Scottish history leading up to this unification of the two countries, we will not find it surprising that this ruler saw the necessity for a language of wider communication. The city of Edinburgh had been captured in 450 A.D. by a Germanic tribe called the Angles, invaded in 500 by the Picts from Ireland, and invaded yet again by Norse-speaking Scandinavians in 800. After the Norman conquest of England in 1066, French speakers made their way into the Scots countryside and into the government as well. Out of this coming together of Germanic, Celtic, Scandinavian, and French languages, a national language referred to as *Inglis* had evolved by 1398, when Chaucerian English was being spoken down south in London. Renamed *Scottis* by 1450, it had become a vibrant literary as well as legal language by 1500.

Scotland was a small and sparsely populated country, however. And not all of this small population spoke Scots. In the Catholic north and parts of the southwest, Gaelic was still spoken; on the borders with England and in the homes of many aristocrats who took English wives, English was spoken. A breakthrough in technology—the printing press—and the control of this technology by the wealthier and more numerous English meant that English, not Scots, would be the language of print and thus the language of the holy texts. In 1560 the translation of the Bible into English by Protestant refugees in Geneva initiated this process. By 1579 the Protestant Scots Parliament had decreed that every householder of a certain standing must have a bible and psalm book in the vulgar language. Under King James' guidance, Sunday Schools were established in each village to teach at least one adult in each household how to read these holy texts. Thus began the first free public school system in Europe, and its language was the English of the country to the south rather than the native Scots of the Lowlands. Not only was the school language now English, but also the official legal language, following the 1603 union of the Crowns. English literature became very popular in Scotland and some 14% of the Scots peers married English wives and sent their sons to school in England. Today on the Sabbath one hears the holy texts read and sung in English, while the discussion of the text—of the sermon—may well be in a variety much closer to the Scots spoken by King James. In the Catholic Highlands, Gaelic can still be heard; in the Orkney Islands a Scandinavian language known as Norn may be found. Scotland remains a multilingual society, united by English as a written language.

Carolina

The same King James of Scotland and England who ushered in this educational infrastructure also paved the way for the immigration of many Scots descendents to the colony of Carolina, beginning in 1670. These Scots had been "planted" in Northern Ireland as part of King James' plan to secure control of Ireland. Having immigrated once, primarily from the counties of Dumfries and Galloway in the southwest, these Scots-Irish (as they came to be called) and their descendants were receptive to the move to America when conditions in Northern Ireland became intolerable. Often entire congregations moved together, bringing both their Presbyterian preacher and the holy texts written in English. In America they established both the church that united them, as well as the schools that promoted literacy. The upcountry of South Carolina is dotted with small colleges founded by Protestant religious groups. The lowcountry, settled by English more heavily than by Scots-Irish, had fewer institutions of higher education since the English landowners could and did send their sons to schools in England. A long-standing tension between the English Anglicans and the Scots-Irish Presbyterians figured prominently in the difficulty the early colony experienced in establishing the first public-supported schools. Although both groups believed strongly in public education, each wanted the schoolmaster to belong to its own faith and to give religious instruction from its own catechism (Joyner, 1985). Both catechisms were written in English, however, making no difference for language development which one the children studied.

English and the Scots-Irish were far from the only cultural groups represented in the early colony. From almost the beginning, the settlement near Charleston included African, Jewish, and French immigrants, as well as English, Scots-Irish, Scots and probably a few Irish. The land had been "given" to eight supporters of Charles II, grandson of King James, and these eight Lords Proprietors bankrolled the initial settlements. Because the financial backers of this enterprise were English, their language and their customs held a prominent place in the colony, as they selected leaders who spoke and wrote in the language variety that they themselves used.

When the English-financed Europeans entered Carolina in 1670, they encountered indigenous peoples whose ancestors had lived on this continent for some 15 centuries. Although their numbers had been decimated through diseases contracted from earlier Spanish and French explorers, these native peoples were still numerous and enjoyed a high standard of living. Their economy was primarily agricultural, with corn as the major crop. When the Spanish explorer, De Soto, had visited one of their leading towns in 1540, it had had some 500 houses overlooking a river gorge, temples for storing weapons and ceremonial objects, and granaries for storing excess maize. At least 40 different linguistic groups existed in Carolina, belonging to four different language families: Iroquoian, Siouan, Algonquian, and Muskhogean. They do not seem to have had a *lingua franca* at the time of contact. Perhaps the widespread practice of adopting captives of war into the family living groups as replacements for lost members would have provided the necessary bilingual interpreters between the groups. The women practiced abortion, before giving birth in the late twenties to one or two children, thus helping to keep the population stable (Waddell, 1980).

By 1710, a generation after initial settlement, Native Americans still comprised the majority of the population (66%), with Africans next at 22%, and Europeans trailing with 12%. Of this 12%, not all were English speakers. Alarmed by the paucity of their numbers and by the large numbers of Native Americans and growing numbers of Africans imported as slaves to work the rice plantations in the lowcountry, the colonial government issued a call to "poor Protestants" of Europe to come to the Carolina colony. With the promise of fertile land, free of taxes initially, an even help with tools and provisions, they came into the colony from France, Switzerland, and the German Palatinate. From colonies to the north came the Welsh and vast numbers of the Scots-Irish in search of better lands and more space for their growing numbers. Coexisting with these Protestants was the second-largest Jewish synagogue in the colonies, a Sephardic group in Charleston probably speaking the Spanish-related Ladino. The small percentage of the colony which was European, then, were speaking some five or six different languages besides English: Welsh, German, French, Spanish/Ladino, Scots, and Gaelic on Cape Fear (now in North Carolina). The variety of English spoken by the majority of the Scots-Irish so horrified the planters of the lowcountry that one of their main worries after the Revolutionary War was that their children would be tutored in the Scottish dialect.

By the time of the 1776 Revolution against England, a century after the English settlement at Charleston, the majority of the population was of African ancestry. Settled primarily along the coast above and below Charleston, Africans who came mostly from Senegal, Gambia, Nigeria, and Angola spoke some 30 different languages and had no common language save English. The variety of English that developed where large numbers of Africans lived together came to be known as Gullah. A creole with roots in both English and in African languages, Gullah can still be heard on the more remote Sea Islands of Carolina and Georgia and along the rivers where the old rice plantations existed before the American Civil War.

Clearly the original English speakers were outnumbered by Africans, Native Americans, and other Europeans in the colony of Carolina. Why, then, did their language prevail over all the others? Certainly the legal and economic status of the speakers had a great deal to do with what language was used in government and business dealings beyond the local sphere. But, perhaps less clearly, the choice of English as the language of religious and educational instruction was probably even more significant. The English and the Scots-Irish brought with them their holy texts, printed in English. They brought with them their preachers to read and interpret these texts and, most importantly, to set up schools to instruct the young in the reading of these texts for themselves. Because the European population was primarily Protestant, intermarriage was common between English and French, between German and French, between Welsh and Scots-Irish. We can trace the disappearance of French in the wills recorded by French Huguenot family heads and by requests for bilingual preachers for congregations whose children no longer spoke French and whose older generation did not yet speak English. We can see the much quicker assimilation of German groups who more often had no preacher to interpret their texts in the native language. And we can see the Welsh Baptists coming with a holy text written in Welsh, but as they mothered dozens of new Baptist churches in the new colony and brought in an overwhelming number of non-Welsh speakers, adopting English as the language of wider communication in their own churches.

In the churches, then, English came to dominate as people met for worship, as they intermarried, and as they heard and learned to read from the holy texts shared by the European Protestants. In the public schools, English also was used as the common language. One early public school at Charleston in 1712 reportedly had a Scots teacher, who taught Latin and Greek, as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic in English; he probably used a Presbyterian catechism for religious instruction. A nearby public school at Goose Creek in 1713 had an Anglican missionary school teacher who used the catechism of that faith for his 27 white students of Anglican, Presbyterian, and Anabaptist faiths and for his 1 black and 2 Indian students. Certainly the English religious text served as a unifying one for this multicultural school. Although we have no record of their education, the Jewish males in Charleston, as prominent merchants, would have seen to it that their sons learned to read and write English so that they might continue their fathers' commercial activities within and outside the colony.

The African portion of the population was largely unprovided for in terms of formal education in the early colony, but their inclusion in the Protestant churches (if only in their segregated balcony seats) meant that they, too, were exposed to formal English as used in the King James Bible. When many of them learned to read, even if illegally, it was often using this holy text as a primer (Birnie, 1927). The Anglicans supported one important school for blacks in Charleston, taught for almost two decades by a slave who had been trained for just this purpose (Joyner, 1985). The missionary society supplied spelling books, *The Book of Common Prayer*, and Bibles as texts, all of which were written in English (Bolton, 1982). By the late 1770s some black churches were established as separate institutions, taking charge of their children's instruction themselves. These churches became vital cultural vehicles for molding English into a language that transmits and transforms African values and textual forms, as Ellen Sebastian has recently shown in her dramatic rendering of Zora Neale Hurston's life (Sebastian, 1988). The metaphors and stories of the Hebrew and Greek texts, translated into English and transformed by descendants of African slaves, now punctuate the rhetoric of African-Americans like Jesse Jackson, a native son of South Carolina.

California

Our story continues on the other edge of the North American continent, along the Pacific Rim in California. Like Carolina, California was home to significant numbers of indigenous peoples at the time of European contact; it is currently home to more Native Americans than any of the other states—more than 250,000 in the 1980 census count. Originally these native Californians spoke more than 60 different languages belonging to the four major linguistic families of Penutian, Na-Dene, Aztec-Tanoan, and Hokan (Crystal, 1987); earlier classifications divide them into the six language families of Algonkian, Athabascan, Penutian, Hokan, Uto-Aztekan, and Yukian (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980). Some 300,000 Native Americans were probably living in California before the initial Spanish settlement. Like the Indians of South Carolina they practiced abortion, as well as contraception and infanticide, which helped keep their numbers in line with the food supply (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980). Their economy was primarily a hunter-gatherer one.

In 1776, when the 13 English colonies along the Atlantic were revolting against the mother country, the Spanish were establishing a military outpost at Yerba Buena—now San Francisco. The Franciscans had already begun to establish missions from San Diego to Sonoma, in which the Native Americans were forced to work as manual laborers. An 1811 report from 16 of these missions to the Spanish colonial government in Mexico reflects great linguistic diversity among the Native Americans gathered at the missions: Two or more languages were used at half of them, with San Francisco reporting 5 and San Luis Obispo reporting 15 (Kroeber, 1908). With such linguistic diversity, the Spanish of the soldiers and the priests who controlled the laborers would have served as a common language. After the Mexican revolution against Spain, Spanish-speaking settlers from Mexico occupied huge tracts of land formerly associated with the missions, from Sonoma south to San Diego. In the first half of the 19th century, Native Americans worked as manual laborers on these large ranches, as they had previously worked for the missions. To the north of San Francisco, Russian fur traders established a settlement at Fort Ross, bringing with them Native American fur trappers from the Aleutian Islands. Most of Northern California prior to 1850, however, remained occupied by Native Americans much as it had prior to the coming of the Europeans.

In the mid-1800s numbers of English-speaking settlers began to come into the territory, after Mexico formally ceded it to the United States in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Attracted by the discovery of gold, these miners actively competed with the Native Californians for food and land. By the later 1870s the Indian population had been decimated by disease, starvation, and outright massacres by this new wave of Europeans.

When California became the 31st state of the Union in 1850, it was clearly a multilingual and multicultural society. In the north were speakers of a number of Native American languages little influenced as yet by European ones. South of Bodega Bay and Sacramento, Spanish was a vigorous language around the original mission settlements; its near-century of use at the missions and subsequently on the rancheros meant that an increasingly large *mestizo* population used it as a first language. Many of the rivers, towns, and counties in the state retain Spanish and Native American names, and many common terms for vegetation and foods have been adopted by English speakers from the languages spoken by these earlier inhabitants. Other Europeans joining the speakers of Spanish, Russian, and English were the French, Italian, and German immigrants who came into the new state after 1850.

Since its initial multilingual beginning as the 31st state, significant numbers of speakers of Asian languages have also contributed to California's multilingual and multicultural environment. By the late 1860s Chinese languages were being spoken by the large numbers of Chinese men who came in to help build the railroad linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. After them came significant numbers of Japanese speakers, many of them farmers until their lands were confiscated during World War II. When the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands became U.S. territories in the late 1800s, immigrants from these areas came into California in significant numbers, speaking Japanese, several Chinese and several Filipino languages. In this century, many immigrants and refugees have come in from Southeast Asia and have established communities where languages like Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Cantonese are spoken in shops, restaurants, temples and churches. Spanish-speaking refugeees from civil wars in

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Central America join the large Hispanic population already living in urban centers like San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Jose. And several thousand speakers of Pashto or Afghani have established small communities most recently.

Despite the multilingual origins of California's population, figures on language use provided by data from the 1980 U.S. census indicate that English is the language spoken at home for the vast majority of the population (78%). Spanish is a distant second (13% for adults and 17% for children), followed by Chinese and Filipino languages, German, Italian, French, Greek, and Polish. As Susannah MacKaye (1988) has so persuasively argued, English is already the common language for this diverse population, and no actual linguistic purpose was served by the recent adoption of a constitutional amendment to make it the state's official language. Insuring access to this common language is a far more complicated matter, however, and one for which educators have considerable responsibility.

Because the Spanish-speaking population comprises 10% to 20% of the population, despite the dominance of English, this group commands our initial attention. Alexander Sapiens (1988) has presented impressive evidence that Hispanics are the fastest-growing ethnic group in California and has discussed the educational implications of their concentration in specific rural and urban areas of the state. Although not all Hispanics are using Spanish as a home language, a considerable proportion are, especially in the pre-school age group in certain counties. Recent figures from the California State Department of Education (1987) indicate that children who do not speak English as their primary language are apt to be concentrated in particular school districts and counties. In 1987, more than half of the children in 11 school districts spoke limited English: 3 districts in Monterey County, 2 in Imperial County, and 1 each in Fresno, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Diego, and Tulare Counties. In two of these districts, Calexico Unified in Imperial County and San Ysidro Elementary in San Diego County, more than 80% of the children had limited proficiency in English. The concentration of these districts in southern and central California suggests that here the older colonial language, Spanish, still predominates and thus lays claim to being a stronger second language for California than simple percentages would suggest. When children play and study with non-English speakers in such overwhelming numbers, it should be clear that their acquisition of English will be difficult at best. In 17 counties from Sacramento south, between 20% and 50% of the children speak a language other than English in the home: Solano, Sacramento, San Joaquin, San Mateo, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, Merced, San Benito, Monterey, Madera, Fresno, Kings, Tulare, Kern, Ventura, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino. In Imperial County, on the border with Mexico, over 50% of the children speak a language other than English at home; that language is of course Spanish.

For such concentrations of children speaking one specific language other than English, a bilingual program is clearly indicated. In other districts where the languages are diverse, another approach is more feasible. But for all the children in this contemporary multicultural society, we need to address the question of which texts in the common language are suitable for this time and place.

Holy Texts for Contemporary California

We have seen that earlier multilingual societies used texts which were deemed holy by the dominant culture as vehicles for fostering literacy in a common language. In Scotland, which was a relatively stable society at the time literacy became widespread, only three primary languages were in contact and all belonged to the Indo-European language family. Moreover, a shared religious faith, however fragmented by the struggles of the Reformation, meant that all of the major groups shared a reverence for the primary holy texts. South Carolina, with many more languages and cultures converging in a small territory, had no holy texts which were initially shared by all groups. Its solution was to promote the texts of the dominant English-speaking group for the education of all. The African majority transformed these texts in ways that preserved their own traditions, but the Native Americans largely resisted or ignored them.

In California of the 21st century it seems less and less feasible to promote only the texts traditionally revered by the European minority. We want universal literacy, not just an elite education for a select few as was the case in earlier societies. To achieve this end, the schools must meet this multicultural and multilingual population where they are in their private lives and help them become public citizens, understanding and using the public language. As both Alan Dundes and Scott Enright made clear at the 1988 CATESOL Conference in San Francisco, the most important resource educators have at their disposal are the stories and traditions of home and community that students bring with them into the classroom. These classrooms, in a very natural evolutionary process, have replaced the Sunday schools of Europe, as well as the church-related public schools of early English colonies, as our institutions where both literacy and communal values are transmitted. As educators, we have been slow to realize what the struggle over reading lists and cultural literacy (Hirsch, 1987) is all about: it is about selection and transmission of spiritual values, not about mere acquaintance with cultural trivia. Building on the specific cultural understanding of the world that students come to school with, teachers can help students gain access to the wider culture through the public language of English. As African-Americans have been demonstrating for two centuries through their rich literature written in English (Bontemps, 1969), this public language is one that clearly can embrace non-European experience.

Our initial task is to identify those texts in English which embody the common values we are hammering out together from our separate traditions—expressed in aesthetic forms that compel our attention and invade our memory. Certainly some of these texts continue to be the Hebrew and Greek ones translated into English and Spanish as Holy Bibles, representing the highest values in their respective Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish communities. Others are surely the classical Greek and Roman texts that are honored in courses labeled "Western Civilization." The holy texts that have served European cultures at other places and at other times, however, are neither sufficient nor adequate for contemporary multicultural California.

The emerging California culture represents the convergence of people of the American, European, Asian, and African continents, as well as the Pacific Islands. Our students require texts which speak to our common purpose at this place and time. Some of the texts that command our attention are those that embody the oral traditions of the Native American population of California—often portraying far different, even conflicting values, from those embodied in the European holy texts. Others certainly are the written and oral traditions of the Asian population of California.

Many of our native-born authors provide accessible texts that, using the common language, explore diverse cultural traditions and the spiritual values integral to them: Rudolfo Anayo's *Bless Me, Ultima*, Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men*, N. Scott Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*, Alice Walker's *Color Purple*, Leslie Silko's *Ceremony*, Ole Rolvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, Ernest Gaines' *A Gathering of Old Men*, Luis Valdez' *Bernabe*, Mitsuye Yamada's *Campnotes*, and Lorna Dee Cervantes' *Emplumada*.

As educators, we have a strong voice in what our students read and discuss together. I urge that we assume our responsibilities with seriousness, as well as zest, for the difference that these choices can make. Some of our students will perhaps find their own public voices, expressing in the common language the uncommon yearnings of the spirit that unite us at this moment in our being on this planet. Together we can make new connections and discoveries within the emerging holy texts of this new culture along the Pacific Rim. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Cambodian Refugees: Factors Affecting Their Assimilation and English Language Acquisition[1]

■ **In the U.S. today, there are approximately 140,000 Cambodian (Khmer) refugees who were forced to flee their country to escape the excessively traumatic rule of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. The vast majority of Khmer refugees came from an overwhelmingly rural, nonwestern background and many have not been successful in learning English, and in mainstreaming with the larger American public. This paper has two aims: (a) to present some of the connections among the history, worldview, social behaviors, and socioliguistic patterns of the Khmer people, and, (b) to demonstrate how these features as well as the social and cultural setting of America affect their assimilation and English language acquisition. Findings are based on ethnographic research currently being conducted by the author which include: teaching of ESL to adult refugees in their homes while learning the Khmer language herself, participant observation, extensive family interviews, and community service activities.**

Cambodians (Khmer)[2] as Refugees

When Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge gained control of Cambodia in 1975 and turned that once gentle land in Southeast Asia to one of the most horrifying criminal camps the world has ever known, thousands of starved, tortured, and abused Cambodian (Khmer) people were forced to flee their homeland in search of refuge in this and many other countries. This paper has two aims: (a) to present some of the connections among the history, worldview, social behaviors, and sociolinguistic patterns of the Khmer people, and (b) to demonstrate how these features as well as the social and cultural setting of America affect their assimilation and English language acquisition. Information is based on my ethnographic fieldwork in Santa Clara County, California, begun in 1987 and still in progress. My activities have included teaching ESL to adult refugees in their homes, community service, participant observation, and extensive family interviews. In addition, I am studying the Khmer language, to both conduct research and experience some of the difficulties an English speaker goes through in learning the language of her students.

In the United States today, there are approximately 140,000 Khmer refugees. Of these, the first wave of above 7,000 came in 1975, soon after the communist takeover, and were mainly well educated and Westernized military and government officials, other professionals, and their families. The second and third waves who came between 1979 and 1984, were primarily non-Western rural farmers from a cooperative social system, who had languished in refugee camps for several years, with very little preparation for resettlement in a technologically advanced, competitive society such as the United States. The third and largest wave of about 60,000 refugees consisted of those who suffered the most severe losses and trauma under Pol Pot and the famine that engulfed Cambodia as a result of the fighting between the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese troops.

The vast majority of Khmer refugees have now lived in the U.S. for at least five years. How well have they adjusted and assimilated into this society? It is generally accepted that Khmer refugees have not mainstreamed successfully; many have not become citizens and have not been successful in English language acquisition. The two factors most frequently cited are lack of education and unfamiliarity with western ways.

Why have the Khmer refugees failed to assimilate successfully when other Southeast Asian refugees, particularly the Vietnamese, have succeeded? To understand, we must look at both Khmer refugees' background and their experiences as refugees here.

Historical Background

Historians believe parts of Cambodia were inhabited for the last 6 thousand years. The first important social transformation came at the beginning of the Christian era, when Indian culture and thought spread to Cambodia. "Indianization" continued for over a thousand years, affecting all levels of society. Among other things, India gave Cambodia a writing system, a pantheon, a social hierarchy, a hierarchical terminology, and Theravad Buddhism, which became the state religion. Significantly, none of these influences were imposed by force or colonization. Instead, the Khmer seem to have chosen the features they wanted (Chandler, 1983).

During the Angkor period (9th to 15th centuries), Cambodia was a powerful kingdom and pictures of Angkor Wat, (a village that became a Buddhist temple) are displayed in many refugee homes. The glory of the Angkor period provides them with a self-image they are proud of.

The Khmer have historically resisted attempts to change them by force; after Cambodia became a French protectorate in the 19th century, French attempts to introduce a Western style education system failed in the villages until traditional methods of teaching by the Buddhist monks were incorporated. As refugees here, the Khmer want the way of life the Khmer Rouge tried so hard to eradicate, which shows that they value the life style they knew. A community leader expressed some of those Khmer ideals as follows:

> The important thing for us is not to lose our heritage, our culture. We feel we have a unique culture that is right for us. We were born and raised from generation to generation in that culture. We cannot assimilate totally. We don't want to lose our ways; we want to add. We want to compare both cultures, and be careful to pick the good things and mix with ours.

A Khmer proverb advises people: "Don't choose a straight path and don't reject a winding one. Choose the path your ancestors have trod."

Khmer Society

Cambodia relied on a subsistence economy thoughout history, with about 90% of the Khmer, the major ethnic population, living generally self-sufficient but overwhelmingly rural lives as rice farmers. Even after the country became a French protectorate, it was only the elite minority in the city who had some Western influence. Since the Westernized elite were the targets of the Khmer Rouge killings, the vast majority of the refugees who arrived here came from rural areas, without suitable job skills for a technologically advanced country such as this and without knowledge about Western life styles.

The remaining urban dwellers were Chinese and Vietnamese. The Chinese influenced the urban Khmer, but again, this influence did not filter down to the isolated villages due to poor transportation and communication methods. The Vietnamese, invasive enemies of the Khmer for centuries, were looked upon with hostility and mistrust. There is evidence that this mistrust still exists among refugees and, although racial segregation should not be a motive, these feelings should be considered when planning programs for the Khmer.

Education for boys in the villages was provided by monks. Girls were taught by their fathers. Boys usually lived in the temples for a few years and learned Buddhist doctrines, the Khmer and Sanskrit languages, Khmer history, and math. Most became monks for a short period. Although the monks' education prepared the men for a useful life in the village, it did not give them a global perspective, nor a system of learning in the Western sense. Learning was done by rote, using long leaf books. Even today Khmer refugees try to commit to memory the ESL lessons they learn. This often presents problems: Refugees do not always understand what they try to memorize, and the problem is compounded because many refugees believe their memories are impaired by the excessive trauma inflicted on them by the Khmer Rouge. Thus, the holocaust and the excessive mental and physical torture inflicted on the people by the Khmer Rouge cause problems for Khmer refugees which affect their assimilation and language learning in a manner that is not common to all Southeast Asian refugees. Other Southeast Asian refugees have experienced war and flight traumas; the Khmer have experienced a collective autogenocidal holocaust that is distinctive to them and not shared by others.

Since monks were teachers as well as spiritual and religious leaders in Cambodia, they were shown immense respect. They were seldom contradicted and were given every right to discipline students. Khmer refugees in the U.S. also greatly respect their own and their children's teachers and rarely display disagreement or dissatisfaction with them. Unless a teacher was particularly sensitive, it would be easy to overlook instances when undemonstrative Khmer may actually need some assistance or clarification.

After independence in 1954, the Sihanouk government greatly expanded primary and secondary education and also started a massive literacy program for adults. Although French was taught as a second language for many years in government schools, English was introduced only in the late 1960s and available only in the cities. Civil servants provided basic education for adults, and after six months of instruction, those able to read a short paragraph, take six or seven lines of dictation, and do simple arithmetic were given a "certificate of literacy." Many Khmer refugees have no more education than this. Moreover, the Khmer Rouge completely eradicated education and killed the majority of highly educated males. As a result, most refugee households are headed by females who are illiterate or minimally literate in their own language yet who now have to grapple with the task of learning not only a foreign language but also a foreign culture.

Khmer society was hierarchically structured by age and/or social status in urban and rural areas and both verbal and body language denote these distinction. Royalty and monks were addressed by special registers and others were accorded respect according to status. The form of address is still of great importance to the refugees. Older people are called not by their first names, but by kinship terms. Most adults here find the casual form of addressing people by first names rather uncomfortable. They are especially offended when children call them by their first names. When Khmer children use the direct style of American communication, or when they talk back, their parents become angry about the children's apparent disrespect towards them. They refer to such children as *gorn athpuy* (subhuman; without human parentage). Such strong feelings about respectful speech are based on cultural values, as expressed by one refugee: "It fosters feelings of love, harmony and goodwill towards others. When one speaks nicely, others do the same, and no one has to regret afterwards."

English and Khmer differ in body language also. For instance, the refugees find the American way of summoning someone by motioning with a finger extremely offensive. In fact, before they realized this was a common gesture in this society, they believed Americans did this because they looked down on the Khmer. One refugee said, "At first I thought they called me like that because they thought I was lower than them—like an animal. Now I know it is a way they call anybody, but I still don't like it." When refugees are turned off by the mannerisms of their teachers, however unintended, it diminishes the respectful feelings towards teachers and discourages them from attending classes.

Village social values emphasized cooperation rather than competition. Cooperation was essential for a rural subsistence economy that did not have modern mechanized agricultural methods. If people did not work together, irrigated rice could not be grown. Since proven ways were considered safer than new experiments, village life continued with little change over centuries. Widespread use of money, banking systems, or credit cards were not part of village or urban life. In urban areas only businesssmen or *big people* (the very rich) used banks. Family members generally helped one another by providing both emotional support and goods and services. Generosity toward family as well as outsiders was highly valued. Indeed, it was largely through cooperation, especially between family members, that refugees overcame their ordeals under the Khmer Rouge, escaped from Cambodia, and now manage to survive here. May Ebihara (1985), the first American to have done an anthropological village study in Cambodia, and a prominent expert on Cambodian refugees says:

> Mutual aid may occur, first, at the level of the household. In prerevolutionary Khmer society, extended families were as common as nuclear ones, and households might include a married child and his or her family; needy relatives, such as a widowed sister or an orphaned nephew . . . Such patterns have persisted among Khmer refugees and provide a crucial means of coping with loss of family members and strained socioeconomic circumstances . . . Refugees help one another through exchange and sharing of material resources, information, services, advice, contacts, and so forth. (p. 140)

Even though they are now in a country where individual freedom of speech and action is valued highly and competitive and aggressive styles are the norm, Khmer refugees continue to want to keep their cooperative life style because these behavior patterns worked successfully in the past.

World View

Buddhist refugees and immigrants from other countries seem to adjust well in America, so why should Buddhists from Cambodia not do so? Buddhism is no more a unified religion than is Christianity. Until large numbers of Theravada Buddhists came from Southeast Asia, the Buddhism that was generally known in America was Mahayana Buddhism, practiced in some Asian countries such as China and Japan. Although Mahayana Buddhism contains a theory of reincarnation as does Theravada Buddhism, it is closer to Judeo-Christian religions in that it looks towards a God or an ultimate savior. Theravada Buddhism, on the other hand, tells its followers that salvation from reincarnation can be achieved only through an individual's own efforts. People are told that individuals are responsible for their actions, all

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of which have reactions. They are advised to think critically and to follow the right path. This is what the Khmer refugees do when they question to what extent they want to be American, as previously shown in the quote by the community leader.

Since Buddhism was developed in a search to end reincarnation, it teaches its followers to develop habits which will aid this process. One is taught to be generous by way of goods or service to others so that one will be rid of worldy desires. This is seen as the way to end the cycle of rebirths. This ideal was demonstrated vividly in "Career Choices of Southeast Asian Students," presented at the 1987 San Diego Asian Pacific Conference[3], with Khmer students choosing social service as a future vocation over other types of careers, even though they are now in this technologically advanced country.

This process of gaining purity of mind through giving is commonly referred to as "acquiring merit," and was a large part of Khmer life. Donations to monks are considered especially meritorious. It is believed that by making donations to monks in memory of the dead, merit can be transferred to them, which will help them in their rebirths. In the case of the Khmer refugees who lost so many loved ones to the inhumanities of the Khmer Rouge, this ability to help the dead to earn a better life, contributes significantly to their emotional welfare.

Khmer patterns of giving affect refugee adjustment. Numerous solicitors come to refugee households with motives ranging from recruitment as church members to collecting monetary donations for various "causes." Since many refugees are welfare recipients, they can hardly afford to contribute money to these causes. But, they find it difficult to say no to unwanted solicitors since it goes against their social ethics. This leads them to be easily exploited by unscrupulous people with obvious implications for their adjustment to life here.

As Theravada Buddhists, the Khmer believe that the fortunes or misfortunes of their present lives are results of actions, or *karma* (fate) they acquired in previous lives. This concept again has tremendous implications in the treatment of refugees who suffer not only from memories and internal and/or external injuries inflicted by the Khmer Rouge, but also in dealing with guilt at having survived at all, or at having survived better than others. Since Buddhist teachings provide refugees with an explanation of life they understand and believe, those with emotional problems are helped by discussions with monks. Theravada Buddhism, then, stressses the continuance and impermanence of life, as well as the relationship between action and reaction.

While the Western way to improve one's future is by becoming materially wealthy, the Khmer or Buddhist way to improve is by giving wealth away. "Although refugees would find various material goods desirable and quickly assimilate them into their lives," (Ebihara, 1985) Buddhist teachings encourage a person to grow inwardly rather than outwardly. This is why the Khmer are less aggressive and less competitive than other refugee groups and are less ambitious when judged by conventional American standards. Since Western cultural and

Christian religious influences were minimal, Buddhist ideas as a way of life seem to have been stronger in Cambodia than in other Theravada Buddhist countries. Moreover, since Khmer refugees have been here for only 13 years at the most, their social behaviors and sociolinguistic patterns have not yet been subject to strong cultural changes.

Impediments to English Language Acquisition and Some Solutions

In *Background Notes for Teachers in the Adult Migrant Education Program* (1984, p.i), J. Brick and G. Louie point out that teachers present English language students with three tasks: acquiring a new syntax, a new lexis, and a new set of cultural concepts. They claim it is the cultural concepts that present the most difficulty. This observation is the first step to successful language acquisition. The thesis of this paper carries this idea one step further: The new set of cultural concepts to be taught first have to be those that are experienced by the students and not by the teachers.

Some teachers note that speakers of many different languages can learn English, and hence, dismiss the structural features of particular languages as factors impeding the learning of English. Others disagree. Ebihara (1985) observes, "There are a number of differences between Khmer and English, such that there is no easy transfer from one language to the other." Some of these differences are:

> (a) *Khmer verbs are not inflected for such categories as tense, number and gender.*
>
> (b)*In Khmer, once a subject has been introduced, or is clear from the context, it may be omitted from predication.* For example, the question *Lok tiw salaa?* (Are you going to school?) can be answered with the sentence *Tiw* (Going).
>
> (c)*Although the basic word order in Khmer sentences is subject-verb-object, as in English, Khmer relies heavily on syntactic, rather than morphological mechanisms.* For instance, modifiers generally follow the nouns they modify, and specifiers follow numerals:

cheik	*tum*	*pii*	*snet*	*nih*
bananas	ripe	two	hands	this

(these two bunches of ripe bananas) (Huffman, 1970).

However, a focus solely on the structure of language does not adequately address English language learning problems faced by the Khmer. It is a contribution of structure, sociolinguistic factors, and cultural factors both of refugees and the host culture that, as a totality, affect the degree of success or failure of English language learning. Analytically, these can be separated; in the classroom they cannot be separated.

In his article on cooperative learning, Kagan (1986), characterizes U.S. public schools as "generally competitive, individualistic, and autocratic" (p. 238). These are the opposite of Khmer social ideals. According to Kagan, research on cooperative learning shows positive outcomes in academic achievement, ethnic relations, prosocial development, and liking for class, school, learning and self. With the Khmer refugees' cooperative social background this type of learning obviously is more suitable than the traditional structured setting. Cooperative learning, integrated with cooperative teaching, should prove to be even more successful.

As previously noted, the Khmer place great importance on the manner of communication, both in speech and body language. Although such respectful behavior is not the norm in American society, by following the proper rules of behavior so important to the Khmer, it is possible to put them at ease. Since such cooperation will demonstrate that the intention is not to change them but only to teach them English, the refugees will change when they choose to do so, after understanding our ways. It will also be a valuable service to encourage Khmer children to be attentive to their parents' wishes at home, since it will ensure harmony among them.

Even in their own homes, where they feel more comfortable than in a classroom setting, students remain self-conscious about speaking in English in front of others. Cooperative learning methods can be used to overcome this problem. For instance, teamwork in which all students are engaged in conversation (a shopping expedition or a visit to the doctor) will ensure that attention will be removed from a single speaker. Another useful method to overcome problems of self-consciousness is to have students focus their attention on a picture or other object rather than on the speaker. Pictures are also useful when presenting subjects that might cause embarrassment, such as parts of the body. Eye contact between Khmer students and teachers is minimal; to look a teacher straight in the eye is considered disrespectful. Furthermore, students look away if they do not feel comfortable talking about a particular subject.

As mentioned earlier, the traumas inflicted by the Khmer Rouge cause various problems for Khmer refugees. They sometimes find it painful to sit in one place for too long, due to physical injury resulting from beatings and other abuse. Many suffer from digestive disorders caused by starvation. When they see students sitting together, some men are reminded of the Khmer Rouge indoctrination sessions; this upsets them so much they must leave the room.

Since Khmer refugees are worried about their retentive powers, techniques should be developed to help them discover that they can remember what they learn. One successful method is to have students memorize names of objects in picture cards, distribute an equal number of cards to each student, and then, for all to take turns at collecting as many cards as possible by asking for them. Clues can be given instead of actually naming the object, which not only expands refugees' vocabulary, but also demonstrates that they are able to remember more details than just a name. This recognition enhances their self-esteem, and accelerates their learning.

Even though the Khmer blame their memories for their learning difficulties, the problem appears more to be with the subjects taught than with the refugees. Khmer refugees came to America from a non-Western rural background, with little or no education. Many now depend on welfare assistance and live in economically and socially depressed areas among other low income groups. Thus, their needs, experiences, and problems are vastly different from those of the Americans with middle class lifestyles who are portrayed in ESL lessons. For instance, as mentioned, banks were not a part of refugees' lives in Cambodia. They are not here either, if refugees are on welfare. However, ESL lessons are often about matters such as banking, a practical need of middle class people, but not of the refugees. Since banking is not a part of their daily experiences, lessons about the subject have no application or meaning to the refugees, and so do not provide stimulation for learning or retention. Although it is necessary to teach unfamiliar concepts such as banking to Khmer refugees since they now live here, it is much more important to teach them concepts that meet their survival needs first. What they need now is social communication skills applicable to their daily lives.

When Khmer refugees are harrassed by various solicitors, they do not know how to respond; in addition to not knowing English, they avoid face-to-face confrontations and open competition between individuals. Even in troublesome situations, Khmer generally do not assert themselves, complain, or fight for their rights as Americans might do. They usually try to solve social problems by moving away. However, until they learn English and its social uses, they cannot deal with these problems effectively. Khmer community leaders and personnel in organizations dealing with refugees are good sources to discover refugee needs.

Conclusion

It should be emphasized that none of the impediments discussed above individually prevent English language learning. It is the combination that discourages Khmer refugees and prevents them from learning English.

Without communication between refugees and American society, there can be very little growth or change. The importance of being aware of the client culture for successful communication has long been recognized by anthropologists and also by ESL teachers. In the case of ESL teaching, the recognition must be extended to developing an awareness of how our own cultural habits might interfere with or enhance the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. A project that successfully dealt with both sides was The Tribal Lao Training Project[4], designed by anthropologist James M. Freeman, and social worker Huu Nguyen in Santa Clara County, California. This project was adapted to the needs of the people served: the curriculum was designed specifically to deal with nonliterate people and students were taught how to cope with various resettlement crises in the cultural setting of the U.S., such as auto accidents, hospital crises, family disputes, and evictions by landlords.

Khmer refugees are not lesss able or less motivated than other refugee groups to learn English. However, given their distinctive cultural and historical experiences, including the holocaust, they have learning problems that may not be present for other groups. They can be helped to overcome many of their problems if we (a) plan lessons to meet their present needs, (b) develop teaching techniques with the distinctive Khmer history/holocaust in mind, and (c) present lessons in a manner that demonstrates an understanding of, and consideration for, Khmer cultural values. With the successful acquisition of English, communications between the Khmer and the American public will improve, social adjustment will follow, and the Khmer refugees will become a productive segment of the larger American community. ■

FOOTNOTES

[1] The generous guidance and encouragement of James M. Freeman, professor of anthropology, San Jose State University, with regard to this work is deeply appreciated. This paper is part of a larger project funded in part by the San Jose State University Foundation. I thank them for their support. Refugees quoted in this article will not be identified by mutual arrangement. Their support and friendship is gratefully acknowledged.

[2] Khmer is the ethnic name of the people of Cambodia and their language.

[3] See charts on Southeast Asian refugee youth educational attainment from the Southeast Asian Refugee Youth Study (SARYS), Department of Sociology, San Diego State University.

[4] See Freeman, J. M., Nguyen, H., Hartsell, P. (1985). The tribal Lao training project, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*.

The author, a graduate student at San Jose State University, is currently conducting research on the social adjustment of Cambodian refugees using life history collection methods, to be presented as a Special Masters Degree Thesis. She is learning Khmer and has written on a wide variety of topics. Her latest work appeared in Cricket Magazine *for children.*

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The CATESOL Journal

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The Process Approach to Writing Instruction: An Examination of Issues[1]

■ **A process approach to writing instruction is intended to create a humanistic, nonevaluative classroom atmosphere in which students learn discovery-oriented composing strategies. Numerous assumptions are embedded in this perspective—for example, that expert writers compose in similar ways and that novice writers can become better writers by behaving like experts. These and other assumptions need to be questioned and explored within a broader social context than that provided us by cognitive process research. These social issues include purposes for writing, the role of evaluation in school writing, and the communicative nature of the writing act. A process approach can thus be viewed as a set of instructional techniques appropriate for some purposes and some writing tasks, rather than as a theoretically based research program.**

As the 1980s draw to a close, scholars and educators are questioning the theoretical and pedagogical import of the cognitively oriented *process approach* to writing instruction. This period of questioning has come about in great part because writing researchers are recognizing that they have tended to neglect the social contexts in which all writing takes place (Bizzell, 1982; Cooper, 1986; Horowitz, 1986a; Perelman,1986).

Yet writing is fundamentally a cognitive process—it cannot help being so—regardless of how it is influenced by social context. Moreover, there is much to praise about the insights we have gained into the writing process since the late 1970s. These insights most certainly have improved writing instruction in a number of important ways. Nevertheless, the original line of research, although it represented a welcome shift from the traditional exclusive focus on product, seems to have come to a conceptual dead end. It is no longer clear where this overriding concern for writers' cognitive processes will lead us. Thus, in research, scholars are increasingly convinced that attention to product and to social context is essential if we wish to understand writers' cognitive processes. In pedagogy, likewise, educators are going to realize that the term *the process approach* has become a buzzword that obscures the details of the incredibly complex cognitive and social phenomenon of writing.

My purpose in this paper is to look at what the process approach label has come to mean to us and at the assumptions that often lie behind the label. Such an exploration may help us understand what is missing from or oversimplified in process-oriented solutions to instructional questions. It may also help us contextualize process-oriented instructional activities within a broader social context. I first review briefly some of the characteristics of writing from a process perspective and some of the instructional techniques that have followed from this view of writing. Then I consider several assumptions about writing and writing instruction that underlie this view. I conclude by suggesting several ways in which our understanding of writing and writing instruction can be expanded.

The Process Perspective on Writing and Writing Instruction

From research conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s, we have come to perceive writing from a process perspective. (See Humes [1983] and Applebee [1986] for a review and commentary on this work, and Zamel [1987] for a discussion of recent pedagogical research.) In this view, writing is held to be a complex cognitive process in which those writers who are skilled create and then work within a certain problem space in a certain task environment (Flower & Hayes, 1981). They make meaning—i.e., they transform intentionally, rather than tell about, their knowledge (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1986). The lists below display some of the language that has been used to describe the writing of experts from the process perspective. Writing:

IS

discovery
thinking
problem solving
a tool for learning

goal-directed

hierarchical, embedded

complex
cognitive
strategic
purposive
writer-centered/controlled
knowledge-transforming

DOES

creates meaning
clarifies meaning
generates language, ideas
weaves thinking, writing,
    and revising
requires orchestration of
    complex activities
requires subsuming
    surface concerns
    for larger issues
    of meaning

IS NOT

linear, sequential
formulaic
a one-shot activity
grammar
product-oriented
knowledge-telling

These descriptors, which were generated from a relatively small group of first and second language studies of writers, are usually taken to represent the writing processes of experts across the board. Educators are understandably anxious to translate the findings of such studies into instructional practices. In the second language field, for example, researchers typically conduct a small study in their university ESL programs, match their findings with those in published research, then offer pedagogical suggestions that teachers can easily adapt in their own classrooms (Raimes, 1985; Spack, 1984; Zamel, 1982, 1983). From this work and comparable work in first language research, we can examine instructional issues in at least four areas: (l) classroom atmosphere, (2) the generation of ideas and planning of text, (3) the creation of text, and (4) the evaluation of or response to text. What might instruction be like in the ideal process classroom from these four perspectives?

1. The classroom atmosphere in the ideal process-oriented writing class is humanistic and nonthreatening. Students feel relaxed and work together in a workshop or small group structure. They control their activities to a far greater extent than do students in traditional classrooms. The teacher in this class functions as a collaborator, and even as a writer and learner of writing (Hairston, 1982; Spack, 1984). This helps contribute to the workshop and collaborative atmosphere.

2. Numerous instructional techniques in the process-oriented class aim at assisting students in generating ideas and planning what they will write and how they will write about it. In this class, topics are chosen by students rather than imposed by teachers. Techniques for invention thus become focal. Such invention strategies include free writing, brainstorming, keeping journals, engaging in some real world experience, and considering an issue from multiple perspectives. Exercises such as these, which may be highly structured or relatively unstructured, not only help students generate initial ideas, they also help them find their way into their ideas—help them plan. These activities are typical of the many that teachers have devised and adapted in their own classrooms.

3. In the ideal process classroom, students create text under somewhat different conditions than they do in the traditional classroom. They write for real readers (e.g., for teacher-as-collaborator or peers); they are encouraged to write for a purpose; they focus on content and ideas rather than on surface features; they have at their disposal various writing strategies, all of which are considered viable options.

These students, moreover, have many opportunities to write as well as sufficient time for writing.

4. Finally, in the process classroom, evaluation of and response to students' texts occur not at the end point of the writing activity, but throughout the process of writing. Moreover, the teacher is not the sole evaluator and responder. Students read and respond to the work of their peers and are helped to become critical responders to their own work. Teacher and student meet in conferences, where the teacher-as-collaborator responds to ideas and content, not to surface errors. In these conferences, the teacher guides the student in constructing meaning and in creating, organizing, and transforming knowledge. Editing is postponed, multiple drafts are encouraged, and the final draft, polished or not, becomes simply the inevitable result of the process rather than its focus.

In general, then, the activities in the process classroom provide teachers with many options that can be conducted in a variety of ways. They may be loosely or highly structured, conducted individually, in pairs or small groups, or as a whole class. In the process class, activities are supposed to meet flexibly the variable needs and writing styles of individual student writers. They are dynamic, humanistic, and intuitively compelling. But they are also undergirded by assumptions that we tend to take for granted, or take as proven by research.

Assumptions Reflected in This View of Writing and Writing Instruction

A number of assumptions underlie process-oriented instructional activities. They become salient at times in the language we use to talk about writing, while at other times they remain hidden beneath the surface, emerging perhaps in our instructional practices.

Assumption 1: Writing process and written product are dichotomous elements rather than interdependent facets of a larger whole. Whether or not authors and conference presenters intend to represent writing this way, they do so when they choose phrases such as "process *instead of* product" or "process *rather than* product" (e.g., Liebman-Klein, 1986). In fact, when we write anything, we go through some sort of cognitive process; similarly, anything we write (even the roughest of drafts) constitutes a product of some sort. Moreover, access to writers' processes has been achieved via the product of the think-aloud protocol (Connor, 1987).

Assumption 2: Findings from research on the writing process can be translated directly into instructional materials and practices. This assumption is hardly justified, given the limited scope of most research, the major questions that have been raised about methodologies (e.g., about the different self-report techniques that are popular in this research), and the tentativeness and variability of the findings. It is probably more realistic to say that research can inform instruction by enhancing our awareness of why we make certain instructional choices and by bringing certain issues to light that we might not otherwise consider.

Assumption 3: Writing is a process of making and discovering meaning. Such an assumption implies that (1) discovery and knowledge-making will somehow emerge magically from the writing act itself and (2) all writing acts somehow involve discovery.

Regarding the first implication, Spack (1984) and Scardamalia and Bereiter (1985) remind us that discovery does not happen automatically at all. On the contrary, it requires a great deal of hard work and "intentional learning" (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1986).

Regarding the second implication, proponents of a process-oriented view of writing rarely specify what kinds of writing they are talking about. Unless we alter our definition of writing to include only the discovery-type, we are faced with a dilemma, since no doubt all of us can find examples in our own experience of writing that we would hardly label this way. When I write about a topic that I know inside and out, I am not discovering meaning. I discovered it already, perhaps as a result of numerous nonwriting experiences. Likewise when I write a resume, a letter to my mother, or a narrative progress report (as opposed to a thinking paper) to my advisor I am not necessarily discovering meaning. And when I follow the step-by-step prescriptions of a tightly controlled writing assignment, I may not be discovering meaning. In fact, the writing that students of all ages do in schools is evaluated primarily on what students know and can display, not on how they came to learn it. Even at the doctoral level, students who employ the kind of open and free-wheeling writing inspired by a process approach can encounter serious conflict in the face of the more formulaic writing required of them in their program (Berkenkotter, Huckin, & Ackerman, 1988). In short, much of the writing that many of us regularly undertake may not involve discovery.

Assumption 4: A relatively uniform and consistent constellation of processes characterizes the writing of skilled writers. This assumption stems from the characterizations of skilled writers as not fully knowing what they want to say before they say it, discovering what they want to say through the act of writing (see above), and solving their writing problems in similar expert ways. But Reid's (1984) "radical outliner" is no less a writer than her "radical brainstormer" for focusing the discovery process in part outside the act of writing—for knowing much of what she will say before she begins drafting.

Reid exemplifies two very different individual styles of writing process in two equally expert writers. But in addition to the influence of individual styles on the writing process, isn't it also the case that the extent to which writers actively employ any of the behaviors that have been labeled *skilled* will depend on the writers' knowledge, tasks, and purposes? As writers' knowledge, tasks, and purposes change, so will their strategies for writing (Langer, 1984).

Assumption 5: Unskilled writers can become skilled if they learn to behave like skilled writers. Evidence from research does not yet support this assumption. In fact, if we can infer from the second language acquisition studies of interlanguage, it may be that unskilled writers have their own interlanguage of written discourse that develops not by imitation of the processes of skilled writers, but by gradual development on its own terms (Kutz, 1986).

Moreover, it is unclear what is meant by the phrase "to behave more like skilled writers." Do we mean that unskilled writers should do what skilled writers do—emulate their activities? If so, process exercises in the classroom can become as rote and prescriptive as those we are reacting against. Or do we mean that unskilled writers need to learn to think as skilled writers think? It is widely believed that skilled writers can represent problems to themselves and can disembed thought, as represented by language, from its immediate context and reflect on it in a way that unskilled writers cannot. But we are dealing with invisible phenonema here, and it is not yet clear we know how to teach students to do these things.

Moreover, the language that we use to talk about these issues labels the people as skilled and unskilled. In other words, we assume that people write consistently in skilled and unskilled ways and can therefore be justly labeled as certain kinds of writers. But it seems more likely that all of us are skilled at some kinds of writing and unskilled at others. Further, we may write more skillfully on one day than on another, due to countless internal and external factors. Indeed, for these reasons it has been suggested that at least two writing samples are required to get a reliable holistic rating of someone's writing ability (Odell, 1981). In short, perhaps we should say that writers are or are not skilled at doing a certain kind of writing, or that they demonstrate skill on Task A but not on Task B. The behaviors, not the people, are labeled.

Assumption 6: Students who care about and are interested in what and how they write will produce better writing than those who are not or than those who are primarily instrumentally motivated, e.g., by the need to pass a test, produce a paper, and get a grade. To date there is little evidence to support this assumption; in fact, counter evidence exists. Scardamalia and Bereiter (1985), for instance, found that when students focused attention on their writing processes by thinking about alternatives to and implications of their writing choices, they produced more discursive, scattered, and rambling compositions than students who developed a single idea. Likewise, in her process-oriented class, Raimes (1985) did not find that her students' writing improved significantly, only that they seemed more involved in and committed to the writing task than students in nonprocess classes. Of course, we would not wish to forego interest and commitment, but their relation to writing quality is as yet unclear.

These assumptions, and no doubt more, seem to underlie the process approach to writing instruction. Without rejecting them outright, which I believe would be unnecesary and unwise, we can examine them, question them, and explore them further. By recognizing and articulating our assumptions, we can make better and more informed instructional decisions. We can also see more clearly where the gaps are in our thinking.

Broadening Our Understanding

The stereotypical process orientation to writing instruction and research has neglected at least four important areas: purposes for writing, the role of evaluation, social factors, and "theory." In concluding this paper, I consider each one briefly.

1. We need a fuller understanding of students' purposes for writing and of teachers' purposes for having them write. This applies equally to the writing that students do in composition classes and in content classes. Second language learners in the ESL writing class, for instance, may write for the purposes of language acquisition and development, for personal (intellectual or creative) development, for vocational preparation, for general and discipline-specific academic preparation, or for a combination of these purposes. The point is that as the goals of writing instruction vary, so will the writing tasks, activities, emphases and approaches.

By way of example, and to point out the complexities involved, let me discuss briefly only the group whose purpose is academic preparation, from the teacher's perspective. Many teachers see their purpose as helping students in the latter group prepare to do college level work. Part of this preparation involves helping students become familiar with the discourse conventions of the academic community (Bartolomae, 1985; Berkenkotter et al., 1988; Bizzell, 1982; Herrington, 1985; McCarthy, 1987; North, 1986; Swales & Horowitz, 1988) and helping students interpret writing assignments adequately so that they can meet the expectations of teachers and programs (Horowitz, 1986b; Perelman, 1986).

Some of these writing assignments, as Horowitz (1986b) found in a survey of university faculty syllabi, impose a great many external constraints on students' writing in terms of time, content, and form. Students may have little control over the writing task and no time for multiple drafts. Teachers who are preparing such a group of students, in addition to relying on standard process techniques, may also wish to give students formulae for certain kinds of very structured writing as well as practice in interpreting instructions for various kinds of writing assignments.

2. We need to recognize the deeply embedded role of evaluation of finished products and of grades in general at all levels of our school system, even if we are pressing hard to change the system. The pervasive focus on evaluation in our schools undermines many valuable educational goals, but this is a reality of schools as they are presently structured. Teachers, therefore, need to juggle their own experiments with alternative modes of evaluation with these larger institutional realities. Not to consider such institutional constraints in the writing class is to somehow miss one of the reasons we teach writing in schools:

to help students survive the system. Thus, while Liebman-Klein (1986) claims that professors at her university now employ process-oriented techniques (brainstorming, journal writing, revising) in their content classes, she fails to mention either purposes for writing or the inevitable role of evaluation of final products in determining grades.

As Applebee (1984) discovered, the process-oriented goals of even the best teachers who consciously employ a process approach in their content classes in secondary schools are undermined by the real goal—the need for teachers ultimately to evaluate the final product. The students in the Applebee project knew this. Though they dutifully engaged in the process activities, when it came to completing the final product, they were practically and instrumentally driven. They knew that there were right answers, or better answers, and those answers were in their textbooks, not in their journal notes.

3. We need a fuller understanding of the social nature of most writing, and of the connections between the social and the cognitive aspects of composing. Some scholars feel that "cognitive developmental work has been overly concerned with describing mental changes which are assumed to occur within the individual independent of contextual influences" (Rogoff, 1984, p.1). In a general sense, this group believes that a writer's competence involves more than knowledge of strategies; it involves also how writers connect themselves to their discourse communities:

> The various roles people take on in writing . . . arise out of . . . social structure: through interacting with others, in writing and speaking, they learn the functions and textual forms of impersonal reporting, effective instruction, irony, storytelling. In the same way they learn the attitudes toward these roles and toward purposes and ideas held by the various groups they interact with, and they come to understand how these interactions are themselves partly structured by institutional procedures and arrangements. (Cooper, 1986, p. 373)

At a more specific level, an act of writing can be construed as social in that it is one type of communicative event—a cooperative speech act—between writer and reader (Cooper, 1982; Grice, 1975; Mallet, 1985). Thus, when writers (such as students in school) communicate something, and readers (such as teachers) interpret what they write, their mutual understanding depends on shared knowledge of both the context in which the writing is taking place and the linguistic and genre-specific discourse conventions appropriate to that context. Mutual understanding of social context and discourse conventions is a prerequisite for successful writing in school.

All of this is not to deny the fact that writing is a complex cognitive activity, many aspects of which are internal to the writer. It is, rather, to recognize the cognitive consequences of the social factors involved in writing and to place an individual's cognitive activity within the broader social context, from which it cannot escape. There can be no decontextualized writing event.

4. We need to recognize that the process approach is not a theory. It has never been defined or developed as a theoretically based research program that helps us understand the act of composing. Moreover, an approach or paradigm that claims to embrace everything (as Hamp-Lyons [1986] would have the "true" process approach do) in fact embraces nothing. A theory, approach, or paradigm is so called because it frames a phenomenon and, within certain boundaries, explains and predicts. By suggesting what is, a theory clearly suggests what is not (hence the capability of theories to generate testable hypotheses). As others have noted, the process approach is a "perspective" (Hamp-Lyons, 1986), an "attitude more than a method" (Zamel, 1986), and a "collection of techniques" (Horowitz, 1986a). Because it is not a theoretically based, clearly defined paradigm, the process view of writing has not been able to generate further research.

However, it has generated what it seems well suited to generate—some useful instructional techniques that accord well with a humanistic and flexible view of teaching and learning—techniques that can appropriately be applied to some writing tasks for some purposes. Our task, then, is not to reject a process approach to writing instruction as a soon-to-be-outmoded fad, but to identify what it can do for which kinds of students doing which kinds of tasks for which kinds of purposes. Within a broadened, socially contextualized view of the writing act, the process approach to writing instruction should find a secure and comfortable home. ■

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Changing Models for Writing Instruction: Helping ESL Writers Develop a Sense of Audience

■ **This article reviews the history of the popularity of the modes of discourse (narration, description, and so on) and shows the change in focus in composition from the modes to the rhetorical situation, with an emphasis on audience. Letter writing is a pedagogical strategy that draws students' attention to the need for consideration of audience. Letter writing activities in writing classes at California State University, Los Angeles; University of California, Los Angeles; and the University of Southern California informally illustrate the benefits of this rich communicative activity for both native and nonnative students of writing. This approach is suggested, not as an alternative to academic writing, but as an entrance into the rhetorical situation of academic discourse.**

Most teachers of writing are familiar with classifications of discourse such as narration, description, exposition, and argument. Rhetoricians and compositionists call these well-known types of writing *the modes of discourse*. They were commonly discussed in the early 19th century in Great Britain, became popular in American rhetoric textbooks in the late 19th century, and completely dominated writing instruction well into the 1950s. In contrast, in the 1960s and 1970s, researchers in rhetoric and composition, along with many teachers, changed their focus from the forms of writing to the communicative goals of writing. This change parallels the shift in oral language instruction from an audiolingual to a communicative model.

We wish to ask two questions about practices in writing instruction: How did these traditional classifications of written discourse become so powerful? What goals and strategies of writing instruction have taken their place? To answer these questions, we review the history of the popularity of the modes of discourse and show the change in focus in the profession from the modes to the rhetorical situation, with an emphasis on audience. Finally, we suggest a pedagogical strategy that draws students' attention to the need for consideration of audience.

The Modes

The modes became popular with the publication of the American edition of *English Composition and Rhetoric* by the Scottish rhetorician Alexander Bain (1866). They provided not only a classificatory principle but an instructional guide as well. Higher education in the United States was changing in the second half of the 19th century. Before that time, colleges were small and usually religion centered institutions. The content of study was classical; in rhetoric this meant a focus on genres of writing such as letters, treatises, essays, biographies, fiction, parables, and so on (Connors, 1981, p. 446). After 1860, many large colleges and universities were established. They were less classically oriented and more interested in varied studies, especially science. The focus in rhetoric shifted from the classical attention to eloquence and style to an emphasis on forms. With more students and larger classes, forms were easier to teach. Furthermore, the new educated man was expected to write error-free prose and follow directions. As M. J. Maynes (1985) points out in *Schooling in Western Europe*, the industrial revolution called for workers who could follow directions and for a middle-management population that felt comfortable with the expectations of the owner class. Emphasizing forms and grammar above interaction with real audiences helped to satisfy these goals.

In the late 19th century, no textbook that did not assert the four modes sold well. During this time as well a book called *Paragraph-Writing* (Scott & Denney, 1891) appeared. The typology of paragraphs was drawn from the classical Aristotelian topics of invention—contrast, explanation, definition, illustration, details, and proofs (Connors, 1981, p. 448). Such paragraphs were assumed to be part of the "big four" types of essays: narration, description, exposition, and argument. Sometimes persuasion was treated as another mode, but generally it was considered as part of argument. At the turn of the century, books began to appear on one or the other of the modes singly, for example, *Expository Writing* or *The Principles of Argumentation* (Connors, 1981).

The modes completely controlled the scene of instruction in writing in the U.S. until the 1930s. The fact that the teaching of writing had not always been focused on these forms was lost to memory—the modes seemed to have been graven in stone. Of the single-mode texts, those on expository writing took over the market. The methods of developmment such as definition, classification and division, contrast, exemplification, and so on were raised from their status of paragraph development to the essay level. So what were at one point submodal methods of organization came to take on modal status. Many teachers will have "gone to school" to these modes and methods. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, they held absolute sway: That was what instructors taught because that was what there was to teach.

Change in Focus

The modes are not so much the primary organizing principle of college writing texts today, though they still, along with the submodes of organization such as classification, comparison, and so on, determine the table of contents of many essay readers and many ESL/EFL writing textbooks. Current composition theorists and researchers hold that the modes of discourse, though still popular, are less useful as instructional plans than writing assignments that grow out of a consideration of audience and intention. The modes have come to seem static, functionless, removed from social context. As Crowley (1984) points out, the modes are "persistently a-rhetorical" because they rest on only two thirds of the classical communication triangle—writer and text—excluding audience from the scene.

Much research has been done in the past two decades to help us understand the writing process, or processes, of both experienced and developing writers, in both first and second language. Knowledge of writing process has helped us make room in writing classes and revising as integral parts of writing. Subsequent process research has shown that planning and revising entail crucial attention to a writer's purpose in regard to a certain audience (Berlin, 1987).

As early as 1963, Wayne Booth wrote of the interactive effect of authorial intention and a known responding audience upon student writing (Booth, 1963). Berkenkotter (1981) examined audience awareness more empirically, showing some effects of such awareness on revision. Ede (1984) reviews research on audience, focusing on rhetorical, linguistic, and cognitive approaches, and Ede and Lunsford (1984) discuss pedagogical implications of the differences between writing for a known audience and writing for an audience that the writer must imagine and invoke. Current articles and textbooks embody the renewal of interest in audience that has characterized the past decade, a renewal that Kroll (1984) claims is as definitive for the 1980s as the renewal of interest in invention was for the discipline of composition in the 1970s.

A Model Strategy

One of the genres that characterized instruction in writing before the modes became popular was letter writing. We present this strategy here as one example of a writing activity that raises students' awareness of the need to consider audience. This is a particularly appropriate strategy for teaching the concept of audience because the act of writing a letter assumes the presence of a recipient. We suggest this pedagogical approach, not as an alternative to academic writing but as an entrance into the rhetorical situation of academic discourse.

The results of letter writing activities in writing classes at California State University, Los Angeles; University of California, Los Angeles; and the University of Southern California illustrate the benefits of this rich communicative activity for both native and nonnative students of writing. Writing a letter allows students to participate in a genuine communicative context. Further, being committed to a real writing task helps them forget their anxieties about composing, thereby enabling them to enjoy the writing experience.

In teaching basic writing to a class of primarily nonnative speakers, we were concerned with several problems. First, how could we help students attend to a specific audience? Second, how could we support them in overcoming their writing anxiety, which often manifested itself in their inability to begin writing, or to write much, and help them to stop worrying inappropriately about errors? We observed that even when students were able to write, the essays were often written with a bottle of correction fluid in hand. This overconcern with error and neatness appeared to inhibit the writing process. Third, and not incidentally, how could we get our students to arrive on time for an 8 a.m. class? Letter writing was a possible solution. If we wrote at the beginning of class and students were interested in receiving and answering their letters, they would show up on time. We predicted that if they got caught up in communicating, their anxiety would lessen.

In order to accomplish these goals, we arranged for students to spend the first 15 minutes of the class writing to a member of another class. Their first letter was to an unknown reader, and they had to think of ways to introduce themselves to a stranger. Some students were shy and chose pen names, but everyone participated. At the same time that students wrote, we wrote to the other teacher. We wanted to show students that we considered letter writing a real and important activity, different from a classroom exercise. Letters provided a means of meeting new people, communicating ideas, sharing useful information (many students began asking students at the next level of writing about their experiences in that class), and at the same time practicing writing in a less threatening context, for this writing wouldn't be read or corrected by the teacher. The standard would be the reader's acceptance of the information that the writer wanted to convey.

Results

Results were immediately apparent. Students arrived on time for class eager to see what their pen pal had to say. They happily did this warm-up writing which, like free writing, served the function of loosening them up for the day's in-class essay. At the end of the quarter the two classes had a joint party so that students could meet their correspondents. After 10 weeks of writing and receiving letters, they had often formed new friendships. Class evaluations were extremely high, and many students expressed their pleasure with the letter writing assignments.

The students obtained both tacit and overt information about audience through letter writing. They had to decide how to present themselves to an unknown audience. How formal or informal should their writing be? In addition, they needed to understand something about the conventions of letter writing. What format is appropriate for an informal letter? How does it differ from a formal letter? How should the writer address the other person? What about word choice—is slang appropriate? In such exchanges, the audience does not remain static. As the writer grows to know the audience better, how do letters change? What use does a writer make of the information and tone of the other writer's letter? We never corrected the letters or censored or restricted the topics students could write about, though we would give assistance if asked.

Letter writing can also be focused on specific topics. In more advanced classes, students can write about their writing history, current writing problems, and discoveries they make about composing. They, too, have to consider audience. How much do they have to tell their readers for them to understand a problem or solution? If they have given too little information, this real audience will ask for clarification.

Another model uses letter writing between classes of native and nonnative speakers. The topics of the letters can be information about projects each class is carrying out. For example, one possible project is for each student, or students in pairs, to observe a group in the community in order to report on uses of oral and written language. The letters communicate what each person has discovered, making audience a prime consideration. The writer needs to make sure the reader has enough background knowledge about the particular project. She must also decide what information to repeat, depending on how much time has passed between letters.

Letter writing doesn't have to be long-term to be effective. A letter makes an excellent diagnostic since students can perform in a real writing situation and thus lose some of the inhibitions they develop when they have to write for a new teacher. Topics can include a letter to a friend on a variety of subjects such as first impressions of a new school, a problem encountered, experiences in a new country, difficulties learning English, and discussions of favorite films, TV programs, or books.

Theoretical Implications

James Britton (1975), in the massive study *The Development of Writing Abilities*, shows (and deplores the fact) that in the schools, once past the very earliest elementary grades, students write only for teachers and their message is only the message the teachers want. Janet Emig's (1971) study, *The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders*, provides further evidence of this situation. Similarly, in much of composition teaching, for both native and nonnative speakers of English, we see that frequently the form is taught and specified for students' writing.

Certainly, organizational plans are important in academic writing, and in teaching writing we need to teach the importance of planning. It is a way of attending to audience. Organizational strategies such as classification or comparison are cognitive strategies, operations which we all use every day just to cross a street or make out a shopping list, but which developing writers may not have conscious control of for writing tasks. Nonnative speakers of English will need help to identify and become comfortable with rhetorical approaches that are characteristic of writing in English. But strategies for dealing with the speaker-hearer-subject relationship need to be organically related to a writer's purpose and sense of audience; they should not be taught only through big fill-in-the-blank exercises, using paragraphs instead of words. Letter writing is only one of many activities that relate purpose to audience; for example, "I-search" papers (Macrorie, 1986), interviews, and reports on school and community issues provide other opportunities to make intention and audience real considerations in the writing process.

As writing becomes more and more important for the acquisition of a second or other language, teachers need to consider what underlying assumptions they bring to this area of teaching language. Most teachers at all levels—from elementary teachers through university professors—learned writing in a system of writing instruction that has a very long history. Textbook writers and publishers share this education. This history, as recent historians of composition and rhetoric have shown, is context bound. The modes as we know them at one point did not exist. At another point the concept of modes exerted a powerful influence, having developed in response to socioeconomic pressures as well as changes in the intellectual climate. Now that influence is waning, as we come to see that considerations of purpose and audience are what produce writing that communicates meaningful content in an interactive transaction between a real speaker-writer and a listening, responding reader. ■

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Comprehensible Textbooks in Science for the Nonnative English-Speaker: Evidence from Discourse Analysis

■ This paper develops practical applications of the author's 1983 work, which used discourse analysis to compare textbooks providing practical scientific knowledge for ninth grade general science. The author collected data on the reading comprehension of 72 subjects (30 nonnative and 42 native English-speaking students) on the same passages. Her research considered readability of textbooks on three planes: (1) usage, (2) use, and (3) interaction. The main implication derived from the study is that both nonnative and native English readers will greatly benefit from instructional materials and teaching strategies that provide multiple access to science information. This supports the research findings of Cummins (1981, 1982), Krashen (1981,1982), Widdowson (1978, 1979), Long (1982, 1985) and Long and Sati (1983) on sheltering (contextualizing), higher level questioning, authentic language, and interaction for second language acquisition. Implications for textbook writers and selectors and content area and ESL teachers are given, along with suggestions for sheltering the English of science textbooks.

This paper may be of interest to both high school educators, especially those involved in reading for content areas, and linguistic researchers. It begins by providing definitions and background in the field of discourse analysis in relation to scientific texts. The major portion of the paper then describes research conducted by the author on the kinds of discourse employed in science textbooks for secondary school students. The paper concludes with some discussion of practical implications of this work and some suggestions for sheltering the English of science for textbook writers, textbook selectors, and teachers of both English as a second language and the content areas.

The main implication derived from the study is that both nonnative and native English readers will greatly benefit from instructional materials and teaching strategies that provide multiple access to science information. Science textbooks achieve greater comprehensibility through instructional verbal text (words, sentences, paragraphs), through explicative iconic text (drawings, photos, tables), and through the kinds of questions that stimulate high levels of student-textbook interaction.

The two passages below are taken from textbooks used in ninth grade science classes in a California high school where students were both native and nonnative readers of English. Passage A was taken from the academic class textbook *Everyday Problems in Science* (Hurd & Mayfield, 1972). Passage V was taken from the vocational class textbook for non-college-bound students *Concepts and Challenges in Life Science* (Bernstein, Schachter, Winkler, & Wolfe, 1979).

Passage A

> The inner defenses of our bodies include two main groups of germ fighters. One group is made up of white blood cells. You have already learned that some of these wrap themselves around and destroy germs. When germs get inside the body where they can grow and reproduce, the white cells usually attack them almost at once. Since white blood cells are in blood and lymph, they are carried to every part of the body. Some stay in one place and attack any germs that come near. Others travel to the place where the germs are and then attack them. Sometimes, instead of destroying germs, the white cells form a wall around them. This often happens when tuberculosis germs get into the lungs. The wall keeps the germs and their toxins from spreading. In time, this wall becomes thick and hard.
>
> If germs that get inside are not destroyed quickly, the body usually speeds up its making of white cells. An increase of white cells is nearly always a symptom of an infection in some part of the body. Doctors consider this symptom when they make a diagnosis. To find if the white cells have been increased, a small amount of blood is drawn from the body and examined through a microscope. The white cells in a certain volume of blood are counted. In a severe infection, the count may show two or three times as many white cells as usual.

Passage V

> White blood cells. Some germs enter the body by getting past the defenses of the skin and the respiratory organs. When this happens, the body's second line of defense goes to work. The white blood cells are the second line of defense. White blood cells travel through the blood in search of bacteria. The white cells can even squeeze through the walls of the capillaries. Outside the blood vessels, they surround bacteria. They destroy the bacteria by digesting them.
>
> How do white blood cells help protect the body?

These two passages treat similar topics at similar readability levels, but they differ in important ways. To explore these differences, the research reported here used discourse analysis of the passages, as well as cloze tests of students and recall interviews. I will begin by defining terminology used in discourse analysis and in the discussion of the contexts of use for science.

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Definitions

Discourse refers to language use, that is the communicative function of language. *Discourse analysis* is defined here as the investigation of the way sentences are put to communicative use (Widdowson, 1979a, pp. 92-93). In functional terms *scientific discourse* is a set of rhetorical (illocutionary) acts, such as defining, classifying, and exemplifying. Thus, *discourse analysis of texts* in Widdowson's sense is the investigation of the formal properties of a piece of language beyond the limts of a sentence.

If Widdowson's (1979a) definition of scientific discourse as "a set of rhetorical acts" (p. 16) is accepted, then there is clearly a need to consider approaches to text analysis that go beyond traditional approaches to what makes textbooks difficult or easy. For example, there is more to determining reading ease than readability formulae, which are nearly always based on grammatical and lexical properties of texts alone, not on discourse properties. And, while it has been shown that scientific English contains certain categories of *usage*, such as frequent passives, long nominal groups, and relative clauses (Strevens, 1980; Master, 1982), an emerging line of research focuses on the notion of *use*, the communicative function of the language of science.

Instead of analyzing science texts as examples of scientific English usage, I chose to examine discourse—the communicative functions of language, such as generalization, qualification, explanation. I focused the discourse analysis on the coherence relationships between illocutions (the communicative acts that sentences are used to perform, such as the functions listed above). *Coherence* is "the link between" these communicative acts (Widdowson, 1979a, p. 87).

I also saw a need to analyze the interactive negotiation of meanings and the structures of communication an author uses to convey information to the reader. This interactive relation concerns such acts as initiation, response, and elicitation. Thus, the discourse analysis of the science texts discussed here goes beyond readability formulae in determining what makes a text easy or difficult to read and beyond specific features of scientific English usage in determining what constitutes the special register of science. The study examines the effectiveness of the communication between author and reader along three planes of discourse—usage, use, and interaction—each of which is discussed in more detail below.

Background

In the mid- to late 1970s the field of English for Science and Technology (EST) was a major area of linguistic research at the university level. Selinker, Trimble and Trimble (1975), for example, published their Rhetorical Process Chart to show how the language of science coveyed information on several rhetorical levels.

Table 1

Rhetorical Process Chart
English for Science and Technology (EST)*

Level	Description
A	Objectives of the total discourse. Examples: 1. Detailing an experiment 2. Making a recommendation 3. Presenting new hypotheses, theories 4. Presenting other ESL information
B	General rhetorical functions employed to develop the objectives of Level A Examples: 1. Stating purpose 2. Reporting past research 3. Discussing theory 4. Stating the problem 5. Presenting information on apparatus: Description 6. Presenting information on apparatus: Operation 7. Presenting information on experimental procedures 8. Referencing an illustration 9. Relating an illustration to the discussion
C	Specific rhetorical functions employed to develop the general functions of Level B Examples: 1. Definition 2. Classification 3. Description: physical, function 4. Description: process
D	Rhetorical techniques that provide relationships within and between the units of Level C Examples: 1. Time order 5. Comparison 2. Space order 6. Contrast 3. Causality 7. Analogy 4. Result 8. Exemplification

*This is a revised version of the rhetorical section of the Rhetorical Grammatical Process Chart (Lackstrom, Selinker and Trimble, 1975)

Such research implied that teachers of university courses for nonnative English speakers could teach specific aspects of the language pertinent to their courses—aspects of English for science, for example, or more specifically, English for engineers.

At the same time Widdowson (1979a) proposed ideas about the language of science that went beyond identifying specific vocabulary items or grammatical constructions (e.g., heavy noun compounds, passive voice verbs). He claimed that the language of science can be viewed as a specific cultural type. For Widdowson, reading in science is reading an international language which employs particular rhetorical processes, including definitions, exemplifications, and generalization. In whatever language of the world, the scientific method has followed similar stages of development and the literature of science world-wide has identifiable rhetorical features. Thus, learning what these features are might be very useful to students who must read and write in this field.

While this kind of thinking was evidenced in the EST literature, research on discourse—the analysis of the rhetorical forms used in expository texts, for example—began to provide detailed insight into the complexity of exposition. Meyer (1975) and Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) conducted discourse analysis research on various rhetorical processes involved in reading expository texts. They found specific types of idea units—propositions—and began to outline the rhetorical structure of the content of the texts they investigated. Meyer (1975) classified rhetorical predicates in 18 ways, an example of which is the *alternative rhetorical predicate*, in which equally weighted options are given. One of her sample sentences—*Recovery is slowed down or halted*—appears in a content structure tree diagram with *slowed down* and *halted* on the same level of content structure, related to each other by the *alternative* rhetorical predicate *or*. Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) analyzed one of their sample texts—*A series of violent, bloody encounters between police and Black Panther Party members punctuated the early summer days of 1969*—into seven propositions beginning with *series, encounter* and ending with *time: in, summer, 1969*. This propositional research provides detailed insights into the complexity of expository texts.

These types of research—on EST and on the propositional structure of expository texts—stimulated the research discussed in this article.

Study of Science Texts and Students

Prior to the early 1980s the literature consisted primarily of research on EST and propositional analyses of texts at the university level, mostly with native English speakers. My 1983 study of high school science textbooks broke new ground both by analyzing the discourse of high school science textbooks and by collecting data on both native and nonnative English-speaking students in science classes using these texts. I took a detailed look at the discourse and interactive features of science materials written for native English speakers and used with both native and nonnative English speakers. My research also posed the question of what simplification for reading in science means.

I compared the textbooks providing practical scientific knowledge for ninth grade general science in two programs: vocational preparation (assumed noncollege-bound) and academic (college) preparation. I also collected data on the reading comprehension of 72 subjects (42 native and 30 nonnative English-speaking students) of the same passages. Typically, at this level native English-speaking (NE) and nonnative English speaking (NN) students are enrolled in the same science classes. Usually, however, higher numbers of NNs are enrolled in the vocational program classes. The unstated assumption is that the "simpler" textbooks used in these classes are more easily mastered by limited English proficient students. This assumption of simplicity formed the basis for three questions:

1. Is the vocational text really simpler than the academic text? Is it more instructive?

2. How do NEs and NNs compare in reading comprehension measures based on such textbooks?

3. What is the relationship of text features to reading comprehension for NE and NN students?

I analyzed passages of 800 to 1200 words on the same topics (the skeleton and the body's defenses against germs) in both textbooks, looking at three planes of discourse with which the readers of both science texts must deal.

Plane 1: Usage

Usage includes surface forms identified by traditional readability formulae, the vocabulary and grammatical complexity of the material. Both the Flesch Formula (1948) and the Fry Graph (1968) were used to show by syllable count and average sentence length the grade level readability of each passage. In addition, the authors' or editors' stated reading level of each textbook and a clause complexity index (Cook, 1979) provided information on the difficulty level of the texts.

Plane 2: Use

Use relates to the coherence of the text as a series of illocutionary acts, or rhetorical functions—the writer's attempt to convey a particular meaning to the reader by means of language organized into discourse. An investigation of language use shows information is conveyed to the reader through rhetorical devices such as definitions, generalization, and additive informatives; and how the paragraphs convey information deductively, inductively, or in a balanced way. Table 2 presents an outline of the discourse members found in these science texts. A *member* is a sentence, question, title, subtitle, caption, or label appearing in the verbal text of the passage. When classified according to their functions in the discourse, members of the passages fall into three basic categories: focusing, instructing, and glossing.

Table 2
Discourse Members

Focusing:	Focusing statement Question Subtitle/label Section focus/title

Instructing:	Recall
	Reiteration
	Particularization
	Informative
	  Generalized informative
	  Additive informative
	  Substantiating informative
	  Restricted informative
	  Contrastive informative
	  Evaluative informative
	  Hypothetical informative
	  Corrective informative

Glossing:	Restatement Pointer Directive Comment Aside

Rather than attempt to describe the full 50 pages of analysis of discourse functions of members in the texts, I have provided a representative sample paragraph from the academic program text in Table 3.

Table 3
Sample Analysis of Text

Passage A1
Paragraph 2
(Deductive: generalization—examples)
(Description)

Member	**Discourse function**
a. Your skeleton forms the framework of bones that supports the rest of your body.	Focusing statement Generalized informative

b. Some of the bones, such as the skull and the ribs, protect delicate organs inside your body.	Restricted informative
c. You could not move about as you do if you had no bones to act as levels.	Additive informative
d. Your skeleton is rigid enough to hold your body in shape, yet joints between the bones allow them to move.	Contrastive informative
e. There are more than 200 bones in the human body.	Additive informative and end of paragraph informatives
f. The pictures on page 146 show the main parts of the skeleton.	Pointer (implied) and end of paragraph

Paragraph 2 from passage A1 is a deductive description which leads from a generalization to examples. Its members are defined as:

focusing statement: a declarative introduction to a new concept, usually following a paragraph boundary;

generalized informative: a declarative that presents the general concepts talked about in adjacent discourse;

restrictive informative: a declarative with some form of limiting words on the concept;

contrastive informative: a declarative which provides an opposing idea; and

pointer: a glossing member which directs the reader to nonlinear information in pictures and charts.

As can be seen in the discourse member list and the sample paragraph, the detailed discourse analysis focused on the illocutionary functions of the passages. The discourse of the academic passages contains a higher percentage of instructing functions than does the discourse of the vocational passages. Table 4 presents Plane 2, the paragraph types and member discourse functions, for the academic passages (A1, A2) and the vocational passages (V1, V2) in relation to Planes 1 and 3.

Table 4
Internal Text Analysis Summary

			Text passage	A1	A2	V1	V2
READING EASE	VERBAL TEXT		Author's/Editor's description	for average 9th grader		4th-5th grade	
		BODY COPY	**Readability: Fry Average**				
			Fry Average	6th		4th	
			Fry 100-word	6th	4th	4th	8th
			Flesch average	6th		6th	
			Flesch 100-word	6th	6th	6th	8-9th
			Style complexity	simple	medium	simple	simple
DISCOURSE			**Paragraph types:**				
			Logic	deductive	balanced	deductive	other
			Illocutionary function (% instructive)	77%	82%	63%	64%
			Member discourse functions:				
			Focusing	40%	32%	27%	49%
			Instructing	52%	65%	53%	34%
			Glossing	8%	3%	20%	17%
OTHER TEXT FEATURES	ICONIC TEXT	LAYOUT	**Typographics:**				
			Access functions	Roughly Equivalent			
			Rhetorical functions	Roughly Equivalent			
			Macropunctuation	Long Information Flow		Short Information Flow	
			Illustrations:				
			Motivational	8%		20%	33%
			Explicative/ retentional	92%	100%	80%	67%
	QUESTION	OTHER	**Question types:**				
			Above factual level	34%	45%	11%	25%

Plane 3: Interaction

Plane 3 focuses on the various acts the author uses to involve the reader. Of particular interest is the use of illustrations and questions for instructional support. Illustrations are classified as:

motivational: to get the reader's attention;

explicative: to explain an idea that is not clearly expressed by words; and

retentional: to increase the memorability and retentional value of the prose to which the illustration is related.

As Table 4 shows the academic passages (A1, A2) employ more information-carrying illustrations than the vocational passages do. These provide the reader more contextual clues to facilitate comprehension of the verbal text. Interaction of reader and text is also affected by the types of questions for the passage, ranging from factual—requiring verbatim recall—through a Bloom's Taxonomy of question types above the factual level. As Table 4 shows, the percentage of questions above the factual level in the academic text runs from over a third to nearly half of the questions, while in the vocational passages only a tenth to a quarter of the questions are above the factual-recall level. The difference in the quality of questions relates to the quality of information the student thinks about while reading and answering questions. The interaction of reader and text is affected by authors' and editors' choices of illustrations and questions.

The detailed analysis of these science texts shows that the assumption of simplicity, or reading ease, of the vocational text is at least questionable. While the authors and editors judge the vocational text to be easier than the academic one, the readability formulae and style complexity indices disagree. The issue of the relationship of text features to reading comprehension is more complex than indicated by readability formulae or clause complexity (Plane 1). It involves not only overall reading ease but also discourse relationships and other text features. For high school science textbooks, the relationship of text features to reading comprehension concerns not merely word and sentence length (Plane 1), but the ways all the information on the page is conveyed to the reader. An analysis of textbook discourse (Plane 2) and interaction (Plane 3) shows that science textbook discourse involves rhetorical functions in the verbal text as well as interaction through illustrations and question types.

By paragraph type and discourse function, the academic passages devote a higher percentage of verbal text to instruction than do the vocational passages. A higher percentage of illustrations in the academic passages is instructional. Finally, compared to the vocational text the academic text contains a higher percentage of questions above the factual level. These results indicate that:

(1) The academic text may be as easy to read as the vocational text because the discourse functions engage the reader instructionally. The illustrations and questions support the instructional role of the verbal text.

(2) The vocational text may discourage the reader from gaining as much information on a topic as the academic text provides because the vocational text uses less explicative verbal text and fewer informational illustrations to support the reader. If the purpose of content area reading is to gain information, then the text needs to provide multiple means for the reader to gather that information, means that involve all three planes of discourse.

In addition to the analysis of science texts, exploratory data were collected from readers of these texts.[2] Many dimensions of reading comprehension were measured. NE and NN student performance with these texts was analyzed through classroom observation, cloze testing, free and cued recalls, and subjective comments from students. The results of the cloze testing (Tables 5 and 6), recalls, and subjective comments of seven students support the tentative conclusions of the text analyses.

[See Tables 5 and 6]

Conclusions and Further Questions

(1) The complex relationship of text features to reading comprehension involves all three planes of discourse and cannot adequately be judged by readability formulae, which assess only Plane 1 features.

(2) It is questionable whether the vocational text is necessarily simpler than the academic text, particularly when positive redundancy factors (e.g., illustrations, exemplifications) are considered. The longer text may provide more opportunity to understand the science concepts, to acquire the "science culture." A two-paragraph explanation of the action of white blood cells, with examples of diseases and infections and a graphic illustration may actually make the reading less difficult to comprehend than a shorter one-paragraph version with no space devoted to examples or clear illustration of the concept.

(3)The academic text is not necessarily more difficult. The cloze showed that the academic and vocational students performed similarly on three of the four passages (A1, V1, and V2), whether the cloze passage was from the academic or vocational textbook. On the fourth passage (A2), the nonnative speakers scored higher than the native English speakers. Furthermore, the NNs scored higher than the NE vocational students on all passages. Does this mean that reading comprehension of NNs compares favorably to that of NEs on both texts? That is, once the NNs have been judged fluent enough in English to succeed in an English-only curriculum, is there reason to believe that they can benefit from the same types of material as do the native English speakers?

Table 5
Performance of Subjects on Cloze Tests Scored by Exact-Replacement Method

Test Form	Class	NEs N	NEs M	NEs SD	NNs N	NNs M	NNs SD	Total* N	Total* M	Total* SD
A1	Ac.	18	15.83	2.24	4	15.25	3.77	22	15.73	2.60
	Voc.	12	10.83	4.88	9	12.00	2.58	21	11.33	4.10
	Ex.	5	16.00	2.61	6	13.00	1.53	11	14.36	2.57
	ESL				6	9.00	2.58	6	9.00	2.58
								T3	19.00	3.56
	Total	35	14.14	4.18	25	12.04	3.30			
V1	Ac.	18	14.89	2.83	4	15.50	4.56	22	15.00	3.22
	Voc.	12	9.92	4.87	9	12.44	3.30	21	11.00	4.45
	Ex.	5	15.60	3.01	6	12.17	3.53	11	13.83	3.72
	ESL				6	8.83	3.93	6	8.83	3.93
								T3	22.00	3.56
	Total	35	13.29	4.42	25	12.00	4.29			
A2	Ac.	13	12.00	2.35	6	13.17	2.91	19	12.37	2.60
	Voc.	14	8.07	4.11	11	9.36	4.56	25	8.64	4.36
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	8.00	3.42	6	8.00	3.42
								T3	20.00	.82
	Total	27	9.96	3.91	23	10.00	4.36			
V2	Ac.	13	14.54	2.24	6	15.00	3.37	19	14.68	2.66
	Voc.	14	9.93	4.30	11	10.91	3.87	25	10.36	4.15
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	8.67	2.21	6	8.67	2.21
								T3	17.33	1.25
	Total	27	12.15	4.16	23	11.39	4.10			

NEs = Native English-speaking students.
NNs = Nonnative English-speaking students.
A1, A2 = academic textbook passages; V1, V2 = vocational.
Types of classes are academic (Ac.), vocational (Voc.),
an extra science class (Ex.), and ESL.
*Totals for students can be read vertically or horizontally.
Data on 3 teachers (T3) is added in column 5 only.

Table 6
Performance of Subjects on Cloze Tests Scored by Contextually-Acceptable Replacement Method

Test		NEs			NNs			Total*		
Form	Class	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
A1	Ac.	18	21.39	2.59	4	20.50	4.50	22	21.23	3.04
	Voc.	12	14.25	6.10	9	17.11	3.54	21	15.48	5.35
	Ex.	5	21.00	2.37	6	18.00	1.91	11	19.36	2.60
	ESL				6	13.17	3.24	6	13.17	3.24
								T3	26.00	1.41
	Total	35	18.86	5.31	25	16.92	4.11			
V1	Ac.	18	20.56	3.93	4	20.50	5.68	22	20.55	4.30
	Voc.	12	14.33	6.65	9	18.11	4.12	21	15.95	6.00
	Ex.	5	21.40	2.42	6	15.50	3.45	11	18.18	4.22
	ESL				6	12.33	4.11	6	12.33	4.11
								T3	27.00	.82
	Total	35	18.54	5.77	25	16.48	5.11			
A2	Ac.	13	17.54	2.41	6	19.33	5.47	19	18.11	3.75
	Voc.	14	12.07	5.92	11	13.45	5.81	25	12.68	5.91
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	10.67	3.90	6	10.67	3.90
								T3	25.00	1.63
	Total	27	14.70	5.33	23	14.26	6.19			
V2	Ac.	13	20.77	3.60	6	21.17	4.06	19	20.89	3.75
	Voc.	14	14.57	5.77	11	16.27	5.74	25	15.32	5.82
	Ex.									
	ESL				6	11.50	3.04	6	11.50	3.04
								T3	25.33	1.25
	Total	27	17.56	5.75	23	16.30	5.89			

NEs = Native English-speaking students.
NNs = Nonnative English-speaking students.
A1, A2 = academic textbook passages; V1, V2 = vocational.
Types of classes are academic (Ac.), vocational (Voc.), an extra science class (Ex.), and ESL.
*Totals for students can be read vertically or horizontally.
Data on 3 teachers (T3) is added in column 5 only.

In order to determine the reading level of a text, rather than asking how complex the syntax of the text is as measured by readability formulae, we need to ask whether the material provides multiple access to the required information.

In Cummins' (1981, 1982) terms is the material cognitively undemanding (easy) or cognitively demanding (difficult)? Is the material context embedded (with all sorts of extra clues) or is it context reduced (with few clues)? How do we deal with material in the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) arena? How can it be sheltered?

In Krashen's (1981, 1982) terms is the material providing *i + 1* comphensible input? Does the material provide the student a means to acquire knowledge because the input (*i*) is one increment (*+ 1*) above the present state of knowledge? Students in content area classes need to be able to apply increasingly higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy (factual knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation) to language in use.

Widdowson's (1978, 1979a, 1979b) concerns about authentic language and simplification are also worth considering. Often students are trained to develop reading skills with artificial or overly simplified texts. Is the material used to develop increasingly higher level skills representative of what the students must face outside the language or reading classroom? Are "simple" skills integrated into an organic, authentic whole? Does simplification of form necessarily mean easier text? Instead of restricting the amount of language to which the student is exposed, how do we focus the learner's attention on that language, keep the learner on the instructional task?

As Long (1982, 1985) and Long & Sato (1983) have emphasized in their seond language acquisition studies, what I have described as Plane 3 in the discourse—interaction—is a key feature for comprehensible input. The study reported here calls into question traditional assumptions about reading ease. When evaluating materials in all three planes of discourse, all information on the page needs to be considered. Only then can the effectiveness of a particular text be evaluated. The most effective textbooks, then, would be those which provide the greatest amount of comprehensible input through verbal and nonverbal means. Comprehension questions, at increasingly more interactive levels of Bloom's Taxonomy, would be another important indication of effectiveness.

Implications

Since these conclusions are based on a case study of two science textbooks and the students assigned to read them, they must be tempered by the possibility that the experimental portion of the study is unique to these textbooks and these students. Nevertheless, the study has pedagogical implications for the high school science curriculum in particular, and perhaps for other curriculum domains as well. It reflects a concern for teaching language as communication—for teaching use, rather than grammaticality of usage. Content area teachers need to evaluate textbooks from the perspective of the way the text comunicates information to the readers. As Widdowson (1979a) states, the real purpose of reading is "to derive from this interaction something which sustains or extends (the reader's) conceptual world" (p. 180). This claim implies that:

(l) Textbook writers who propose to write texts for limited English proficient students need an understanding of the features that promote comprehensibility: interaction and contextual clues. Sheltered English for science does not necessarily imply simplification of grammatical usage, i.e., making shorter sentences with shorter words. (*Sheltered English* is content area instruction in English provided for nonnative English speakers who have intermediate to advanced fluency in English [California State Department of Education, 1984]). Sheltered English is characterized in part by more contextual clues and interactions than would be usual among native English speakers. Interactions and redundancy in contextual clues through repetitions, expansions, and exemplifications in the verbal text and nonverbally through illustrations, charts, and photos are critical supports for the reader. The longer text may be better for the nonnative English speakers because of the interaction and redundancy factors.[5]

(2) Textbook selection for science should be based on the quality of science information conveyed through all planes of the text, not on readability formulae alone.

(3) Content area teachers need to teach their students how to interact with the textbooks. Teaching reading for the information of science involves teaching particular rhetorical functions that appear in science textbooks. For example, deductive paragraphs begin with generalizations and contain additive, contrastive and evaluative information.

(4) ESL teachers and content science teachers can work together to help students learn to interact with texts. Nonnative English speakers who are ready for sheltered English instruction can benefit from academic program texts if the science teacher provides access to the material by teaching students how to read the textbook for the scientific information it contains. The ESL teachers can begin the process of preparation for content instruction by integrating a functional-notional approach using authentic material from science textbooks in the ESL classroom. Such instruction integrates the purposes for communicating—functions like explaining an idea or making a judgment—with the notions of grammar and vocabulary taught in traditional language classes. ESL students may be trained to predict the flow of a paragraph from generalization through additive informatives to particularizations. Both ESL and content area teachers can provide study skills strategies of the SQ3R type for their students.[6] And certainly, both the ESL and content teachers can participate in sheltered English training activities, exchange vocabulary lists, and share course outlines. Something as simple as making sure the ESL teacher has a copy of the content area textbook to use as a reference is an important initial step.

Suggestions for Sheltering the English of Science Textbooks

Below are 15 starter ideas for ESL and content teachers to assist the limited English proficient reader in gaining knowledge from textbooks. This preliminary list is provided here as a sample of the range of activities teachers can use. These sheltering suggestions enhance interaction and context clues (1, 2, 6, 9, 15); modify the presentation of the material (3, 8, 11, 12); raise student awareness of the structure of the information (5, 10, 13); and personalize the learning to the students' needs (2, 7, 14).

1. Use confirmation checks: Is this what it means?
2. Use comprehension checks: Do you understand what it says?
3. Use clarification requests: What do you mean by that?
4. Repeat or expand through restatements, antonymns, synonyms, explanations, diagrams, pictures, and other examples.
5. Use a variety of question types at increasingly higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy and both display and referential questions. *Display questions* seek only answers to what the teacher already knows, while *referential questions* ask for information which the questioner doesn't have.
6. Use problem-solving, task-based, and cooperative learning activities in the classroom and for homework assignments.
7. Personalize the lessons to the students' background.
8. Provide wait time and brainstorming for student responses.
9. Use a multisensory approach.
10. Provide various study skill strategies. Common questions for the students to pose about material are: What does the title mean? What do you already know about the topic? What do the illustrations tell about the topic? What do the comprehension questions indicate to be of importance? (Several academic teachers I've observed assign the students to write 10 to 25 questions per chapter for which they will find answers.)
11. Model the reading aloud while the students begin silent reading. The teacher poses questions while reading aloud to show the prediction stratgegies used while reading. (I've used this strategy for both content area and literature readings and noticed I could focus on, expand, and personalize new vocabulary through the read aloud/question/predict strategy.)
12. Ask students to paraphrase key ideas after reading.
13. Have the students transfer the information to a different form. Widdowson (1979b) suggests nonverbal translation from prose text to charts and vice versa to show relationships, such as concept-class characteristics.
14. Have students personalize key concepts by role playing.
15. Set up debates to clarify and evaluate key issues.

What began as a detailed discourse analysis of the textbooks used in secondary science classrooms has evolved into a brainstorming on sheltering stategies for content instruction. The reader is invited to extend the list of strategies for all content instruction.[5] ■

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[2] I conducted my studies in the early 1980s and first presented the results nationally at the 1984 University of Southern California Partnerships in Research: Universities and Secondary Schools Symposium, cosponsored by CATESOL. My dissertation won second place in the 1984 NACBE/NABE international competition: Outstanding Dissertations in Bilingual Education.

[3] For a detailed discussion of these data collection procedures and findings, see Addison (1983).

[4] This is consistent with Wilga Rivers' view that repeated presentation should precede production practice. I amplify this by claiming that repeated and varied presentation enriches the input and increases the probability that the input will become comprehensible.

[5] SQ3R is a reading strategy used in high school classes. Its steps are: scan, question, read, recite, review.

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Demographic Trends and Student Progress in the San Jose City College ESL Program, 1982-1987

■ **In the past 10 years immigrant ESL students have become a growing presence on community college campuses throughout California. Because the need for ESL was at first regarded as temporary and because its growth has been so rapid, there has been little opportunity to assess the progress and prospects of students and programs. This study follows 1,000 students entering a credit ESL program over 10 semesters—from fall, 1982 to spring, 1987. It also examines the overall demographic trends of the program. Finally, it makes recommendations primarily to ensure equity in issues affecting ESL programs.**

Within the past 10 years, the ESL program at San Jose City College has grown dramatically. This growth is not surprising when the changing demographics of the state of California are considered. The Master Plan for Higher Education notes that the area of ESL is the single largest category with the largest enrollment of any segment of education in California (Joint Committee for Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education, 1987, p. 15). ESL was not even mentioned in the Master Plan of 1960, yet it is destined to play an important role in all segments of California education at least through the turn of the century.

The increase in ESL enrollment at San Jose City College and throughout the state has been so rapid that there has been little time to assess data in order to formulate decisions. This study is an attempt to examine the data on a random sample of 1,000 ESL students who enrolled at San Jose City College over a 5-year period from fall, 1982 to spring, 1987. The study is the first of its kind in this district and the state. It examines the characteristics of the students of the San Jose City College ESL program as to national/ethnic origins, linguistic backgrounds, length of time in the United States, and local high school attendance. It determines the rate at which ESL students receive AA degrees and transfer to four-year institutions. It also looks at the reasons why ESL students attend San Jose City College and the number of semesters they attend. Additionally, the study examines the age, gender, and district geographical distribution of the subjects but, in the interest of brevity, this information, has been left out of this report.

Method

Incoming ESL students fill out a student information profile at the time they take the ESL placement test. The questions on the profile have varied over the semesters for the purpose of simplification, but they have generally contained questions on national origin, language background, and length of time in the United States. Some semesters' profiles also contain information on years of education completed and high school attendance in the United States. Enough data on these categories exist to make some generalizations.

One hundred profiles of students who took the ESL placement test were randomly selected from each semester's group based on the fourth digit of their telephone numbers. As only 49% to 69% of each semester's group actually enrolled, it was necessary to complete the sample by continuing the process of random selection.

The profiles were examined for each category. Additionally, student records were obtained with the assistance of the Registrar. These records were examined to extract information about the students' careers at San Jose City College, data not available from the student information profile.

The most difficult aspect of tracking the students has been following them beyond San Jose City College. San Jose State University, through its Relations with Schools Office, supplied the names of all SJCC students in attendance and their grade point averages. Names, however, like their owners, become Americanized; so it was sometimes difficult to recognize the Jennifer of San Jose State's records as the Ngoc-Dung of the study. Fortunately, social security numbers could be used for verification.

The records of the University of California system are not as comprehensive as those of the CSU system. Through the President's Office of the University of California, it was possible to obtain only the number of SJCC students transferring to the University of California system as of fall, 1985 (a total of 5). Fortunately, by maintaining personal ties to students long after they left SJCC, I was able to list some of the individuals from the sample who transferred to the UC system and to institutions outside the state. Because of this reliance on personal contact, it is probable that the transfer of ESL students to four-year institutions is actually underestimated.

History of SJCC's ESL Program

From its modest start during the early 1970s, the San Jose City College ESL program swelled with the influx of Vietnamese boat people after 1978. In fall, 1984 when fees of up to $50 per semester were imposed, the ESL program became the largest in the two-college district, while enrollments in the other areas declined. From an almost exclusively Indochinese population in 1980, the program now serves students from 57 language backgrounds and 76 countries. The first census enrollment in fall, 1985 stood at 1995. Two years later (fall, 1987) it was 1990. In that semester, SJCC's ESL staff consisted of 7 full-time and 25 part-time teachers, reflecting an imbalance of part-time to full-time staff, an imbalance endemic in ESL programs. Classes are now offered mornings, afternoons, and evenings Monday through Thursday, mornings and afternoons on Friday, and on Saturday mornings. The classes are taught on campus and at two satellite locations.

The curriculum itself has undergone two changes, converting it from a model appropriate to adult education to one that concentrates on separate skills, a more appropriate curriculum for a credit program. Currently, 20 different classes at six levels through freshman English are offered. The English proficiency at each of the levels is as follows:

Level 0 (adult education referral): These learners have insufficient background in English to profit from instruction in the lowest of ESL classes at SJCC. These learners are referred to adult education centers in the community.

Level 1: Learners at this level are able to function in most survival situations. They are literate in the English alphabet and able to read simplified materials and to understand slow, simplified speech.

Level 2: Learners at this level have progressed beyond the survival stage and can read and converse about a limited range of topics.

Level 3: Low intermediate level learners are able to function in certain selected courses outside of the ESL program, such as mathematics. A shift in emphasis from listening/speaking to written skills begins at this level in the SJCC program.

Level 4: High intermediate learners are able to converse with increasing fluency. Emphasis on writing skills becomes heavier. The learner may enroll in vocational courses.

Level 5: Advanced learners are able to converse in fluent, if accented, English. Emphasis on writing increases as learners' final course essays are board graded with those of native English-speaking students. Learners are deemed ready for academic courses.

Level 6: The curriculum at this level continues to emphasize writing. Students are expected to write 8,000 words in the form of a documented research paper and essays. Board grading of final essays with those of native English speakers continues.

Program Trends

National/Ethnic Origin

Throughout this study, the largest group of students entering SJCC's ESL program has been from Vietnam. However, this number has decreased from 86% in fall, 1981 to 35% in fall, 1987.

The second largest group from fall, 1981 through spring, 1986 has been Chinese from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and various Asian nations in which Chinese have settled.

In fall, 1986 the total percentage of entering ESL students from all of Latin America (Mexico, Central and South America) exceeded the Chinese percentage and continued to do so through fall, 1987. However, in view of the size of the Spanish-speaking population in San Jose, this population is underrepresented in the college and among those receiving AA degrees and/or transferring to four-year institutions. Other underrepresented groups in this study include Filipinos and Portuguese.

The Korean and Chinese communities in San Jose appear to be growing while the number of Laotians has decreased by 90% due to out-migration.

Table 1

National/Ethnic Origin of Entering SJCC ESL Students, 1981-1987

	F81	F82	S83	F83	S84	F84	S85	F85	S86	F86	S87	F87
Vietnam	86%	65%	59%	46%	48%	54%	45%	50%	35%	48%	34%	35%
Mexico	5%	3	4	4	7	7	6	9	10	15	10	10
Africa	—	3	1	6	5	5	5	4	10	2	5	6
China, Hong Kong, Taiwan	—	4	4	7	8	8	5	8	14	6	7	6
SE Asia (minus Vietnam)	3%	7	17	13	13	7	13	8	3	5	9	8
Europe	—	3	—	2	1	—	1	—	3	3	1	—
Central Africa	1%	2	2	2	4	6	3	3	3	6	2	6
South America	—	2	4	2	2	2	5	2	6	2	5	4
Middle East	1%	2	—	7	4	6	5	3	4	4	7	7
South Asia	—	1	2	3	4	1	3	2	3	3	6	6
Korea	2%	5	3	6	2	4	8	5	4	—	7	6
U.S.	2%	—	3	1	—	—	—	1	2	3	2	2
Japan	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Philippines	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	4	3	3	5	4
Vietnamese Chinese	21%	18	10	6	7	17	14	15	4	11	8	8
Total Chinese	21%	23%	19%	17%	17%	27%	20%	27%	19%	17%	15%	16%
Total Latin Amer.	6%	7%	10%	7%	13%	15%	14%	14%	19%	23%	17%	21%
Total Asian	91%	84%	84%	73%	73%	74%	72%	76%	59%	62%	63%	59%

Although the number of Asians in this study has declined from 84% in fall, 1982, it has hovered around 60% since spring, 1986. Asians represent 73% of those in this study who received AA degrees and 58% of those in this study who transferred to four-year institutions.

Over 52% of the students entering SJCC's ESL program are refugees. At its peak in 1981, this group comprised 90% of the program's enrollment.

Students from 76 countries have studied in SJCC's ESL program. This diversity reflects changing realities in the world and promises continued enrollment and importance to the ESL program in the future.

Linguistic Background

Since fall, 1982 students entering SJCC's ESL program have come from 57 language backgrounds. For the purpose of this study, the major languages of the current ESL population are the most relevant. As of spring, 1987 over 80% of this group speaks one of the following languages: Vietnamese (27%); Spanish (19%); Chinese (16%); Persian, including Dari (11%); Korean (7%); and Cambodian (5%). Although the percentage of Korean and Cambodian speakers seems small, the level of English proficiency of these groups dictates a need for some first language assistance in getting through the maze of procedures to enroll in the college.

Length of Time in the United States

Length of residence in the United States was examined and five categories were established: 1 year or less; 1-2 years; 3-4 years; 5-9 years; 10+ years. To determine actual trends, however, it was more meaningful to combine certain categories.

In the earliest semesters of this study—through spring, 1983—the largest percentages of entering ESL students (79% and 75% respectively) resided in the United States for 2 years or less. Starting in spring, 1986 a new pattern began to emerge. Entering students who had resided in the United States 3 to more than 10 years consistently represented 54% of the sample. In fall, 1987 that group represented 63% of all new students.

This trend indicates that first time entrants in SJCC's ESL program have been in the United States longer than their counterparts entering the program before fall, 1985. One explanation of this trend is that these students may have taken adult education classes and then decided that a move to a community college was their next step. Because of the length of time they have spent in the United States, their comprehension and fluency may also be greater than that of earlier groups. The implications of this fact for placement testing and teaching are great. Testing methods will have to include an assessment of these skills through an oral interview and a reconsideration of the present testing instrument.

Since many of these individuals have undoubtedly taken adult education classes emphasizing life skills, the curriculum focus of SJCC's program should continue to explore and accommodate the range of their increasingly subtle and sophisticated language needs.

It should be noted that the shift in enrollment to those who have lived in the United States 3 or more years coincides with increased foreign language advertising by SJCC's ESL program.

Previous Educational Background of Entering SJCC ESL Students, 1981-1983.

Although data on previous educational background were not gathered for eight semesters of this study, earlier data show that an average of 55% of the students entering SJCC's ESL program finished 12 years of education abroad.

An average of 22% attended universities abroad—9% appear to have received degrees, while 2% did some graduate work. The figure on university attendance may be understated because of the mistaken belief on the part of some ESL students that access to the community college is denied university graduates.

There appears to be a marked relationship between previous educational background and success in SJCC's academically oriented ESL program.

Entering SJCC ESL Students Who Have Attended American High Schools

Since spring, 1986 questions about high school attendance in the United States have been added to the student information profile. A steady 17% of those taking the placement test in the fall have attended American high schools compared to a steady 11% who take the exam in the spring. A slightly higher percentage of high school attendees who are fall candidates for ESL classes place at lower levels of ESL classes than their spring semester counterparts.

Betweeen 76% and 89% of incoming ESL students who have attended 4 years of high school in the United States placed below ESL Level 5 (pre-Subject A). This figure is higher than the college's estimated 65% of American born, English-speaking students who place at this level.

A strong relationship seems to exist between school attendance, length of time in the United States and advanced ESL placement. Students who attend high school and then go to work before entering SJCC seem to have a higher level of English proficiency. Not enough data is available to support this hypothesis at the present time. However, it is apparent that ESL support will be needed for students who have attended American high schools for some time to come.

Interests of ESL Students Fall, 1982-Spring, 1987

Six patterns of study were established among the 1,000 subjects in this study: ESL only; ESL and general subjects; ESL and vocational subjects; ESL, general, and vocational subjects; no ESL, only vocational; no ESL, only general.

An average of 60% of the subjects have gone on to take courses other than ESL, pointing to the fact that the ESL population of the college does not exist in and of itself but serves as a feeder to other courses and programs in the college and the district.

A surprisingly low 28% take vocational courses at the college. The reason for this is that students may be taking vocational courses through other private institutions because the courses are accelerated and require less English proficiency.

It is felt that a significant number of Level 1-4 students would have benefitted by taking courses with a credit/no credit option as their remedial English counterparts do instead of taking courses for letter grades. With this option, students' self-esteem would be enhanced and they would undoubtedly persist in their studies at SJCC for a longer time. Use of the credit/no credit option would also banish any claims of unfairness and the possibility of legal action against the district.

Number of Semesters at SJCC

The average length of time spent at SJCC by the subjects in this study is 4 semesters. More than 18% persist for more than that number of semesters.

AA recipients spent 5+ semesters (2.7 years) before receiving their degrees while transfer students spent 6 semesters (3 years) at SJCC.

Table 2

AA Recipients and Transfer Students

Starting Semester	AA	Transfer	Still at SJCC as of fall, 1987
Fall, 1982	4%	5%	9%
Spring, 1983	1%	2%	9%
Fall, 1983	—	6%	12%
Spring, 1984	2%	5%	9%
Fall, 1984	2%	4%	24%
Spring, 1985	1%	2%	24%
Fall, 1985	—	—	25%
Spring, 1986	—	—	28%
Fall, 1986	—	—	43%
Spring, 1987	—	—	50%
Average through Spring, 1985	1.66%	4%	

AA Recipients and Transfer Students

Table 2 indicates the percentage of ESL students from this sample who received AA degrees and/or transferred to four-year institutions. Also included in the chart is the percentage of students from each semester's entering group who were still continuing their studies as of fall, 1987.

The average percentage of subjects from this study who receive AA degrees is 1.66%. The average percentage who transfer to four-year institutions is 4%. Data for the subjects in this study stops as of the spring, 1985 entering group so that final figures are not in for all groups. They continue to pursue their goals. Nine percent of the subjects from fall, 1982 and spring, 1983 were continuing at SJCC as of fall, 1987.

The transfer rate for ESL students in this study is probably higher than the transfer rate for their native English-speaking counterparts. Hard data on transfers from any of the local colleges is difficult to obtain. The most common practice is to use the statement of intent at the time of entrance to represent transfer rate.

Students from Ethiopia were over represented as 16% of the transfers in this study, a proportion exceeding their presence in the study. This fact may reflect the composition of SJCC's student population from that region. For the most part, they are under 35 years of age—still young enough to consider a university education— and were university bound students in their own countries who had their studies interrupted by civil disorder. Students from Vietnam and Latin America represented 33% and 4% of the transfer students in this study, proportions below their numbers in this sample. These under representations probably reflect the age span in these populations. In the case of the Vietnamese, the number of subjects with previous university degrees is reflected. The same factor operates for Latin Americans, coupled with a higher number of subjects at the lower end of the educational continuum.

The performance (measured by GPA) of subjects from this study at San Jose State University, where 45.8% of them have transferred, is on the whole above that of all SJCC transfers and all SJSU students.

Conclusions

The demographic trends in the San Jose City College ESL program have changed significantly in all of the areas considered in the 5-year period of this study. Prior to the completion of this study, some concern had been expressed that the decrease in Vietnamese enrollments in the college signaled the decline of SJCC's ESL program. To those experienced in international education, however, the diversification of a program's ESL population is viewed as a sign of health and a reflection of national and international realities. The ESL population at SJCC is bound to change as community trends and immigration patterns fluctuate.

Despite concerns about the program's vitality, the size of the program (and indeed ESL programs statewide) does not appear to be diminishing. In fall, 1985 the program had 1995 enrollments. Two years later, in fall, 1987 that number held constant at 1990. In spring, 1988 it rose to 2,065, a 3.5% increase. In these three semesters, in fact in all semesters for the previous 5 years, there have been waiting lists of students who could not be accommodated by the SJCC ESL classes, oversized as they are. The San Jose City College ESL program is not only here today. It promises to be here for many tomorrows to come.

The changes that are chronicled in this study illustrate the dynamic nature of ESL in California caused by the differing characteristics and needs of the learners. Such volatility needs constant monitoring; as learners' preparation and requirements change, programs and institutions must modify their approaches and practices to remain responsive to their communities.

One of the considerations should, perhaps, be the manner in which institutions judge their success, namely, through the number of their students who transfer to four-year institutions. It should be borne in mind that pursuing an AA degree and transferring to a four-year institution are only two of the reasons students select a community college. The colleges are vital to their communities in providing vocational training and skills improvement, including the acquisition of English for the growing foreign born population, as well as for the educational enrichment of the population as a whole.

The importance of this study increases and can be generalized to other colleges in the state when the information it contains is matched to practices within other areas of the institution. With that in mind, the following recommendations are made.

Recommendations

1. Examine your college's grading system. Are ESL students in beginning level classes graded on a credit/no credit or a letter grade basis? Are their options equal to those of their American born peers? What is the penalty for failing a course under either option? Are ESL students informed of their option to clear their status should they be put on probation or dismissed? Almost universally, the concept of second chance is unknown in the educational systems that ESL students have experienced.

2. Inform incoming ESL students of the full range of your college's vocational and academic offerings. Use multilingual brochures and information as necessary. Arrange presentations by counselors, vocational instructors, and students who have chosen specific majors or successfully transferred to four-year institutions to familiarize students with their options.

3. In the absence of multilingual staff to explain college procedures to incoming ESL students, make audiotapes or videotapes of orientation information available to incoming students in their own languages.

State the availabliity of these tapes in native language admissions procedures pamphlets.

4. Urge your administration to hire full-time certificated and/or classified personnel who speak the languages of your largest populations. Being able to give that individual's telephone number in foreign language advertising and knowing that new students will be dealt with courteously and effectively is extremely helpful to potential students and your college's staff.

5. Have instructors or trained aides in your program administer your placement test battery and spend time explaining your program to potential students. Enrollment in SJCC's ESL program decreased by 20% when ESL testing was turned over to the Testing Center. Whether it is the reassuring presence of actual teachers or ESL professionals' ability to speak "easy English," first contact is very important.

6. Make certain that your program is being supported with funds commensurate to those it earns for the college. Examine your budget for supplies on a per-student or per-enrollment basis. Compare the ratio of part-time to full-time faculty in your area with those in other areas of the college.

7. Conduct periodic needs assessments to see if your program is offering appropriate courses for your students at appropriate times and locations. A greater number of your students might profit more by advanced listening/speaking classes than essay writing. See that classes are offered at times that are convenient to the students' work schedules.

8. Be flexible in scheduling classes. As those who have worked in intensive ESL programs know, the exact turnout of students at each proficiency level cannot be predicted until the students appear and are tested. Community college schedules are usually made many months before the semester begins with a fixed number of classes at each level. If more beginning level students appear in a given semester than intermediate level students, provisions should be made to create additional sections of beginning level classes to balance the closed intermediate level classes as needed. This practice also calls for flexibility on the part of staff who must be prepared to teach where the need arises.

9. Serve on college committees and the faculty senate to make certain that the interests of ESL students and the ESL program are being served throughout the college. Being a good teacher is not enough. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Postsecondary ESL Programs in California: A Profile[1]

This article reports the results of a survey of postsecondary English as a second language programs conducted in spring, 1985 under the auspices of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA), Region XII. Student demographics, preparation and compensation of faculty, staffing levels, placement testing procedures, number of levels and contact hours offered, and other programmatic data are compared for programs serving primarily nonimmigrant (visa) international students versus those serving permanent residents, refugees and other nonnative English speakers. Also discussed are administrative concerns such as academic credit, needs and priorities, program longevity, and budget control.

In recent years (particularly since 1975), with the influx of refugees and immigrants and the rise in language minority populations, ESL enrollment among nonvisa students in postsecondary programs has increased dramatically. These trends are expected to continue at least through the end of this century and will have a major impact on postsecondary education in California as the 1985 report by the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) notes:

> Between 1950 and 1980, the total population of the United States grew by just under 50 percent, yet in the same period, the Hispanic population grew by 265 percent—making it without question the country's fastest growing minority. In the latter half of the 1970's the rate of immigration to this country of Asians was swelled by large numbers of refugees. The secondary effects of migrations from this influx will continue to be felt for years to come. Nowhere have the effects of these trends been more evident than in the state of California. Because race or ethnicity is an important variable affecting postsecondary participation, these trends will continue to affect postsecondary education on through the end of the century. (p. 117)

Logically, postsecondary English as a second language programs should be among the first areas impacted by these demographic changes. Originally designed to develop the language skills of nonimmigrant (visa) international students, how quickly and how well have these programs been able to adapt to their new audience? More specifically, what programs are available to address the language development needs of the immigrant, refugee, and language minority postsecondary ESL student and in what ways do these differ from programs serving the traditional ESL audience, international students? These questions motivated the present study.

At our own institution, the response to this demographic shift has been a split ESL program serving international students and permanent residents in separate classes. Many institutions have attempted to serve both populations in one program, despite differences in prior educational experience, socioeconomic status, level of acculturation, learning/acquisition opportunities, purpose and motivation for learning English and a host of other variables that we know affect the language learning process. Still other institutions have continued to serve only the international student population, making no distinction among in-state residents regardless of native language or English proficiency.

Complicating language pedagogy decisions is the issue of funding: ESL programs for international students can be a source of revenue from tuition and higher out-of-state fees; *remedial* funding is often linked to programs for established minorities and new funding sources are difficult to find in this era of tight budgets. Moreover, the remedial label can be a two-edged sword: While providing temporary funds and favorable staffing formulae, it can provide justification for loss of academic credit which may result in a switch to continuing or extended education or support service status.

In setting up the study, we wanted to know:

1. Who is being served and where?
2. What population, if any, is being underserved?
3. How similar are progams which serve domestic and international ESL students?
4. What institutional attachments do such programs have?
5. What resources support these programs and are the resources adequate?
6. What needs and priorities do program administrators report?

What we found, while not entirely unexpected, confirmed that crucial differences do exist between ESL instruction and services available to immigrant and to nonimmigrant students in postsecondary programs in Region XII, differences which may well be reflected in other areas of the nation and at other educational levels.

Method

The data for this study were supplied by a survey of postsecondary ESL programs in California. The survey instrument was developed by the New Americans Committee of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) to gather current data about the nature of the ESL population and the programs serving them in

Table 1
Summary of Findings: Student Population

Abbreviations:
PR = permanent resident program (over 30% of students are PR)
INTL = international student program
N = number of programs reporting
R = range
M = mode

a. What percentage of your student population are permanent residents of the United States:

Aggregate (N = 57)	PR (N = 26)	INTL (N = 31)
40%	67%	10%

b. What percentage of your student population would you classify as refugee?

Aggregate (N = 57)	PR (N = 26)	INTL (N = 31)
11%	21%	3%

c. What are the approximate percentages by age group in your student population?

Age	Aggregate	PR	INTL
18-22	46%	31%	56%
23-30	33%	34%	32%
31-40	14%	23%	9%
over 40	7%	12%	3%

d. What is the approximate balance between male and female students in your program?

	Aggregate	PR	INTL
male	52%	51%	59%
female	48%	49%	41%

e. What are the approximate percentages of the following ethnic/nationality groups within your program?

Major groups all programs

Armenian	0.1%	Iranian	3.8%
Cambodian	0.5%	Japanese	10.6%
Chinese	11.6%	Korean	8.9%
E. European	1.9%	Samoan	0.3%
Filipino	2.1%	Thai	3.3%
Latino	14.5%	Vietnamese	6.2%
Indonesian	4.2%		

Major groups

PR	INTL
Latino	Chinese
Vietnamese	Japanese
Chinese	Latino
Korean	Arab
Filipino	Indonesian
Japanese	Iranian
Iranian	

h. What approximate percentage of your students are currently employed?

	Aggregate	PR	INTL
full-time	23% (N = 40)	35%	17%
part-time	27% (N = 45)	32%	18%

NAFSA's Region XII. The instrument was modeled after several earlier studies, most notably on a 1983 cross program evaluation of major intensive English programs reported on by C. Grosse and D. Lubell at the 18th Annual TESOL Convention in Houston and a massive study of the California community college ESL programs conducted by D. Mills in 1984. The survey instrument was a four-page questionnaire which used both open and closed questions. Closed questions involving quantifiable data were tallied and averaged. Open-ended short answer questions were classified according to the similarity and frequency of response and then summarized.

Surveys were sent nonrandomly to 281 postsecondary ESL programs located in the target region and listed in the NAFSA directory; of these, 57 provided usable responses. Despite the low rate of return (approximately 20%), the sample includes a representataive cross section of large and small, public and private, affiliated and independent programs covering most of the geographic region surveyed.

For the purposes of this study, programs surveyed were divided into two categories: Those serving at least 30% permanently resettled ESL students (immigrants, refugees, and other language minorities) were operationally labeled PR (permanent resident) (N = 26); programs serving predominantly nonimmigrant (visa-bearing) international students were labeled INTL (N = 31).

McGroarty (1985) points out that surveys provide a useful, if approximate, guide to concerns of a group, and the concerns and perceptions of the ESL service providers, while possibly not hard data, are nonetheless crucial to the quality of the service delivered.

Although the quality of program performance cannot be directly assessed by an essentially quantitative study, quantity in terms of contact hours, staff positions, salaries, full-time faculty, and the like can provide a valuable indication of the services provided and points of comparison across programs.

[See Table 1]

Discussion: Student Population

Of the programs surveyed, 40% of the students in postsecondary programs are permanent residents. Although comparison figures are not available, this probably represents a major increase over 10 years ago. In the PR programs, the students are nearly equally divided between males and females, whereas among the INTL programs, the balance is roughly 60% to 40% (males over females).

Regarding ethnic representation, there appears to be cause for concern in the low representation of Latinos and Southeast Asians. The goal of equal opportunity in education is a balanced representation among ethnic groups at all levels. However, when data of ethnic populations enrolled in ESL adult basic education programs are compared with enrollment data in postsecondary ESL programs, there are major discrepancies for Latinos and Southeast Asians.

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Table 2
Selected Student Populations Compared: Adult ABE ESL Versus Postsecondary

	Adult ed ESL enrollments (1982-83)	Postsecondary ESL enrollments (1985)
Latino	46.0%	14.5%
Chinese	16.6%	11.6%
Vietnamese	13.5%	6.2%
Lao	5.9%	0.0%
Cambodian	3.2%	0.5%
Korean	2.5%	8.9%
Japanese	1.8%	10.6%

Note: These findings must be considered tenuous since the postsecondary data are based upon estimates.

Adult Basic Education Survey (1982-83)
Note: These data are from *VELEP (Vocational Education for the Limited English Proficient): Pattern and Prospects*, by D. Hemphill, S. Mao, T. Lee, A. Yee, & S. Chabot, 1985. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Resources Development Center. Adapted by permission.

Given the numbers in Table 2, it would seem that more support is needed to bridge the gap from adult basic education programs to postsecondary education for these populations.

Table 3
Summary of Findings: Program Information

	PR	INTL
a. How many levels of ESL do you offer?	4.2 (M = 3)	4.2 (M = 3)
b. Do you offer college/transfer credit?	yes = 60%	yes = 26%
c. How many levels prior to freshman composition do you offer?	4.6 (M = 3)	4.1 (M = 3)
d. What kind of placement instrument do you use?		
Standardized/commercial	64%	80%
Component of test(s):		
Grammar	76%	96%
Writing sample	64%	90%
Reading	52%	83%
Listening comprehension	44%	66%
Interview (individual)	32%	40%
Cloze dictation	8%	10%
How long does it take to administer the test(s)?		
less than 1 hour	24%	6%
1-2 hours	64%	70%
3-5 hours	8%	23%
e. How many weeks are in one session/term?	13.9 (m = 18)	11.3 (M = 10)
f. What is the average enrollment per term?	400 (R = 15-1800)	68 (R = 15-185)

g. What is the average number of students per class?	20.6 (M = 20)	12.8 (M = 15)
h. How many class hours per week do you offer?		
At introductory level	6.9 (M = 6)	21.8 (M = 25)
At intermediate level	7.5 (No mode)	20.4 (M = 25)
At advanced level	7.1 (M = 3)	18.4 (M = 20)
i. Do you offer weekend/evening sessions?	yes = 80%	yes = 68%
j. Do you provide special contracts or short courses?	yes = 32%	yes = 68%
k. What is the relationship of your program to your department?		
ESL department	40%	33%
Extension/continuing ed	4%	30%
English/linguistics department	28%	6%
Modern language department	0	6%
Study skills laboratory	4%	0
Also: language arts division, developmental studies, communications department, liberal arts area, School of Professional and Behavioral Studies, student services division, and so forth.		
l. How many years has your program existed?	15.2 (M = 10) (R = 3-50)	9.6 (M = 3) (R = 2-40)
m. Which of the following staff positions does your program have?		
Director/department head	60%	93%
Assistant/associate director	8%	26%
Curriculum/academic coordinator	4%	50%
Activities coordinator	0	26%
Level/skills coordinator	8%	10%
Testing coordinator	20%	16%
Laboratory specialist	12%	6%
Counselor/advisor	24%	33%
Immigration technician	8%	46%
Clerical staff	36%	73%
Full-time contract faculty	92%	90%
Teaching assistants	40%	16%
n. What academic preparation do your instructors have?		
Bachelor's	32%	30%
Master's	88%	96%
Doctorate	32%	36%
Certificate	12%	6%
Average number of years in teaching	10.2 (R = 5-20)	8.0 (R = 3-15)
Average number of years in ESL	8.6	6.8
Other staff requirements:		
Curriculum development	52%	66%
Materials development	44%	63%
Committee assignments	40%	36%
Placement/level tests	36%	66%
Student advising	28%	43%
Registration/orientation	32%	40%
Publication/research	0	10%
Knowledge of foreign language	44%	33%
Experience abroad	24%	36%
o. What are the sources of your funding?		
Tuition	n = 4	n = 26
General fund	n = 19	n = 4

Government/private grants	n = 6	n = 3
p. Who oversees your budget?		
In-house fiscal officer	12%	10%
Director/department chair	24%	30%
Dean	28%	16%
Vice-president	4%	3%
Institution budget office	8%	3%
Combination of above	36%	33%
q. Approximate salary range for full-time faculty	$28,400 (R = 17-42K)	$20,217 (R = 12-38K)
r. Approximate salary range for part-time faculty	$22/hr (R = $12-35)	$21/hr (R = $7.50-36)

Discussion

Both PR and INTL programs offer an average of 4.2 levels of instruction, with 3 (presumably beginning, intermediate, and advanced) being the mode. Sixty percent of PR programs offer baccalaureate or transfer credit, while only 26% of INTL programs do, possibly indicative of the origins of PR programs within degree-granting academic institutions.[2] Also in the area of term length, PR programs reflect this closer relationship with the parent institution, having a modal term length of 18 weeks (a typical academic semester) rather than the 10 weeks of the INTL programs. Indeed, class size and contact hours of PR programs appear to reflect staffing formulae for regular academic programs: PR class sizes average 20.6 while INTL class sizes average 12.8. Even more crucially, perhaps, the average contact hours offered by INTL programs are nearly triple the contact hours provided by PR programs (see Table 1); three PR programs mentioned increased contact hours at lower levels as among the program's most pressing needs, indicating the administrators' awareness that ESL programs require different staffing formulae than other kinds of academic programs.

Size of the programs also differs significantly, with PR programs averaging 400 students per term (with a range of 15 to 1800) compared to an average of 67.9 students per term in INTL programs (with a range of 15 to 185). Program size is thus a major concern for both types of programs, but in different directions. INTL program administrators repeatedly cite recruitment and growth as among their highest priorities, since larger programs enjoy both greater resources and, presumably, greater political clout with the administration of the parent or host institution, while PR program administrators cite the need for a floor on the English proficiency of the students they are required to serve as one means of making their programs more manageable.

The majority of both kinds of program (64% of PR and 80% of INTL) use standardized, commercially produced placement tests. By far the most prevalent is the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP), frequently in combination with supplements developed in-house such as writing samples and interviews.[3] The most common test components include grammar (96% of INTL, 76% of

PR programs), writing (90% of INTL and 64% of PR programs), reading (83% of INTL and 52% of PR programs), and listening comprehension (66% of INTL and 44% of PR programs). INTL programs appear to spend more time testing incoming students (see Table 3); some PR programs report using no test or interview only, or tests designed for native speakers (Nelson-Denny or the CSU English Placement Test).

Both kinds of programs include all academic English skills in their curricula, with special emphasis on writing. INTL programs also mentioned TOEFL preparation and cultural adjustment while PR programs mentioned survival skills—basic oral proficiency and literacy. The electives offered by both kinds of programs were also similar, though INTL programs appeared to stress ESP, particularly English for business and for computer science, while PR programs stressed advanced level skills and areas such as idioms, VESL, and accent reduction. Frequently mentioned electives include typing, notetaking, and other study skills, literature and current events classes, language laboratory, and vocabulary development. PR programs are almost five times as likely to offer weekend or evening sections than are INTL programs, but these programs tend to parallel the daytime offerings, albeit on a more limited basis. INTL program evening and weekend courses tend to be targeted to specific audiences: industry or special groups who meet on site in contract arrangements.

Staffing

Staffing is, of course, crucial to the range and, less obviously, to the depth of services offered. Programs serving INTL students report considerably more staff positions and more differentiated staffing than do programs serving immigrant students. For example, 93% of the INTL programs have a director (73% full-time) while only 60% of the PR programs have a similar position (40% full-time). Half the INTL programs have a staff position for handling curriculum or academic coordination. About a quarter report having an assistant or associate director, whereas exceedingly few PR programs (4% and 8% respectively) have such positions. Thus, INTL programs may have an administrative group to handle planning, curriculum development, and other long-range needs, an advantage not available to PR programs. Also, more than twice as many INTL programs indicated clerical staff positions (73% versus 36% for PR programs), although some of the services for PR programs, particularly clerical, student counseling, and immigration advising may be handled by personnel shared with the parent institution.

Instructional faculty in both kinds of programs are likely to have a Master's degree and to have entered ESL from other fields, almost all reporting a greater number of years teaching experience than years in the field of ESL. However, faculty in PR programs are slightly more experienced than those in INTL programs, having an average of over 10 years' experience in teaching, over 8½ in ESL, versus 8 and 6 years for teachers in INTL programs. Differentials in salary (see below) may be the reason behind this slight disparity in experience.

As far as noninstructional duties are concerned, both kinds of programs require curriculum and materials development as the most prevalent nonteaching activities; but INTL programs require placement testing, registration, and orientation duties while PR programs require committee assignments even more frequently than testing, reflecting perhaps the duties of non-ESL faculty in the parent institution.

An unexpectedly large differential in full-time faculty salaries was revealed by the survey data: The average academic year salary for full-time faculty in PR programs is $28,400 (with a range of $17,000 to $42,000) while full-time faculty in INTL programs receive an average of $20,217 (with a range of $12,000 to $38,000) per academic year.[4] Part-time hourly salaries ($22/hour in PR programs, $21/hour in INTL programs) are nearly the same, as is the general lack of benefits for part-time instructors: Only 14% of the PR programs and 17% of the INTL programs offer benefits to part-time faculty,[5] and reported benefits include course tuition, parking, and professional development programs, sometimes in lieu of health plans, sick leave, and other more traditional benefits. Most startling was the heavy reliance on the presumably more economical part-time faculty in PR programs, where the aggregate reported ratio in 26 programs was 43 full-time to 257 part-time faculty. Several programs reported relying almost exclusively on part-time faculty, with a single full-time faculty member performing all the testing, placement, curriculum development, budgeting, and other administrative functions in addition to teaching.

Administration

Underlying the staffing conditions are the key administrative concerns of relationship to the parent or host institution and control of the budget. An interesting and rather disturbing survey finding was that ESL programs have yet to find an academic home: While the greatest number (40%) of PR programs constituted ESL departments and the majority of INTL programs (30%) were housed in continuing or extended education divisions, there is no general consensus as to the point of attachment to the parent institution. Crucially, many programs reported attachment to larger units—language arts division, division of humanities, School of Professional and Behavioral Studies, liberal arts area, student services division, and developmental studies, to name but a few. This appears to have two results: greater autonomy for the program but budget decisions made at a level far removed from the day-to-day operations of the program.

With the exception of the 23% of INTL programs which are independent of a parent or host institution, the budget control in most programs (36% of PR and 33% of INTL programs) is shared between levels, most frequently the director or chair and the division administrator (dean or vice-president or institutional budget officer). Less than a third (30%) of the INTL programs and a quarter (24%) of the PR programs reported that the director or department chair alone controls the program budget.

Despite the seeming lack of institutional commitment to ESL programs suggested by the diverse points of attachment and reliance on part-time faculty, another unexpected finding from the survey data is the longevity of ESL programs: PR progams average over 15 years in existence (with a mode of 10 years) while INTL programs average over 9 years (with a mode of 3 years). ESL programs thus are not stop-gap temporary responses to immediate demographic shifts, as staffing and funding patterns imply, but rather ongoing support programs serving the needs of an important segment of the postsecondary education audience.

Needs and Priorities

The open-ended responses to the question, "What do you see as the most pressing needs of your program?" revealed an underlying concern of both kinds of programs with what might best be described as their peripheral status. Comments focused on improving salary and benefits for faculty and, for PR programs, increasing the number of full-time permanent faculty positions, while INTL program administrators mentioned released time and recognition for extra duties. Other comments mirroring this concern dealt with better coordination with other departments and increased contact hours and classroom space for PR programs and, for INTL programs, more commitment to ESL by the host university, increased office space, and better understanding of ESL students by regular university faculty. Numbers were also a concern: PR programs spoke of better identification of ESL students enrolled in the college or university, and, as mentioned above, a proficiency floor for entrance into the college or university. INTL programs mentioned more stable enrollments for greater resources and more clout. Other concerns focused on the students, with both kinds of programs reporting the need for better counseling and better services, particularly to facilitate entrance into or success in college or the university.

Naturally enough, the future program priorities reflected the needs outlined above. Priorities for PR programs, according to the survey data, included more short-term intensive courses covering skills left untaught under present curricula and more levels, contact hours, and standardization within the program. INTL programs reflected similar needs, mentioning better coordination of levels and a more diversified curriculum with special needs courses. PR programs also specified more full-time faculty; recognitiion of ESL as developmental; academic credit for ESL; better coordination with freshmen writing programs, other departments, and state agencies; and better tracking of and data gathering about ESL students. INTL programs mentioned, in addition to full-time faculty positions, better salaries and benefits as well as staff development and also recruitment/outreach into new markets.

Once again, the priorities appear to reflect the feeling of ESL program administrators of both types of programs that their existence is tenuous, dependent as it is on either unstable soft funding from tuition or external political perceptions of the needs of the students they are currently serving. Clearly interrelated issues are the status of faculty and improved relations and coordination with the host or parent institution.

Conclusions

What is not evident from our data, but is strongly implied by the responses received, is the extent to which the academic progress of immigrant, refugee, and language minority students is hampered by inadequate language skills and the sometimes inadequate resources devoted to developing these skills. A contributing problem, mentioned by several program administrators at public institutions, is the difficulty of identifying this domestic ESL population which is admitted to a college or university under the same regulations and procedures as citizens and are thus not readily flagged as needing special services.

Even where these students are carefully identified, the problem of funding an adequately staffed, adequately extensive ESL support program remains. Whereas ESL programs for international students are frequently self-supporting and even revenue producing through separate tuition or higher out-of-state fees, ESL programs for immigrants, refugees, and language minority students represent a net drain on the economy of the institution, as attempts to house these programs in units supported by ancillary funds (e.g., extended or continuing education, student services, and study skills laboratories) indicate.

At the root of these issues, as stated spontaneously by several survey respondents, is a problem of perception: From non-ESL faculty to administrators, budget managers and legislators ESL programs for permanent residents are viewed as temporary, remedial, and nonacademically credible—a stop-gap response to an immediate situation. Given the surprising longevity of ESL programs documented by this study and indicated by the future demographic projections outlined above, a complete rethinking of the position and status of ESL in postsecondary education is long overdue. ■

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[1] This article is based on a paper presented at the Los Angeles Regional CATESOL Conference at California State University, Northridge, November 2, 1985. A portion of the data was also presented at the Region I and XII Joint Conference of the National Association for Foreign Students Affairs in Honolulu, Hawaii, November 27, 1985. We would like to thank Stephen B. Ross of California State University, Long Beach for his comments and suggestions on a previous draft of this paper.

[2] Compared with the 46% of intensive English programs offering credit in the Grosse-Lubell (1984) study.

[3] This finding is confirmed by a small informal study conducted by George Wilcox at TESOL '85 and reported in the *HEIS Newsletter* (1986, January).

[4] These figures are in line with the Wilcox (1986) data, cited above, in which $20,890 appears as the mean "reasonable average salary for someone teaching full-time for an academic year in a TESOL in higher education situation."

[5] These figures compare to the 29% of major intensive English programs reporting that part-time faculty were accorded benefits in the 1984 Grosse-Lubell study cited above.

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Where Vocabulary Meets Grammar: Verb Subcategorization Errors In ESL Writers[1]

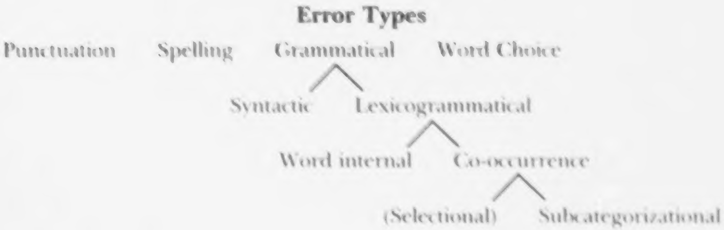
■ **Learners of English as a second language at intermediate and advanced stages have often mastered the majority of the major syntactic constructions in English. Yet, many grammatical errors persist in their writing. A high percentage of these errors, though labeled *grammatical*, do not in fact represent problems with pure syntax but rather mistakes in using given lexical items in constructions they do not belong in. By utilizing concepts from modern transformational-generative theories, the authors trace such errors to incorrect or incomplete lexical subcategorization. The nature of these errors is discussed from both a theoretical and pragmatic perspective, and the major classes of subcategorization errors for English verbs are identified. The article argues that ESL teachers, particularly writing teachers of students beyond the beginner's level, need to be aware of the source of these errors so that they can distinguish them from other types of grammatical errors and more effectively help their students to overcome them.**

Lexical subcategorization is a significant aspect of modern linguistic theory which has received surprisingly little attention in discussions of ESL student errors. In fact, errors resulting from incorrect or incomplete subcategorization are generally just labeled *grammatical*, even though writing teachers are usually able to recognize them as being somehow different from many other types of grammatical errors, such as those involving word order, number agreement, lack of an article with a countable singular noun, and so forth. We feel that there is some value in writing teachers being conscious of the nature of these errors in lexical subcategorization and the important ways in which they differ from others labeled as grammatical. We begin by discussing these differences and then give a description of 14 major types of lexical subcategorization errors for English verbs with an example of each type. Verbs form the nucleus of sentences and it is with verbs that the widest variety of subcategorization errors occur. Later sections suggest ways of recognizing and dealing with such errors in intermediate and advanced ESL writing. We focus on this group of learners because we believe that although the type of error analysis we propose is applicable in many cases to lower levels and to oral production at all levels, it is at intermediate and advanced levels of writing that any teacher correction of this type of error is most likely to be successful.

There are a number of different sentence-level error types that ESL writing teachers are confronted with at all levels. These are typically categorized as errors in spelling, punctuation, word choice, and grammar. The last of these categories, grammatical errors, is rather vaguely and inconsistently defined in the field; errors that don't fit into the other categories are often assigned to it.

There are some major distinctions within this general category of grammatical errors, however, that can significantly affect the way the teacher reacts to the errors and leads the student toward their correction. At the most basic level, there is the distinction between purely syntactic errors involving rules of word order and inflection that are governed by the grammatical categories of words or phrases and errors that involve idiosyncracies of particular words or classes of words within a category. We refer to this second group as *lexicogrammatical* errors because they crucially involve some sort of lexical misinformation that leads to an ungrammatical sentence (for our purposes *ungrammatical* is operationally defined as being recognized by native speakers to have been produced by a nonnative speaker due to some factor other than word choice). Within the category of lexicogrammatical errors itself there are similarly two major divisions: errors internal to a word and errors in co-occurrence with other words. Finally, within the category of co-occurrence errors there are errors that are predominantly semantic in nature (labeled as *violations of selectional restrictions* in the standard theory of transformational grammar [Chomsky, 1965] and those which are seen as more syntactic in nature (labeled as *subcategorization errors* in the standard theory). Because of the semantic nature of the former we assume, as most syntacticians currently seem to, that they are better classified as purely lexical errors or errors in word choice.

Figure 1 shows the error types discussed so far and their relationship in a classificational hierarchy.



The following examples of errors in the hierarchy should help make the differences clearer.

Syntactic errors

a. I saw a cat black yesterday.
(order of adjective and noun reversed)

b. The clock that I bought it last week is already broken.
(extra pronoun in relative clause)

Lexicogrammatical errors

a. Word internal
I writed a good composition.
(irregular verb)

b. Co-occurrence

l. Sectional
A dog roared at me as I entered the yard.
(word choice: *roar* for *bark*)

2. Subcategorizational
I enjoy to run in the rain.
(wrong form of complement)

In the earlier stages of language learning, many of the errors in all of the above categories are viewed as either developmental errors or errors occurring from the students' attempt to overreach their linguistic competence in the target language. Consequently, many teachers at this level are justifiably selective about which errors they point out to the student, particularly in speaking situations. At more advanced levels, though, and especially in writing classes, there is often a concern on the part of the teacher that errors which were overlooked in earlier stages may become a more or less permanent feature of the student's English unless they are systematically dealt with. At this point, recognizing the nature of their error is vital. Since writing is in many cases an activity that can be monitored, or consciously attended to (in the sense of Krashen's [1982] monitor theory of language learning versus acquisition), the teacher's classification of the error potentially becomes quite significant in leading the student to overcoming it. Specifically, if an error is predominantly syntactic in nature it can be dealt with by referring in some way to appropriately formulated syntactic rules, such as those for adjective-plus-noun word order and the structure of relative clauses. If the error is lexicogrammatical, on the other hand, then idiosyncratic information about individual words must be brought to the student's attention.

Linguistic Theory and Subcategorization.

In the earliest versions of transformational grammar (Chomsky, 1957), grammaticality was based solely on whether or not a sentence could be generated by some combination of phrase structure and transformational rules. Both of these rule systems referred exclusively to expansions or manipulations of syntactic categories (e.g., noun, verb, verb phrase), allowing the generation of such obviously unacceptable sentences as *Fred put the napkin* and *The napkin was put by Fred*. By the time the aspects model, which was to become the standard theory, was introduced (Chomsky, 1965), the need for referencing in lexical insertion not only the category of the word itself but also the categories of its surrounding constituents had been recognized. This subcategorization frame, as it was called, became a part of the lexical entry for words. In the case of verbs, it allowed the specifications of what categories could follow them. For example, the frame [NP] was specified for transitive verbs while intransitive verbs were given the frame [ ] with no following object NP.

The past 20 years have seen some dramatic changes in the theories that have evolved from transformational grammar, changes which many ESL teachers trained in the standard theory are unaware of. Of greatest relevance here is the fact that the transformational component has been steadily weakened while the power of the lexicon has been expanded to deal in a principled manner with the distinction between truly general rules and lexical idiosyncracies. In the process, most transformations have fallen by the wayside: Some current versions of Chomsky's revised extended standard theory (also known as government and binding theory) hypothesize only a single transformation—*move alpha*, or *move anything anywhere*—constrained of course by a number of universal and language specific conditions (Chomsky, 1982; see Radford, 1981 for a less formal introduction to the theory). As a result, the output of many of the classic transformations, such as passive and indirect object movement is now generated more or less directly by the phrase structure rules, and those formerly transformational relationships, such as active-passive, are now accounted for primarily in the lexicon.

Common Types of Lexical Subcategorization Errors With Verbs.

Because of their central importance, the discussion of lexical subcategorization errors below focuses on verbs. It is important to realize, however, that other major categories (noun, adjective, adverb) can be subcategorized as well.

We assume for the moment that whatever the ultimate cause of the error (interference, over generalization, etc.), the immediate cause is the lack of an appropriately specified subcategorization frame for the verb. The list that follows includes most of the common lexical subcategorization errors for verbs. In each case, we first give a correct sentence utilizing the grammatical construction to make it clear that the error is lexical in nature. Asterisks mark the ungrammatical sentences.

1. *Transitives used as intransitives.* Some verbs which semantically imply an object can occur with the object unspecified; others cannot.

a. *I ate the sandwich in the kitchen./I ate in the kitchen.*

b. *I put the sandwich in the kitchen./*I put in the kitchen.*

2. *Intransitives used as transitives.* Some intransitive verbs have transitive counterparts, often with the meaning *cause to* x, where *x* is the intransitive verb; others do not.

a. *The water boiled./The woman boiled the water* (the woman caused the water to boil).

b. *The baby cried./*The woman cried the baby (the woman caused the baby to cry).*

3. *Incorrect passive of transitive verb.* Nonlinking verbs which are followed by noun phrases in the active voice are usually classified as transitive and can appear in the passive construction; some verbs, especially certain stative ones, cannot.

a. *John earned $100./$100 was earned by John.*

b. *This book cost $100./*$100 was cost by this book.*

4. *Stative verbs in the progressive.* While verbs can generally be used in progressive constructions, most semantically stative verbs are ungrammatical in such constructions.

a. *I am learning French.*

b. **I am knowing French.*

5. *Fixed particle moved.* The particle in verb-particle combinations, most of which are to some degree idiomatic, can usually be moved after the object. However, certain verb-particle combinations do not allow this option.

a. *Fred ran off the cat./Fred ran the cat off.*

b. *Fred ran into an old friend./*Fred ran an old friend into.*

6. *Dative movement errors.* Dative, or indirect object, movement, where the indirect object moves to direct object position and the preposition *to* or *for* is dropped, is allowed with many verbs that take indirect objects but not all of them.

a. *Tom told the story to everyone./Tom told everyone the story.*

b. *Tom explained the problem to everyone./*Tom explained everyone the problem.*

7. *Intrusive* be. The passive auxiliary *be* is sometimes inserted into nonpassive sentences. Though treated as a general grammar error in Burt and Kiparsky (1972) and Richards (1973), it was argued in Hubbard (1983) that while such errors may be essentially syntactic with lower level students, the great majority of these errors occur with a restricted set of intransitive verbs in advanced writers, specifically those

verbs taking nonagentive subjects. In many languages, these intransitives pattern differently from intransitives with agentive subjects and may even take the same morphology as the passive contruction. Even in English, there are a few verbs that appear in a passive-like construction which cannot take an agentive *by*-phrase in certain contexts.

a. *The theater is located/situated (*by Fred) on Elm Street.*

b. **The strange event was occurred last May./*The problem is exist today in many countries.*

8. *Gerund complement for infinitive.* One of the most common subcategorization errors involves using the wrong complement form after a verb. (Items [9] through [11] also involve complement errors, and there are other types besides these.) In this particular case, a gerund complement is used where the verb requires an infinitive.

a. *I enjoy seeing you.*

b. **I expect seeing you tomorrow.*

9. *Infinitive for gerund.* This is the reverse of (8); here an infinitive complement occurs when a gerund is called for.

a. *I like to eat fish.*

b. **I enjoy to eat fish.*

10. *Infinitive marker on naked infinitives.* Most verbs that take infinitive complements take the *to*-infinitive; however, a small class of causatives and verbs of perception take the infinitive with no marker, the so-called naked infinitive. Because of the higher frequency of the *to*-infinitive, this error is one of the more common.

a. *I told Fred to revise the paper.*

b. *I make/let/had/saw Fred revise the paper./*I made/let/had/saw Fred to revise the paper.*

11. *Tensed that-complement for untensed.* Most verbs which take *that*-complements occur with a tensed verb; however, a few do not. This same pattern holds for certain adjective and noun complements as well.

a. *I know that he is here every day at noon.*

b. *I request/require/demand that he be here every day at noon./*I request/require/demand that he is here every day at noon.*

12. *Preposition missing.* A number of verbs in English require a particular preposition or set of prepositions to convey a particular meaning (or in some cases to be grammatical at all). It is possible to analyze errors involving the absence of the prepositions in such cases as subcategorization errors, since they involve placing a verb in a sentence frame containing a missing required category (the preposition). In

most cases the result is a verb-plus-noun phrase in place of the expected verb plus prepositional phrase.

a. *You can rely on Tom./*You can rely Tom.*
b. *I listened to the music./I heard the music./*I listened the music.*

13. *Preposition added.* In some cases students add a preposition to a verb that is subcategorized to occur without one.

a. *I watched the boys play./*I watched at the boys play.*
b. *I congratulated my friend./*I congratulated to my friend.*

14. *Incorrect preposition.* Given the idiosyncracies of the English prepositional system, one of the more common errors is producing a sentence containing a verb co-occurring with the wrong preposition. Strictly speaking, this is not a subcategorization error since the proper category (preposition or prepositional phrase) is present. Because prepositions belong to a closed set, however, and sometimes indicate primarily grammatical relationships (for example, the passive *by* and the indirect object marker *to*), they are often classified as function words rather than content words and as such particular ones could legitimately be specified in a subcategorization frame. We assume, for the sake of simplicity, that preposition errors of this type involve subcategorization, bearing in mind that in many cases they could also be analyzed as a collocational word choice error or an error within a given idiomatic phrase.

a. *I am married to Ellen./*I am married with Ellen.*
b. *I am disappointed with/in you./*I am disappointed of you.*

While the above list of subcategorization errors for verbs is not exhaustive, it covers most of the frequent types of errors and provides enough in the way of representative examples for the discussion that follows. In the next section, we offer some general suggestions for determining whether a given error that we have classified as involving incorrect subcategorization really is such an error in the student's grammar. We then discuss some of the sources of lexical subcategorization errors.

Is It Really a Subcategorization Error?

Students at lower levels, or those at more advanced levels whose understanding of the syntactic structures and rules of English grammar is deficient, may produce certain of the above errors for reasons other than simply having an incorrect subcategorization frame for a given verb. Intermediate students, for example, may have had training and experience with infinitive complements but not understand the English gerund construction well enough to be able to use it productively. For such students an error like that in (9b) (**I enjoy to eat fish.*) may have as its source the lack of control over the gerund construction itself. Similarly, the untensed *that*-complement construction may even be unfamiliar to rather advanced ESL students, due both to its relative rarity and to the fact that is is not normally introduced until fairly late in the typical structurally based syllabus. An error like that in (11b)(*I *request/require/demand that he is here every day at noon*), then, may be based on a general lack of awareness that the untensed *that* complement structure itself even exists. Consequently, before analyzing a given error as having an incorrect subcategorization of the verb as its source, it is necessary first to be certain that the student has sufficient knowledge of the grammatical construction represented in the subcategorization frame.

In some cases, it will be obvious to the teacher from previous experience with the student whether or not he or she is familiar with the grammatical construction in question. If prior experience with the student is not sufficient for making the decision, the teacher may be able to determine whether or not the student controls that construction by looking elsewhere in the current composition or previous ones. Has the student correctly used the construction in other sentences? If so, the error is likely to have an incorrect subcategorization as its source. A further way of making this determination, and the most effective one if the teacher has the opportunity, is to ask the student to attempt to correct the error (after merely indicating its presence but not the correction) and then to discuss the student's response.

Preventing and Correcting Subcategorization Errors: Some General Points

In a real sense, all lexical subcategorization errors stem from an incomplete knowledge of the word in question. There are at least four possible reasons for a student's using a word for which he or she does not have the appropriate subcategorization frame.

1. Lifting an unfamiliar word from a bilingual dictionary. As a general rule, a student's writing will probably be smoother, and there will be fewer errors in both subcategorization and word choice, if the student relies on the words he or she productively commands. If a bilingual dictionary is to be used, it is best to find one that at least gives sufficient examples for the student to be able to infer the common subcategorization frames for the verbs. Better still, the student should be taught to use the bilingual dictionary in tandem with learners' dictionaries (such as those from Oxford and Longman) which give the necessary subcategorization information along with other useful data.

2. Different lexical entries for learned and acquired English systems. Several current models of the language learning process, in particular Krashen (1982), make a distinction between linguistic information that has been learned and linguistic information that has been acquired. *Learned* information is conscious knowledge of the language that is the result of explicit instruction, while *acquired* information is unconscious knowledge resulting from exposure to the target language in

a natural environment. Whether or not one accepts Krashen's sharp division between these two types of knowledge, it is clear that students have information about words that they in some sense "know" but that they somehow fail to use this information in spontaneous speech or writing. For example, a student may have learned that *enjoy* and a number of other verbs take gerund complements, be able to correctly identify *enjoy* as belonging to that class on a test, and even be able to identify the error in (9b) when it is presented in isolation. Nevertheless, the student may still produce an error like (9b) in a composition. If Krashen is right, no amount of overt error correction in this case will shift the proper subcategorization frame of *enjoy* into the student's acquired system for use in spontaneous production. However, since many writing tasks are monitorable, the key to correcting this type of error would be to work on the student's proofreading skills. Students should be given a fair amount of training in looking at their own writing objectively and bringing all of their learned knowledge of English into play in the proofreading process.

3. Interference with the subcategorization of the L1 counterpart. While little is known about the internal structure of the EFL learner's lexicon, the pattern of errors suggests that students sometimes learn the form and meaning of an English word but link its subcategorization to the subcategorization frame of the same or a similar word in the L1. For example, in (13b) (**I congratulated to my friend*), the occurrence of *to* may result if the student's native language marks the noun phrase complement of its word for *congratulate* as an indirect object (e.g., with adative case ending). Similarly, intrusive *be* errors such as those in (7b) (**The strange event was occurred last May/*The problem is exist today in many countries*) may result from a student's L1 marking intransitives in this class with morphology that either is identical with or overlaps that used in passive constructions. If the teacher is familiar with the student's native language, some reflection on the teacher's part may help in identifying interference as the source of a particular subcategorization error. If not, the teacher can simply ask the student about the behavior of the verb in question. Besides potentially yielding the source of the given error, this technique has the added advantage of increasing the teacher's understanding of the student's native language and showing the student that the teacher has an active interest in it, which may in turn significantly increase the student's motivation to perform well in that particular class.

4. Semantic similarity to another English word with a different subcategorization frame. Another source for subcategorization errors might be called language-internal interference. This type of error occurs when a word which is only partially known is linked to the subcategorization frame of a more familiar one which is semantically similar. For example, *like* and *enjoy* are more or less synonymous in many contexts, and *like* is more frequent and is normally learned

before *enjoy*. As a result, an error like that in (9b) (***I enjoy to eat fish**) may stem from subcategorizing *enjoy* as allowing an infinitive complement by analogy to *like*. The extra *at* in (13b) (***I watched at the boys play**) may similarly have been added by analogy to *look at*. Making the student aware of such errors and having him or her maintain a list of troublesome verbs may decrease the chances of repeating this type of error for a given verb.

Lexical Redundancy Rules and Semantically Based Subcategorization Patterns.

Two final aspects of subcategorization that deserve mention are lexical redundancy rules and semantically based subcategorization patterns. *Lexical redundancy rules* are rules hypothesized by theoretical linguists to account for generalizations in lexical subcategorization frames, many of which were handled by transformations in earlier versions of transformational grammar. As is the case with other types of lexical rules, such as derivational or word formation rules, lexical redundancy rules have exceptions, which is why they have been dropped from the syntactic component in contemporary versions of transformational grammar and most other syntactic theories.

An example of a lexical redundancy rule is the one which captures the generalization that a particle can occur either immediately after the verb or after the object noun phrase, a generalization previously accounted for by the *particle movement* transformation. For instance, a two-word verb like *turn off* which appears in a sentence like *He turned off the light* can also appear in a sentence like *He turned the light off*. This relationship is handled in the lexicon by a lexical redundancy rule which states that any verb which can occur in the structure [*v* + particle + noun phrase] can also occur in the structure [*v* + noun phrase + particle], thus eliminating the need to specify the second subcategorization frame individually for each two-word verb. The few exceptions to the rule (such as *run into* in [5b]) are then marked as such in the student's internal lexicon as they are learned, with the verbs fitting the rule left unmarked.

Because they aid students in making generalizations similar to those made by native speakers, there is a certain value in teaching lexical redundancy rules, and formulations of many of them commonly appear as "rules of grammar" in grammar textbooks. It is important to remember, however, that they differ from the purely syntactic rules such as relative clause formation in that they do have exceptions, often a significant number.

Semantically based subcategorization patterns, on the other hand, differ from lexical redundancy rules in that there is a clear semantic basis for their existence, which gives the students a little more to hold onto in learning them. These patterns sometimes underlie lexical redundancy rules but just as often provide a reason for exceptions to those rules. For example, the prohibition on stative verbs occurring in the progressive aspect (as in [4b] ***I am knowing French***) is an example of a pattern that has its basis in the semantic feature of stativity. Another intriguing example of a semantically based subcategorization pattern is the *Bolinger principle* discussed in Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983, pp. 434-436). This principle, named for its originator Dwight Bolinger, is used to distinguish verbs which take gerund complements from those which take infinitives. Briefly, the Bolinger principle states that if the action in the complement of a verb is in progress or already completed during the time frame of the main verb, then the complement will be a gerund, whereas if the action in the complement occurs after the time frame of the main verb or is hypothetical, then the complement will be a *to*-infinitive. For example, in the sentence *I recall getting/*to get up at 5:00 every morning when I had my paper route* the *getting up* occurred prior to the recalling of it so only the gerund can occur. In the sentence *I want to leave/*leaving at noon*, on the other hand, the act of leaving will occur sometime after the act of wanting, so the infinitive is used. For a verb such as *stop*, which is subcategorized to take either type of complement, the principle is clearly illustrated. In the sentence *I stopped drinking*, the drinking is already in progress at the time of the stopping, while in *I stopped to drink (or to take a drink)*, the stopping precedes the drinking. The Bolinger principle can be an aid to students in guessing the subcategorization frame for the complements of less familiar verbs; however, due to the large number of apparent exceptions to it, it should be applied with caution (see Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman [1983, pp. 437-440] for further discussion).

Through the examples and discussion above, we have attempted to clarify the nature of lexical subcategorization errors in order to help EFL writing teachers distinguish them from other types of grammar errors and deal with them at a lexical rather than a syntactic level. Even though all of the error types above have been noted elsewhere in the literature, in such works as Burt and Kiparsky (1972), Richards (1973); and Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983), their relationship to subcategorization has rarely, if ever, been made explicit. Similarly, while the idiosyncratic nature of most of the errors we discussed is probably well-known to the majority of EFL writing teachers, we hope the taxonomy of major error types we have presented and our discussion of their possible sources will aid in dealing with subcategorization errors in a more systematic fashion. If a teacher is going to bring the student's conscious attention to errors for explicit correction, it is useful to have as much information as possible about both the type of error and its underlying cause available for the student. ■

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Using Classroom Space: From Traditional Rows to Musical Chairs

CATESOL EXCHANGE

One frequently ignored component of the language lesson is the physical utilization of space—how students will be positioned in the classroom and how they will be grouped within that space. This Where factor may be ignored because of our own culturally delineated notions of conventional class management. Placement of groupings depends on teacher flexibility. Can we vary our role in a particular lesson, the role of our students, or the role the environment serves in the learning process? Varied space arrangements and well organized student configurations are conducive to different kinds of language tasks and can provide rich educational rewards. This is as true of adult level instruction as elementary, where groupings and space variations have always been the norm.

Some of us may have fond memories of rest time on the rug, sharing-circles in front of the room and reading groups in the corner. And, of course, simultaneous educational stations are an important part of the day in primary classrooms throughout California today. Why, then, have desks traditionally been arranged in rows in intermediate and secondary language learning situations? Cultural attitudes regarding the roles of teacher and student provide the answer. Where the teacher acts as a disciplinarian and truth giver, it is best to have all eyes forward and all mouths shut. However, since language is the vehicle for communication and communication is interactive and involves the negotiation of meaning, how can the student successfully practice oral language skills while facing the back of someone's head? Obviously, a row-on-row design may not always be the best for language instruction. The development of fluency, for example, depends on interactive experiences (Brown & Yule, 1983).

There are, of course, instances where students must function as individual learners working independently. When the teacher acts as overseer—questioning, modeling, lecturing, and doing what we traditionally call "teaching"—the students may be seated in horizontal or vertical rows, in a U-shaped arrangement of desks or tables, or in a semicircle. In the latter two designs, students have fewer opportunities to tune out because of proximity factors; no one can hide. Students as singles may be involved in listen-and-repeat activities, communication drills between teacher and student, individual reading or writing assignments, listening tasks, or tests. They may be repeating, responding, forming questions and answers, doing written seatwork, or taking notes.

In pair work, on the other hand, the focus is on collaboration. Students pair with a neighbor, or select a partner, or the teacher may choose who works with whom. The teacher acts as a manager, assigning a task to be carried out between pairs of students and then monitoring performance. Possible tasks include two-person dialogs, role plays, information gap tasks where students must elicit each others' data, peer editing and evaluation, or problem solving. Tasks may be precommunicative, offering opportunities for practicing specific forms and functions, or communicative and open ended, where meanings are primary (Littlewood, 1981). Students may work with an adjacent person at a table, arrange moveable chairs about the room side by side in an apparently helter skelter fashion, or butt desks end on end to promote face-to-face conversations.

Group work provides a larger interactive design, with several students together reaching a common understanding or goal. The teacher may not only facilitate the learning process through careful preparation and class management, but also participate within the group itself as one of the gang. As with pairs, the students' role is interactive. Small group discussions, role plays and dialogs, games, editing groups, problem solving activities, brainstorming tasks—all easily fit this format. Here we are looking for the beneficial aspects of pooling background information, grammatical competence, and personalities. This may not always be positive, and each task must be properly assessed as to how students will best learn what needs to be taught. Will the group experience enhance or interfere (Reid, 1987)?

Groupings and placements always require prior consideration. For example, who should be grouped with whom? Groups can be homogeneous or heterogeneous according to sex, culture, degree of intimacy and compatibility, or ability level. They can be student or teacher determined. Random groupings can be created by ingenious devices such as birth month, sock color, or first initials. Varying grouping methods forces students to upgrade listening comprehension skills and encourages following directions.

Once groups have been delineated, they can be positioned. Should student groups move to the corners of the classroom? Should one or two groups move outside to the hall in order to encourage concentration and privacy? Perhaps this is the occasion for groups to leave the classroom altogether to perform cultural observations or broader communication among native speakers.

Sometimes group work becomes a kind of team experience. Here the teacher is director. Students participate as a class split in half, not as independent learners, partners, or group members, but as team players arranged on opposite sides of the room. Some possible activities which match such an arrangement include jazz chants, spelling bees, and other games. One side of the room may vie against the other, recite song verses or lines in turn, raise questions or provide answers, take parts in chants, readings, and dialogs.

In whole class activities, the focus is on building contexts for language learning and sharing experiences which maximize language use. These kinds of lessons are at the opposite end of a continuum from row-on-row individual learners completing seatwork. The teacher will oversee, participate, and, it is hoped, enjoy the activity along with the students. Such tasks may include (a) whole class discussions where students remain in seats but participate as a class, (b) concentric circle formations where students exchange partners several times during the lesson as they practice a function or perform a task (Wong, 1987), (c) move-around games requiring simultaneous participation by all class members such as finding the other half of a proverb or the answer to a question, (d) excursions and study trips beyond the classroom, and (e) culminating activities which justify a thematic unit or provide closure (e.g., shared potluck meals, organized sports events, or content based "academic olympics"). Such physical arrangements may be ordered or random, circles or lines, clusterings or wanderings, but will involve everyone. They are lifelike and are often noisy. They may even appear chaotic. The teacher cannot always predict what language will occur. These activities offer time for risks and unknown outcomes.

In "I like people who...," a whole-class grammar activity, students sit in a circle on chairs, and, as in musical chairs, there is one less seat than participants. The teacher is initially *It* in order to explain and model the game. It makes a *like*-statement which is relevant to only some of the students: "I like people who wear sandals;" "I like people who intend to study engineering;" "I like people who think that one should never eat pickles with ice cream." The complexity of the statement will depend on the desired structural practice and student proficiency. The students must decide if the statement applies to them; if so, they must change seats. During the seat changing It tries to find a seat and if successful, there is now a new It (the student without a seat). An important rule is that players may not change to adjacent seats. Another is that all *like*-statements must pertain to more than one player.

This game, an adaptation of a popular native speaker party game, is an excellent listening comprehension activity. It is also a superb source of group coherence, interaction, sentence formation, and structural practice. It engenders much oral language, laughter, and even exercise. Low-level students can be highly successful and advanced students can be self-reflective and clever, using very creative, and intellectually and structurally complex language. The teacher has stepped down from the podium. The entire group is involved in a circular arrangement with students and teacher coparticipating. It's an occasion for much spontaneous oral language; it's noisy and playful and linguistically rich.

In the oral language class we are always engineering social occasions for talk (Richards, 1983). How can we optimize interactions? Sometimes we choose formats which are highly successful devices for language learning although initially awkward for the students due to their educational expectations. One such format is the game described above. Within the classroom setting unconventional formats involving the Where factor are pedagogically appropriate, however, and our students profit from them. As we develop lessons, we must examine our own attitudes toward control and disruption, politeness and privacy, silence and noise, interaction and confusion, education and innovation, expectations and evaluation. When designing our lessons to suit individual teaching and learning styles and specific instructional goals, how can space utilization become a significant asset to learning? A language teacher can find many ways to take advantage of this often neglected educational component. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Teachers' and Administrators' Concerns About the TOEFL Test of Written English[1]

CATESOL EXCHANGE

The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) now includes a 30-minute direct writing assessment, the Test of Written English (TWE) (Greenberg, 1986; Stansfield, 1986; Stansfield & Webster, 1986). It is graded holistically, on a 6-point scale, by trained readers. The test has, up to now, been administered on some but not all test dates, and its use by university administrators as part of entrance criteria for applicants is optional. Indeed, the TWE is still so new that many university administrators do not know of its existence and those who do have not had sufficient experience with it to have an adequate sense of its advantages or problems.

In contrast, administrators of English/American Language Institutes (ELIs/ALIs) have more immediate knowledge of the TWE and more direct interest in it because of their role in preparing students to take the TOEFL. To investigate practitioners' sense of this new instrument, I interviewed several professionals in the fields of English as a second language and composition. The types of positions held by the interviewees were: administrators or assistant administrators of ELIs/ALIs, chair of an English department, coordinator of a writing program for international students within an English department, testing specialist, directors of teacher preparation, and teachers in ELIs/ALIs. (Some of these positions overlapped.) Two of the subjects were involved in the development of topics of the TWE itself, and 3 were readers at the TWE grading sessions. Altogether, 8 professionals were interviewed. Although these informants have preferred to remain anonymous, the information they provided shows some common concerns among ESL and composition teachers and administrators.

Amount of Time for the Essay

The TWE was developed after surveys of faculty in various fields, both at the professional and undergraduate levels, showed two topic types to be most "authentic and valid" (Stansfield & Webster, 1986, p. 17): one, *comparison-contrast plus defense of a position*; the other, *analysis and interpretation of a chart or graph* (Greenberg, 1986, pp. 535-536). Some of the interviewees questioned whether these topic types can be addressed adequately within the short time available for writing the TWE essays. That is, you might often assign a comparison-contrast plus position but would you ask for such a piece of writing to be done in 30 minutes?

Difference Between the Two Topic Types

Educational Testing Service (ETS) researchers have found through pretesting that the performance on the task of argument using comparison-contrast as an organizational strategy correlates so highly with performance on the chart-graph interpretation that only one sample need be taken. Therefore, at each administration of the TWE, one or the other of these two topic-tasks is presented (Stansfield & Webster, 1986). Despite this reassurance in the literature, most people interviewed felt that the topics requiring comparison-contrast plus position were too different from those requiring chart-graph interpretations to have face validity (Greenberg, 1986). That is, test researchers may be able to show to their satisfaction that two apparently different tasks give the same value of evidence or result, but if users perceive too great a difference in the tasks themselves, they will not have confidence in the measurement. However, ETS test makers have never claimed that the two topic types elicited the same writing skills, only that writers would score roughly the same on either of the two writing tasks.

Differences Among Comparison-Contrast Topics.

In any one administration of the TWE, three different topics are used. One reader at a TWE grading session expressed concern because of the three topics being read in a particular grading session, the topic of the advantages and disadvantages of having a factory built near your town did not elicit as much text overall as did the topic of the comparative values of learning by experience or learning through books and schooling. The logistics of giving a world-wide test come into play here. The TOEFL is given on a single date several times a year. However, enterprising test takers can arrange for someone to take the test on the same date in an earlier time zone and call ahead with information about the test. Therefore, the globe is divided into three different time zones and different topics are given in each place. As it turns out, the factory topic at this particular test administration was given in Asia, and according to one researcher, Asians generally produce shorter text than, say, Europeans. As the test givers are able to provide more information to people involved in the teaching, scoring, and receiving roles of the TWE, such concerns as this one may diminish.

Teaching to the Test

Although the TESL literature of the past 10 years gives careful attention to rhetorical strategies and analysis of various types of written discourse, it is unlikely that such attention has yet filtered to the TOEFL "cram schools" that exist in the United States and abound in other parts of the world. Some ELIs/ALIs try hard not to teach merely for taking the TOEFL. The extent of this more academic orientation may depend partly on how closely connected such institutions or programs are to academic departments. However, as one director of an ELI pointed out, for many institutes, TOEFL preparation is their sole reason for being. It seems a shame, one director of a composition program suggested, that attention to writing in TOEFL preparation schools may be limited to two quite specific models, the comparison-contrast plus position and the chart-graph interpretation.

Training of ESL Teachers

The problem of teaching to the test exists not only at TOEFL schools in other countries. In the U.S., at the university level, ESL teacher-training programs do not yet include enough theory or research in the teaching of writing, although a few programs at the forefront do include course work in this area. The development of the TWE may lead to the expansion of the writing component in teacher preparation, but we need to take care that we do not allow consciousness of the TWE to foster a narrowly instrumental mode of teaching and a dependent mode of learning.

Greenberg (1986) asserts that ESL professionals can have an effect on testing by voicing their concerns. The interviews reported here reflect the feeling that finally the importance of direct assessment of writing has been acknowledged and that, as a result, more people will see the value of attending to writing in ESL teaching. Although the likelihood of teaching to the test—that is, teaching the specific forms of the test essays to the exclusion of other types of writing— is a major source of concern for ESL professionals involved in writing, there is a sense in which teaching for the test may be beneficial: As a director of ESL teacher training said, where before you didn't have to think about writing for TOEFL, now you do. ■

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[1] This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Conference on College Composition and Communication, 1987. I appreciate the time and information contributed by the participants in the research as well as helpful comments by anonymous reviewers.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Tips on Working Effectively with a Multicultural Work Force

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Starting Your Employee Out on the Right Track

Orientation helps all employees whether they are foreign born or native. With foreign born employees you must take special care to explain both expressed guidelines and implied guidelines.

For example: Employees of a Silicon Valley company may wear sport shirts to work, which may appear very casual. In reality the company is formally structured and has a tight management chain of command. The new employee may see only the informal dress.

New employees should be told that it is appropriate to call people by their first name. Many Asian, European, and Latin American employees take offense at being called by their first names. It is as if you were addressed by a familiar nickname at work. Many new employees will understand the use of first names but will insist on adding *Miss* or *Mr.* to that first name. *Miss Carol* or *Mr. Sam* can be very irritating to the other employees.

You may also want to explain to Asian employees that eye contact is important when talking to someone. To an Asian, not making eye contact is a sign of respect. Americans would consider lack of eye contact to mean that the employee is hiding something.

There are many other suggestions that you can get from your multicultural employees that will help the new employees fit in comfortably. All employees can benefit by having clearly defined social parameters in the work setting.

Helpful On-the-Job Tips

Loudness

Many Americans feel that if they are not being understood they should speak louder to a foreign born employee. This creates a negative effect on that person. That worker may feel that his suprvisor is angry with him.

Using Sarcasm

Avoid friendly sarcasm. For example: Your employee has just finished a lot of work. You say in a friendly way, "It looks like you haven't done anything all day." Most foreign born employees will take this as an insult, either because they don't use sarcasm in their culture or they take everything a person says literally.

Speaking

Speak slowly and clearly to your foreign born employee. You should maintain a natural intonation. It's best for the native speaker to repeat the exact sentence or word if repetition is requested. Include the foreign born employee in conversations. Give time for the employee to speak, ask questions, and reply. Allow the employee to finish speaking before you speak.

It is also helpful if you explain idioms or slang expressions when you use them. If you say, *Catch you later* or *Let's hit the books*, individuals from other countries may not understand. You may also make a small dictionary of company jargon.

Asking Questions

Avoid questions that can only be answered by *yes* or *no*. Too often employees are brought up not to say *no* to a person who is perceived as having higher status. If we understood their first language we would realize that there are different gradations of *yes*. For example: There is *yes, but not now* or *yes, but I do not want to do it*.

Avoiding yes/no questions will help the foreign born employee to become more expressive and specific. You may want to ask, for example, *Do you want to have lunch now or later?* This gives the worker a chance to elaborate more on the answer.

Assertiveness

Many foreign born employees feel that their job may be in jeopardy if they express their opinions. Supervisors should encourage these employees by showing them how to make suggestions. We once worked with an engineering department and had its students go to their supervisors and make one suggestion. A Latin American engineer was afraid to do that. She finally did make the suggestion and saved the company $100,000.

Using Tag Questions

A tag question can be a negative confirmation of a statement. For example, the limited English speaker may interpret *The mail came, didn't it?* as *The mail didn't come.* Avoid using tag questions with your foreign born employee whenever possible.

Practice and Support

Give your foreign born employees a chance to practice and develop their English skills. Even though the employees may find it difficult to converse, supervisors should make a point of talking to them.

Be supportive if you find them making an effort to use and practice their English. Most employees will appreciate your correction if you let the employee finish what he or she has to say before offering correction. Never correct an employee's English in front of other employees. The key to helping is to be sincere when making corrections and be a careful listener.

Writing Clearly

Put instructions in their correct order. Do not change the order by using sequence words or phrases like *before*, or *don't . . . until*. For example: *Before you turn on the machine, look*, or *When you turn on the machine, look around*. In these examples, if your operator doesn't understand the key words, he hears the wrong sequence of order, which in this case would be very dangerous on the shop floor.

Testing

Write to the level of your employees. An easy test of reading, which only takes 10 minutes to administer, is the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT). Curriculum writers find this test valuable when writing manuals for lower level employees.

Upper Level Employees

Upper level foreign born employees, who studied English in their native country, do not usually have difficulty reading or writing English when they are at the intermediate level. Reading and writing a new language is much easier than learning to speak a new language. Technicians and professionals have usually mastered the technical jargon of their field but may have trouble with general oral communications or emergencies.

Defining the National Character

The *Predeparture Handbook: For Foreign Students and Scholars Planning to Study in the United States* (1985), published by the United States Information Agency, notes the following peculiarities among residents of the United States:

> Americans are informal with each other, even when there is a great difference in age or social standing. This is not disrespectful or rude but an established aspect of the culture.
>
> Americans are competitive, even in conversation. A quick, witty reply is a subtle form of competition natural to Americans.
>
> Americans are obsessed with records of achievements: business charts line office walls; sports trophies are displayed.

Americans ask a lot of questions, some of them pointless, uninformed or intensely personal. They are expressing their genuine interest.

Americans are generally on time; they keep calenders and schedules. They may seem "in a hurry" or brusque. This is how they get many things done.

Silence makes Americans nervous. Small talk is preferred to a large conversation. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Review

Interactive Reading

Suzanne Salimbene. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1986. Pp. v + 184.

EFL teacher trainers, reading specialists, materials writers, and applied linguists everywhere can learn much from Suzanne Salimbene's *Interactive Reading* for two reasons: It presents a unified set of high-level strategies that could dramatically improve anyone's reading and is an absorbing case study in the production of a student textbook explicitly based on psycholinguistic insights. Growing out of doctoral research Salimbene performed at the University of London Institute of Education under the supervision of Henry G. Widdowson, who contributed its foreword, *Interactive Reading* presents 10 authentic, advanced-level texts from sources such as news magazines and academic coursebooks, together with abundant instructions and practice in the reading strategies. Writing activities exploring the usefulness of the same strategies to composition complete each unit. Salimbene pilot tested portions of the materials at the American College of Greece and at UCLA. For reasons that will become clear, I have not used the book in my own classes but did try the interactive reading strategy in personal reading with gratifying results.

The basic theory, as stated by Widdowson in the foreword, is that:

> Written text is essentially a set of directions which indicate to readers where they are to look for significance in their own knowledge of the world as derived from individual experience and the social conventions of their culture . . . The text, the actual appearance of signs on the page, does not therefore itself contain meaning but provides the occasion for meaning to be achieved in the act of reading. (p. v)
>
> (Sources and discussion of these ideas may be traced in e.g. Alderson & Urquhart, 1984; Devine, Carrell, & Eskey, 1987; Rumelhart, 1984; Widdowson, 1984; and Williams, 1986. An excellent introduction to the theory and practice of interactive reading for L1 primary teachers, with some attention to ESL, is May, 1986.)

Skeptics might agree that good readers "construct meaning," but isn't the problem for poor and second language readers just that they don't know all the words? Salimbene's answer to the dilemma is to treat the learner as a good reader on the way to becoming better; without neglecting vocabulary building, she makes it an end point rather than a beginning of reading improvement. Her sequences of instructional activity invariably begin with mobilizing the learner's background knowledge; then through various kinds of comprehension-developing dialogs—teacher with learner, reader with author, learner with peer, and learner with self—she gradually focuses attention on essential details. The information gained this way from a given paragraph becomes part of the broad general knowledge with which the learner begins the next paragraph. Under Salimbene's direction, learners work through successive paragraphs of text trying out new ways to read and sharing the procedures and results.

Salimbene fully explains to learners that (1) it is helpful to experience reading as a dialog and (2) it isn't necessary to read, or even to know, all the words. Prereading work consists of predicting, on the basis of the title alone, what the contents, organization, and even writer's opinion will be. If the title is a metaphor like that of Unit 1, "Your Verbal Maps," the implications of this are exhaustively mined. Readers then survey the first and last paragraphs, section headings and graphic material, checking their guesses and adjusting expectations. With the reader's background knowledge, however scanty, affirmed, and the author's intentions clarified, the reader can enter assertively into dialog with the author, actually writing his or her side in spaces provided after every sentence of text. Initially these reader comments may be as simple as *Ok. So what?* and *What's your point?* Salimbene shows readers how to deepen communication with an author by insisting on getting answers to one's questions—utilizing logical, organizational, syntactic, and context clues—and by summarizing ideas even before the whole text is finished.

A typical activity introducing the sampling strategy helps persuade readers that comprehension is not a matter of attending mechanistically to every word. Groups identify a paragraph's topic, message, and supporting evidence, then cross out all unnecessary words. They rewrite the paragraph, now telegraphic, leaving blanks for omitted words. Groups exchange papers, discovering that the choice of unnecessary words differs. This exercise builds learners' expertise in identifying key ideas, shows that construction of meaning is an individual responsibility, yet does not neglect the word level.

The emphasis on reader questioning recalls the 3QPR method sometimes used in American schools in which subheadings are turned into questions to be answered by purposeful reading. Salimbene's method is special in her principled aversion to letting the learner answer other people's comprehension-testing questions, even putative ones. Whereas a respected EAP text might ask, following a reading titled, for example, "Marine Life":

True or false: A sea anemone is a plant.

Salimbene teaches the learner to ask, before reading begins:

What lives in the sea besides fish?

The first, more conventional question (even if inferencing is involved) assumes reading comprehension is best advanced when learners stuff themselves with all the information, then analyze questions to find out what they should have noticed the first time, becoming adept in reading questions, and in effect depending on them. In the interactive process, learners finish the first reading with a set of answers that can be applied to any questions that may come up, with new knowledge consciously connected to old, ready for recycling in fresh reading or reconstitution in an essay or discussion. Clearly the second type is the more desirable skill for content reading, with wide applicability at all levels of education.

Interactive reading can lead to significant change in one's conception of the writing task and to improvement in cogency and clarity. Salimbene's writing activities begin with question, dialog, and paragraph writing done in pairs in which learners paraphrase the unit, playing the roles of writer and reader, checking what one another needs to understand. Later, learners summarize a whole text from notes taken as answers to their own questions, construct and answer essay questions, and develop whole compositions as an author/reader dialog.

Teachers interested in testing the theory will unfortunately find some problems with the book. A fundamental weakness is failure to provide a clear role for the classroom teacher or in some way engage him or her as an enthusiastic partner in putting the strategies across. Perhaps inevitably, lessons read like transcripts of Salimbene's own classes; they are all of a piece and cumulative, a full-scale reading course in which later units refer to content, not only strategies, from earlier lessons, and the presentation of strategies is intricately interwoven with text content, the sharing of exercises, and the rationale for the method. Salimbene's voice is omnipresent. It is not evident what the classroom teacher can or should be doing besides acting as an aide. Later, when Salimbene's instruction drops off and texts to be read are as long as 5,000 words (12 pages), the classroom teacher wanting to maintain the quality of the instruction must now be a discourse analyst as astute as Salimbene herself, as there is no teacher's guide. First eclipsed and then abandoned, the classroom teacher is further undermined by Salimbene's choice of 7 of her 10 texts from the 50s, 60s, and early 70s which in the bland, long-winded style of the period discuss such topics as the pollution of drinking water by sewage, the nature of statistical methods, astronomy up to Galileo, and human perception. Salimbene wants learners to test their interactive skills on solid subject matter; most teachers, however, are looking for more intrinsically motivating fare.

Graphic design is another weak spot. Book users will be confused trying to separate the bit of text under discussion from what Salimbene is saying about it. Visual organizing devices such as facing pages for text and commentary or two colors of print are badly needed so that readers can follow the instruction without needless floundering. These problems are serious enough to discourage even a patient and interested native English reader like myself; advanced language learners will very likely get a first impression of dullness and impenetrability. In my opinion, the problems are not the fault of the theory, but they will prevent the materials and thus the theory from receiving broad trial.

Salimbene deserves great credit for painstaking preparation of the lessons and seeing them through to publication without trivialization or imposed marketing gimmicks. Next time, though, it would be well worth finding a consultant or coauthor with the necessary objectivity to put the manuscript in more classroom-ready final form. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Review

Strategies for Readers: A Reading/Communication Text for Students of ESL. Books 1 and 2.

Christine Pearson Casanave. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986. Pp. 138 and 204.

Reading theory has run the full gambit of possibilities—from simply decoding to accessing both structural and content schemata (see, for example, Carrell, 1983, 1984, 1987). What most theories hold in common is the cognitive nature of reading. Similarly, the process approach to writing has focused almost exclusively on the cognitive processes involved in writing (see, for example, Flower & Hayes, 1981). More recently, composition researchers and theorists have called for a better understanding of the social nature of writing by drawing attention to the fact that writing is a communicative act, arising out of a discourse community (see, for example, LeFevre, 1987). Such writers all make the same claim: Writing is not the solitary act of the Platonic tradition; it arises from the interaction among people, contexts, and texts. The closest reading theory has come to such a socially constructed view, is the claim that reading is a dialog between writer and reader. This view, however, still focuses on the solitary reader making sense of the writer's text, albeit against a background of shared knowledge. Interestingly, Casanave, in *Strategies for Readers* grounds her prereading activities in "the psycholinguistic and schema-theoretic conceptualization of reading" (p. viii), yet, with a classroom teacher's understanding of effective methodology, encourages small group work, thus setting up discourse communities in which to situate reading. The strength and value of these two textbooks lie in this combination of theory and pedagogy, of reading and communicating.

The audience for these two texts is low-intermediate young adult and adult students of ESL in college preparation programs. The first volume uses concrete and familiar subjects as reading topics (e.g., "Names," "Substances") but deals with them as one would more academic topics. The topics in the second volume increase in abstractness, length, and difficulty (e.g., "The Common Cold," "World Population") and are more like the readings we have come to expect in a college text. Casanave's choice of more familiar topics for *Book 1* is an advantage since students work with familiar content in an unfamiliar way. In other words, the books move from readings in which the content is not cognitively demanding but the tasks are academic to ones in which both content and task are demanding (a progression advocated by Cummins, 1981). Teachers will use the books most effectively if they pay attention to the "Information for Teachers" provided at the beginning of each book. In this section, Casanave sets out the organization of the book, her rationale for the activities, and classroom activities, such as the use of small group work previously mentioned. She makes many points that help us rethink our traditional ways of teaching reading, such as the following:

> All activities in both volumes of *Strategies for Readers* begin with directions. *The directions should be considered reading matter* [emphasis in the original]. The ability to read and understand directions is perhaps the most basic of the reading abilities our students must acquire. (p. x)

The prereading activities involve communication to activate students' background knowledge and interaction with the reading by asking students to scan, predict, question, and so forth. These activities encourage active involvement that facilitates reading comprehension.

The early reading selections are short, gently guiding students towards articles of more academic length with footnotes and tables. Students, therefore, are not overwhelmed by the reading task but gain confidence in their own ability to read English. Vocabulary is dealt with through prereading activities and glosses as footnotes to the readings.

An important aspect of these books is that extensive and varied exercises follow the readings. These include comprehension checks that range from true/false questions to summaries. Exercises focus on reading strategies such as inferencing, categorizing, and predicting and on study skills such as summarizing and organizing. Other exercises focus on language use, in particular, logical word goups and cohesive devices. In the author's words, "Logical Word Groups help students understand the importance of perceiving grammatically related groups of words while reading" (p. xi). Still others depend solely on students' own knowledge and interests, such as agreeing or disagreeing with various statements or doing word analogy exercises. Such exercises, since they have no right or wrong answers, stimulate student interest and reduce anxiety in the classroom. However, we must introduce such exercises very carefully to students since many come from educational systems in which personal opinion is not necessarily valued and there are always "right" answers. Each chapter ends with a communicative activity and extra reading. The communicative activities require students to tap their own knowledge and interests, thus concluding each chapter on a positive note.

Both volumes are professionally illustrated and laid out. Headings and directions help students know what they are to do next and what it is about.

Strategies for Readers successfully achieves its goal as a reading and communication text for low-intermediate ESL readers. The careful blend of sound pedagogy and theoretical principles has produced a text that encourages students to be readers of English. Most students will find they will need more advanced reading selections before they can adequately handle their college studies in Englsh; but, given the groundwork of reading strategies they have learned using these texts, they should be able to apply those strategies to more academic texts and tasks. ■

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Editorial Policy

The CATESOL Journal focuses primarily on the teaching of English as a second or foreign language, standard English as a second dialect, and bilingual education. That is, the journal provides a forum for highlighting the innovative teaching going on at all levels in schools, colleges, and universities. Original articles can focus on a particular technique, problem, or situation, but readers should be able to generalize insights from these articles to their own particular situation.

Articles can be of three types:

1. Full length (10-20 pages including bibliography).
2. "CATESOL Exchange" (up to 8 pages). These articles can be personal viewpoints on issues, techniques, and classroom practices which are particularly effective.
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Editors' Note

This issue of *The CATESOL Journal* features articles, exchange ideas and reviews that explore two important issues: learner-based instruction, that is, language instruction that responds to the needs of the learner and the integration of language skills.

Marianne Celce-Murcia explores a number of models of instruction that can be called "content-based." Researchers and instructors using such models work toward integrating language learning with the necessary content learners must acquire to meet their life goals, such as successful school or college preparation in content areas. Helen Kallenbach, applying Maslow's hierarchy of needs, examines the expectations foreign students bring with them to their language classes. Johnnie Johnson Hafernik approaches the question of topics for student writing by asking the question "What topics do students prefer to write on?"

Donald and Yvonne Freeman show how many current assumptions about how learners acquire language actually make learning more difficult. They then call for an integrated approach, the Whole Language approach, that facilitates language learning in the classroom. This theme of integration is picked up again in Stephen Kucer and Cecilia Silva's review of the new California Language Arts Framework and David Freeman's review of two texts on Whole Language. Using an ethnographic approach to writing, Raymond Devenney demonstrates how learners can explore and build on their own life experiences in their writing. This approach calls for both attention to learner needs and an integration of reading, writing, and talking.

Katharine Samway, Lucinda Alvarez and Frances Morales extend the theme of learners' control over their own learning to teacher training by describing a collaborative approach to staff development in which they were all involved.

These full articles are complemented by CATESOL Exchange accounts of sexist language (Kendall), workplace culture (McCarthy), personality types and the composition instructor (Klasewitz), integrating skills in reading (Spaventa), and activities for teaching persuasive writing (Devenney).

Finally, in this issue we have begun a new section, "Book Bytes," which provides brief reports on recently published texts.

Dorothy Messerschmitt
Denise Murray
Editors

The CATESOL Journal

MARIANNE CELCE-MURCIA
University of California, Los Angeles

Models for Content-Based Curricula for ESL

■ **This paper defines and illustrates content-based language teaching in the ESL context. Some good programs are cited as examples, and the reader is given an introduction to the theoretical and practical motivations of content-based ESL, along with some notion of who the principle innovators are. Three content-based models (theme-based, adjunct, and sheltered) are presented in some detail. Since content-based ESL fits so well with current principles of communicative second language teaching, the author argues that content-based ESL, tempered with judicious use of humanistically motivated experiential activities, will be the major approach to formal ESL instruction at all levels in the near future.**

While ESL/EFL teachers work in very disparate teaching situations, they readily exchange ideas and share common principles of good ESL/EFL teaching. In fact, much of the impetus for growth and development in the field of ESL has come from our colleagues in the Council of Europe, who over the years, have developed a set of guiding principles for foreign and second language learning and teaching (see Trim, 1985), which teachers and learners (along with other parties involved in the process such as parents, administrators, testers, and publishers) are asked to adopt and adapt to their own special circumstances. These principles are: (a) Language learning and teaching are part of continuing education; (b) language education should be learner-centered; (c) language education should be related to other aspects of learners' lives; (d) language education should be democratic; (e) language education should use the communicative approach as its frame of reference; and (f) language education should be experiential.

Preliminaries to Content-based Instruction

Today, because of recent advances in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, as well as the development of guiding principles such as the six just cited, teachers and administrators are looking for ways to change curricula to enhance learning. To conduct this search successfully I believe we should answer five major questions.

1. How can we best determine what the needs and interests of our ESL students are (i.e., needs assessment)?

2. What content and what curriculum model would best suit our ESL program?

3. Where can we find and how can we produce the most useful, authentic, task-oriented materials for teaching ESL?

4. How can our ESL program encourage and support student-centered methods?

5. What kind of ESL professionals do we need if we want them to address the immediately preceding four concerns?

The best way to determine the interests and needs of our students is, first of all, to find out what kinds of students we serve in general (native language and culture, age, proficiency level in English, areas of likely academic specialization). For this, we need a good diagnostic and placement instrument (see Alderson, 1987 for such tests), so that students' strengths and weaknesses can be assessed quickly and reliably. If good biodata are collected when this instrument is administered, then we also have the social, ethnic, and educational background of our learners. Each group (or class) of students must be carefully examined to see how general programmatic goals can best be met for those particular students. This is a complex matter and Munby (1978) and Buckingham (1981) at least point the teacher and administrator in the right direction.

In answer to the second question, the curriculum model and materials best suited to teach English for academic purposes to ESL students—once students are beyond the beginning level in English language proficiency—is some form of content-based language instruction. Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989) define content-based language teaching as "the integration of particular content with language teaching aims. More specifically ... the concurrent teaching of academic subject matter and second language skills" (p. 2). The same authors, who hold that a second or foreign language is mastered most effectively when used as the medium to teach content of interest and relevance to the learner, point out that the content-based model also satisfies the need for providing appropriate academic experiences as part of the learner's language development.

As soon as students have reached the low-intermediate level in their English language proficiency, some form of content-based language teaching is both possible and desirable at any level from kindergarten through university. Although my own experience with content-based language teaching is at the university level, I know of innovative programs at all levels of ESL instruction. In British Columbia, Canada, Bernard Mohan (1979, 1986) and his colleagues (see especially Early, Thew, & Wakefield, 1986) have been implementing content-based language teaching with great success in K-12. Innovative secondary teachers have implemented programs such as Chamot and O'Malley's CALLA system (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986, 1987). At the adult level, a content-based approach has long been a part of the curriculum.

Types of Content-Based Instruction

Over the years, several different models of content-based ESL instruction have been developed. The three most prominent ones, according to Brinton, Snow and Wesche (1989), are (a) the theme-based model, (b) the adjunct model, and (c) the sheltered model.

Theme-Based Modal

The theme-based model is perhaps the content-based model that is most widely used because of its flexibility. It is being used now at the University of Southern California (Ryan, 1983), at the Monterey Institute for International Studies, and at other institutions. In this model the ESL teacher is able to draw from a large number of prepared units or modules that deal with content one might expect to encounter in a variety of university or secondary school subjects, or in daily life. For example, a university-level ESL curriculum might have units on:

(a) principles of marketing (business or economics);
(b) the theory of the black hole (astronomy, geophysics);
(c) solar energy (physics, ecology);
(d) conversation analysis (sociology, anthropology);
(e) short- and long-term memory (psychology); or
(f) the life cycle of the Antarctic skua (zoology, biology).

Each unit or module has readings, audiovisual resources and activities from which the ESL instructor can select to develop and enhance the language skills of her students, i.e., to give students practice in reading and writing academic English and in carrying out related listening and speaking activities. The ESL instructor, in other words, is also the content instructor. The learners get credit only for the language class. An ESL program must make a major commitment to materials development in implementing a theme-based program, more so than in an adjunct or sheltered program where the content textbook and lectures serve as the primary source of materials. Recently, however, a number of ESL textbooks have followed a theme-based approach (for example, *Mosaic*).

Adjunct Approach

The adjunct approach to content-based ESL has been developed extensively at UCLA by my colleagues Ann Snow and Donna Brinton (1988a). In this model the ESL students (intermediate-level—approximately 525-550 on the TOEFL) enroll for credit in a content course such as Introduction to Psychology or Introduction to Anthropology, and then enroll concurrently, also for credit, in an ESL course for linguistic preparation and support for the content course in which they are competing academically with native English-speaking students. All materials for the ESL course are drawn from the textbook or lecture notes for the content course. Skills such as listening comprehension, reading comprehension, and essay writing (as well as vocabulary and grammar) are practiced and developed to enhance the ESL student's performance in the content course. Under such an arrangement, we find that ESL students do satisfactory or good work in the content class and do better in the content course than ESL students not receiving the content-based adjunct. As an added bonus, the content-adjunct ESL students have improved their English language skills and their level of English proficiency. Such a program is obviously most feasible in situations where a good number of ESL students are high school students or college undergraduates since graduate students would not, typically, be enrolling in an American history course or introductory psychology or anthropology course.[1]

Sheltered Instruction Model

The sheltered instruction model has been developed at the university level by Krashen and used at USC and the University of Ottawa (see Wesche, 1984). It is also used in many secondary schools in California where there is a heavy concentration of ESL students. In this model, if there are sufficiently large numbers of ESL undergraduates at a college or university or ESL students at a high school, one section of a content course such as Introduction to Psychology or American History can be offered for nonnative speakers only. Bonafide content instructors offer the course and give lectures and assignments with the knowledge that their students are not native English speakers and may, in fact, be only low-intermediate level. In such circumstances the professors generally lecture more deliberately, use more visual aids, repeat more, and modify their language in various ways that have been studied and characterized as "foreigner talk" (Wesche & Ready, 1985). The textbook in such a course is the same one that native English speakers use, and the ESL instructor is a support and resource person who highlights important content and targets key vocabulary and structures for practice either immediately preceding or following the content lectures. The ESL instructor is also available outside class for extensive individual assistance as needed but does not necessarily offer a separate course, and the learners only get credit for the content course.

Usually, content-based language instruction is multiskilled in its approach. However, there is an interesting proposal by Shih (1986), who discusses five approaches to handling content-based composition classes for ESL students at the university level. (To some extent Shih's proposals overlap with the three content-based models described above. There is no reason why a version of Shih's content-based composition approaches could not be implemented at the secondary level also.)

Her five approaches are:

(a) topic-centered modules or minicourses, i.e., what I have been referring to as theme-based instruction;

(b) content-based academic writing courses—emphasizing reading and writing—for undergraduate ESL students to prepare them to handle writing tasks across disciplines. (Shih seems to be describing a general EAP writing course here);

(c) content-centered sheltered subject matter with focus on English for special purposes, i.e., the sheltered model discussed above;

(d) ESL composition courses or tutorials as adjuncts to designated content courses, i.e., the previously mentioned adjunct model; and

(e) individualized help with course-related writing at times of need (through faculty, tutors, and/or learning center staff).

Questions About Content-Based Instruction

Many of my colleagues have an interest in developing content-based programs. Here are answers to some of the most frequently asked questions.

A colleague who is a member of TESOL and who has read a draft of this paper said, "Fine, but in a small ESL program like mine with 60 to 100 students—75% graduates, 25% undergraduates—how workable is a content-based syllabus? Isn't it incredibly hard to plan and execute for a small group that changes every few weeks?"

My response is that only a theme-based model seems possible in such a program and that, yes, it is hard to plan and execute classes—especially at first when you begin to develop the repertoire of theme-based modules and units that you want to be able to draw upon given the needs and interests of any given group of students you may have at any given time. With a small program, individualized content-based instruction with a learning center format may be most efficient for the high-intermediate and advanced students. In such a treatment the ESL instruction ties in with the writing assignments or reading assignments the students do in their content courses. Where several students are taking the same content course, pairs or small groups can be organized and mini-ESL courses can be tailor-made to fit the needs of each individual student or group of students (much on the model of the one-room schoolhouse). This, of course, requires good background and great flexibility, along with creativity on the part of the ESL teacher.

Another question that has come up is this one: "We have a flexible placement process in our ESL program whereby a student may be in a basic grammar class but an intermediate oral communication class. How is total integration of content-based themes possible in such a situation?"

One solution I know is for all ESL faculty in such a program to assess their students' needs and interests—regardless of proficiency level—and for the progam as a whole to then decide what the themes will be and how long each theme will be used for any given instructional term. That means that both the beginning grammar class and the intermediate oral skills class could be dealing with a theme like *marketing*. The materials used would be different—appropriate to the proficiency level and the skill level—yet the theme would remain the same so that the students would not have to be coping with three different themes at the same time if they happen to be taking three different ESL courses at different levels.

Another question that I have often heard content area teachers ask is this: "What can and should I do if there are just a few ESL students in my basically native English-speaking classroom?"

In such a situation the ESL students are getting content-based instruction by definition. To be both humane and effective, we must ensure the students have basic proficiency and skills in English before they are put in such a situation. Then, ideally, there would be special ESL support for these students so they get extra language assistance from the school's ESL teacher and instructional aide or tutor. If the classroom teacher is properly trained and can provide this additional language support, that is wonderful. In too many instances, however, when a content class lacks a language component, students develop good receptive skills but inadequate production skills in their second language.

Creative solutions are possible in virtually every situation if there is a real commitment on the part of the faculty and the administration to implementing a content-based ESL program.

The previous questions all focus on content-based instruction in teaching academic ESL at secondary or college level. How can such an approach be implemented in the adult ESL program? Content-based instruction in the forms of survival English, vocational ESL, and citizenship training has long been a part of adult education. The rationale for such classes has been that the content and language skills acquired during experience with a content-oriented needs-based curiculum have the greatest possibility of being applied, augmented,

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and extended whenever learners study, work, or go about daily routines in English—as many of our adult learners will have to do for the rest of their lives.

In addition to studying survival English, citizenship, amnesty, or vocational ESL, our adult ESL students are, outside of class, studying a society, culture, and environment that are new, unusual, and different in many respects from those that they were accustomed to in their home countries. Perhaps the classroom environment itself will be more familiar to some of them than the surrounding community. Therefore, there is a need for orientation, first of all, to the adult education system and, secondly, to the surrounding community. Perhaps this need can best be met by using well-developed experiential language learning activities such as those suggested by Jerald and Clark (1983). They suggest that activities dealing with, say, use of the local public library, developing interpersonal relationships, opening a bank account, and applying for a job be used at the start of the school year before and then between the necessary content-based units. Later other experiential activities such as using local transportation, telephone use and related language conventions, and finding and getting directions in the larger comunity can also be included as a valuable socially motivated supplement to the content-based instruction.[2]

Again, the students themselves can and should specify areas in which they feel they need special linguistic and cultural assistance. Based on such student feedback, the teacher can prepare appropriate activities. For example, if students express a need to gain proficiency in asking directions (from strangers) they could be assigned a mapping-it-out activity (Jerald & Clark, 1983, pp. 24-26). This activity sends learners, with incomplete street maps, to a section of the town near the school. The task for the students is to label all streets, buildings, and monuments on the map and to do a variety of tasks that will require them to interact with native speakers. In a large town or city, each student can go to a different section, and the information thus gathered can be pooled and shared when the class reassembles. With these activities it is crucial to use some class time to prepare students for the task in advance (such as practice with polite questions). It is also important to follow up such an experience with appropriate discussion (e.g., share experiences. Did students ask for help? What happened?).[3]

Summary

I would like to summarize by returning to the five major concerns and directions for ESL that I proposed earlier in the paper:

1. How can we best determine what the needs and interests of our ESL students are?

We can use our past experience with similar groups of students, of course, but we must also collect relevant biodata from our current students and interact with them regularly on such matters because their perceptions of their own needs may be somewhat different from those of previous groups. Also, their perceptions will change and evolve as their coursework and English proficiency progress. There is also the constant need to assess skill areas and language areas to see what students are learning and what they are not learning.

2. What content and curriculum model would best serve our ESL students?

Obviously, I believe that some type of content-based approach, tempered by humanistically motivated experiential activities—which are especially crucial with adult learners—would be the best solution. However, each institution and program will have to decide what is most appropriate and feasible for their students and their program.

3. How can we find or produce authentic task-based materials for teaching ESL?

If one chooses the adjunct or sheltered model, then the textbook and lecture notes for the content class become the main source of authentic material, with the ESL teacher providing supplementary materials for focus or clarification as needed. A much larger job is involved in the preparation of theme-based curricula where the ESL teacher is responsible for both content and language with a need to locate or prepare reading materials, audiovisual aids, activities and tasks, all of which support the various themes. This approach works best in settings which encourage a team approach to materials development and which allow released time to support materials development. On the other hand, if an individualized approach is taken, then much of the authentic materials will come from the students' own reading and writing assignments in their content courses.

4. How can our ESL program encourage student-centered learning?

To some extent, this is a question that each ESL program must answer regardless of the curriculum or method it selects. It must look at what it does do, and explore what it can do. It is possible to have a content-based curriculum that is not student centered, if the teachers and administrators make all the decisions about instruction and materials independent of the students themselves (what their needs and interests are and in which areas they need help with their English for optimal academic progress). This is simply poor planning and instruction when such a situation occurs. If content-based instruction is implemented in a way that actively takes students' needs and interests into account in an ongoing manner and actively involves students by making them responsible for their own learning, then it is definitely a student-centered approach. However, we should add that student-centered methods and techniques must also be used to support such an approach and to make it truly student centered.

5. What should ESL professionals know if they are to address the preceding four concerns (needs assessment, curriculum materials and tasks, student-centered methods)?

Ideally, we want teachers with expertise in many areas. They would have the basic skills necessary for all ESL teachers:

(a) linguistic competence;
(b) methodological competence;
(c) understanding of the language teaching/learning process;
(d) lesson planning skills; and
(e) classroom management skills.

Teachers in content-based programs should also be skilled in:

(a) needs assessment,
(b) curriculum development,
(c) language assessment/testing, and
(d) materials development.

They should have audiovisual (and technical) expertise and be able to conduct program evaluation (to ensure that all components are student-centered and effective).

Many readers will say that it is almost impossible to find a group of ESL teachers, all of whom can do all of the above. True, but it is possible to find all of the above skills represented in almost any given group of 5 to 10 qualified and experienced ESL professionals, and where those skills are not all well-represented, the teachers can and should continue their education in the areas of need—through such avenues as TESOL Summer Institutes, evening extension classes at a local college or university, conference workshops, or independent reading. In other words, Trim's (1985) first guiding principle for language education (i.e., that it is continuing education) applies to teachers as much as (or more so) than it does to students. If teachers decide they are committed to a content-based curriculum for their students, they must be willing to learn more about the necessary components and to grow as professionals. If administrators are convinced that a content-based approach would be best for their program, they must either hire teachers who can carry out such a program or assist their teachers in obtaining new skills through continuing education so that implementation of a content-based approach will ultimately be feasible. Implementation, of course, also requires released time for teachers to do materials development—especially in the theme-based model.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to restate that I have provided some examples of good content-based programs and argued for a content-based approach to ESL instruction tempered with the judicious use of humanistically motivated experiential activities as the most appropriate direction for an ESL program to take if it is serving ESL students in a secondary, adult, or higher education program. I have also mentioned the work of Mohan (1979, 1986) and his colleagues and that of Chamot and O'Malley (1986, 1987), among others, who are implementing content-based ESL programs at the elementary levels. For all such populations content-based language instruction is also the approach most compatible with the six guiding principles of ESL instruction that have been developed by the European Community (Trim, 1985).

I should add, parenthetically, that content-based ESL instruction did not develop out of the blue, but that it has historical antecedents in some earlier language teaching movements such as Immersion Education, English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and Writing Across the Curriculum. However, content-based ESL has evolved in special ways that clearly distinguish it from these other movements. As such, content-based language teaching has strong theoretical and empirical foundations that I believe will soon help make it the dominant approach to teaching ESL at all levels. ■

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Footnotes

[1] We do know of one case where an optional ESL adjunct was offered at the graduate level to Business Law majors at the University of Southern California. A significant number of nonnative English speakers from abroad typically enroll in this graduate course.

[2] Donna Brinton (personal communication) has pointed out that experiential humanistic activities can easily be integrated into most content-based ESL instruction—and into theme-based units in particular. ESL teachers at all levels and in all settings who plan their theme-based units cleverly can and do incorporate the more humanistic, experiential aspects of language learning.

[3] Guyer and Peterson (1988) also incorporated these kinds of activities as preliminaries to a Human Geography ESL adjunct that they taught at the university level.

Marianne Celce-Murcia is professor of applied linguistics at UCLA and a longtime member of CATESOL. Her teaching and publications are mainly in two areas: (a) grammar and discourse, and (b) language methodology (including curriculum models and materials development).

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The CATESOL Journal

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A Hierarchy of Student Expectations

■ This paper is an examination of expectations which ESL students bring with them to a university setting. International, or foreign, students arrive in this country with certain expectations which may or may not be realistic. As students learn to adapt to their new surroundings (physically, emotionally, and academically), these expectations and the degree to which they are met can play an important role in the students' academic success. Teachers should be able to recognize the various types of student expectations and be sensitive to their effects on students. This paper draws an analogy to Maslow's hierarchy of needs while identifying and illustrating five hierarchical levels of student expectations. In addition, it offers suggestions to teachers for dealing with problems that can arise when these expectations are not met.

I begin each term with high anticipation for a new set of foreign students, their faces alive with expectation of the English they hope to learn during the following few weeks. They gaze at their new American teacher, ready and anxious to learn as much as possible about the English language. Whether motivated by a desire to enter an American university and a need to pass the TOEFL examination or a desire to add to their employment skills in their native country, they are almost without exception a teacher's dream: truly motivated students. Certainly, as a group, college-bound ESL students have entered the ESL classroom by choice; they have chosen a career path which includes the use of English. Working with these students I have observed, however, that this motivation, so strong at the beginning of the semester, fluctuates as the term progresses, sometimes increasing to an unsuppressed frenzy of study and involvement in classwork and sometimes diminishing to the point where the students drag themselves pessimistically through classes.

A multitude of factors, both cognitive and affective, may account for such fluctuations. All have been discussed thoroughly in the literature on second language acquisition.[1] Any one or more of these cognitive or affective factors may account for variations in student performance. However, I would like to focus on the effects of the students' own expectations of their perceived ability to achieve success.

Student expectations can be seen as a reflection of both psychological and social conditioning. They can be viewed as a set of variables which are influenced by both sides of the affective domain, the intrinsic and the extrinsic.[2] Consider, for example, the student who views himself as a successful language learner. He has a high level of self-esteem due to his performance in English classes in his native country. He has positive expectations about his future achievement in an American school. However, upon reaching the United States, he soon finds that his past English instruction (the translation method, little practice speaking English, nonnative teachers) has not prepared him for the social and academic situations in which he now finds himself. In contrast with positive intrinsic factors, this student now has negative extrinsic factors to deal with. Thus expectations, though predetermined by the student, are fulfilled or unfulfilled subject to the conditions in which the student finds himself when beginning a new learning experience. Such is the case with international students new to the United States.

I am continually amazed at the ability of my students to perform in spite of the personal disappointments and emotional crises they write about so eloquently in their personal journals. (Most of the student quotations in this paper were taken from such journals; others are from conversations and student surveys.)[3] Perhaps more than any other group of young adults, international students coming to the United States for the first time bring with them an array of untested expectations relating to all facets of their lives: academic, social, and financial to name a few. In observing my students, talking with them, and especially reading their journals, I have come to the conclusion that their expectations can be classified into several categories. For this purpose, I have borrowed from the hierarchical framework developed by Abraham Maslow (Maslow, 1970; Rivers, 1983). Just as Maslow proposes that there is a five-level hierarchy of needs (physiological needs, and the need for safety, belongingness and love, esteem, and self-actualisation) which must be met before an individual can be expected to reach his potential, it seems that there is a similar (though not identical) hierarchy of expectations that must be recognized and addressed, if not met, before the international student can devote full attention to learning English.

Material Needs

What are some of the expectations international students bring with them from home, expectations which may or may not be realized once they enter American academic life? The first set of expectations and those which correspond to the first level of Maslow's hierarchy, have to do with *material and physiological needs.* These include not only food and shelter, but other aspects of the environment as well. Of course there is constant discussion in the classroom about the quality of food in America. "Too much oil and too much sugar, American people don't eat a lot of fresh vegetables," writes one student. Students who came to this country anxious to discover hamburgers and French fries are often disappointed. They soon find themselves gravitating to ethnic restaurants or shopping in an international market. On more than one occasion I have had a student suffering from constipation. In most cases, students blame this problem on the shortage of vegetables in the American diet. I was surprised to learn however, from a colleague of mine, that one of his students blamed this same problem on her inability to use the American toilet. She was too shy to use the public restroom where bathroom stalls had walls two feet off the floor, and she felt uncomfortable in the bathroom at her host family's house which had no lock on the door. In another case, a student had the opposite problem and proceeded to treat himself with medicine brought from home. When that did not work he gave up eating altogether. Needless to say these students were not doing well in their classes.

Shelter, or housing, is another aspect of the international student's life that should be considered. For some students, American kitchens, appliances, and beds may be unfamiliar. One stuent wrote that "host family children are too noisy." Whereas American students would demand quiet of their families or roommates in order to study, international students are frequently too shy or too polite to request quiet. Other physical factors that affect and often interfere with my students' academic pursuits are a lack of convenient and inexpensive transportation, unfamiliar weather, and the difficulty of communicating with the necessary people at the bank, the post office, the doctor's office. In all likelihood these are not problems the students even considered before coming here to study.

Physical Security

Maslow's second needs level is *safety and security*. International students are sometimes frustrated by acts of crime or vandalism which may have been unheard of in their native countries. Japan, for example, has an extremely low crime rate. Bicycles stolen and tires slashed are unexpected acts which Japanese students are not prepared to deal with. Physical assault is a constant threat to students who are easily frightened by daily newspaper reports of such incidents in their American hometown. In one case, a student was unable to take the TOEFL because he was frightened by gangs on the way to an inner city test site. In addition, many students find that expenses are higher than anticipated. They are constantly worried about whether their funds will run out or whether monies can be transferred quickly from foreign sources. There is the unknown aspect of the fluctuating exchange rate. "My country's money is much undervalued, things are expensive." In the case of students from Spain there is a $3,000 limit to the amount of Spanish money which can be exchanged during one year by a student on a tourist visa. Unlike American students, they cannot legally get a job to help make ends meet. In addition, there are frequently concerns about getting and maintaining the appropriate visas. Thus, some students are forced to worry about their security in addition to their schoolwork.

Another aspect of the second level of the hierarchy is the need for order. Frequently, as with any student living away from home for the first time, students are faced with disciplining themselves. Many spend too much time partying. In response to what they like best about the United States, one student wrote, "We can do anything we want, nobody cares about others business." Another wrote, "I can do almost anything if I want." These students viewed this freedom as a benefit. On the other hand, an older student (34 years) from Mexico wrote that what most disappointed her about the United States was, "the rules about everything." A Spanish teenager would like to "live in another place of California like Santa Barbara or Santa Cruz because it's more entertainment and more things to do and Rohnert Park is like a died city." The struggle to put order in their lives must consume a fair amount of energy for students interfacing with a foreign lifestyle.

Acceptance

Fitting in, or *belonging*, Maslow's third level, is especially trying for a foreign student. Frequently these students arrive in this country alone, all of their friends and family left thousands of miles behind. In addition to the homesickness they are surely feeling, they must meet the challenge of being accepted by a host family or roommates. They must make friends with students from unfamiliar cultures. Some students are more successful at this than others. "My roommate is very kindness and she teach me English or American culture sometimes." I have found that most foreign students have considered this hurdle before deciding to leave home and are excited to finally have the opportunity to "get to know Americans." When they are actually faced with the situation though, it can be quite frightening. "I think that Americans are very polite, but is difficult to make friendship with them," writes one student.

On the other hand, some Japanese students are shocked when they discover that they have come from Japan to find themselves in a program with 80-90% Japanese. One student from Japan told me that she felt guilty and embarrassed when she socialized with other Japanese students, speaking only Japanese, while her friend from Germany was forced to speak English all the time. She felt that she should be doing more to interact with Americans, but she could not make herself do it. This student felt she was lazy. But similar situations occur for Japanese students who are just too shy or frightened to try to communicate in English. One blames herself: "My English is not good. I dare not to know American friend." These students solve the dilemma of fitting in by insulating themselves with friends from their own culture, but they often do so against their better judgment. Such a paradox is easy to recognize but difficult to resolve.

Another factor in this third level of Maslow's hierarchy is love. For young adults from some foreign cultures, Japan for example, interaction with members of the opposite sex is a novelty. When these young people become attracted to each other they are experiencing a new, often untried emotion. In addition, there is the possibility of an attraction developing between two people of dissimilar cultures or religions. Besides the cultural barriers that must be dissolved for such a relationship to flourish, there is also the possibility of parental disapproval and resultant guilt. In most cases, students have come to America to study and to learn English. When romance interferes it is most likely unexpected and traumatic. Consider, for example, a letter I received from a student who had been missing classes due to a "broken heart." She had never expected to be sidetracked from her studies. "When I left my city, I was happy because I could make my dream which was coming to America by myself come true. Now I need time to fix my broken heart, I've been taking a lot of time to fix it but still now I can't take myself back yet. Maybe, because I'm in America where I don't have anybody who knows me very well." Her last sentence underscores the increased pain of the international student who is far from home and comforting family. In another, more optimistic case, a young student from Taiwan was forced to miss several classes to travel to the consulate to secure a visa for his wife whom he had left in Taiwan. His success with the consulate was mirrored in his classroom attitude and achievement.

Self-Esteem

Self-concept (*esteem*, in Maslow's hierarchy) is another important category of possibly unfulfilled expectations. I have observed students suffering linguistic shock. They arrive in the U.S.A. fully expecting to be able to communicate, to some degree at least, in their second language, a language which in some cases they have been studying for as many as eight or nine years. But studying English in a Lebanese, or Indonesian, or Japanese high school does not necesarily prepare students to be able to understand and verbalize spoken English. Thus, these previously confident students begin to have doubts. They listen, but they are unable to understand. Their culture often does not permit them to ask for clarification or repetition. They speak but are not understood, so they stop speaking. As teachers we must provide successful linguistic experiences so that these students do not lose their confidence.

Potential

Finally, at the summit of Maslow's hierarchy is *self-actualisation* wherein he focuses on the individual's unique talents, abilities, and potentials, his intellectual and aesthetic needs. (It should be noted that Maslow's hierarchy of needs was developed as a humanistic, psychological profile, not as an explanation of the needs of international students.) Self-actualisation occurs when the student has developed the facility in English necessary to express his true self and his identity. Beginning-level students often feel unable to communicate their personality or their intellectual ideas. Expression of such personal traits requires sophisticated expression of abstract concepts. Beginning students must often be content using the concrete vocabulary for household items, food, clothing, and the like. In the context of such limitations it is very difficult for students to express their identity. They must wait until they have reached a more advanced level before they can express themselves adequately and precisely in terms of their emotional, mental, and spiritual characteristics.

In addition to self-actualisation, the final level of student expectations also focuses on the students' academic and intellectual expectations. Assuming their needs have been met on all of the other levels, then students can strive for academic achievement. Unlike Freud, who felt that unexpressed needs could be the basis for creative energy, Maslow believed that frustration of a need is unhealthy. I do not suggest that the realization of student expectations is so absolute. At this level once again, international students may meet with frustration, but the effects of that frustration are not necessarily harmful.

I recently spoke with one of my former Japanese students who is now studying at the university. We talked about her experiences the previous term in her preuniversity classes. She confided that she had not enjoyed her reading class because the teacher expected the students to talk about the reading material, whereas in Japan the teacher had done all the analysis, and the students "just listened passively." In Japan, reading had been her favorite subject; she loved to read, then to learn from the teacher's explanation of the text. But here, she was continually anxious about being called upon. Since she was such a good student, and capable of providing excellent answers, the teacher probably nominated her frequently which apparently increased her anxiety rather than appeased it. Thus, her initial, positive attitude toward English reading class was transformed to one of anxiety. According to the student, her performance suffered as a result. This may have just been her perception though because, in fact, she continued to receive high marks in her reading class and proceeded to raise her TOEFL score significantly. Perhaps (in contradiciton to Maslow) the anxiety caused her to prepare more thoroughly for this class. However, for a less competent student, the outcome may not have been the same. Such a student might have just given up in reaction to such anxiety. The good teacher must recognize the limits to which he can push his students before such pressure becomes counterproductive.

Cooperative group work, communicative activities, and experiential tasks, which ESL teachers have come to view as activities essential to language acquisition, may involve totally unexpected and unwanted classroom behavior for graduates of foreign educational systems. In her survey of the learning-style preferences of ESL university students, Joy Reid states, "virtually none of the respondents chose group learning as a major learning preference" (Reid, 1987, p. 98). So students are faced with new teaching methods and are often required to communicate their understanding of the material in an unexpected, unfamiliar manner.

In addition, students are often likely to feel that their educational objectives are not being met by our system. How often do we hear, "But will this lesson help me pass the TOEFL?" Our holistic language approach may not seem appropriate to their needs. Nunan's study (1986) provides data which illustrate a discrepency between what ESL students feel is important to them and what ESL teachers feel is important for them. For example, in Nunan's research, pair work was rated *low* by students and *very high* by teachers. Similarly, student self-discovery of errors had the same mismatch. Nunan quotes from a similar study by Eltis and Low (1985): "These data indicate that those teachers surveyed would seem to rate 'communicative' type activities highly, while learners favoured more 'traditional' learning activities, the one exception being 'structured conversation' " (Nunan, 1986, p. 6). It appears that "many learners do have rather fixed ideas (in some cases culturally determined) about what it is to be a learner and what it is to learn a language" (Brindley, 1984 in Nunan, 1986). If this is the case, then students must somehow adjust their expectations to account for our current teaching methods. Or, as Nunan recommends, "the selection of learning strategies and activities could become the focus of discussion, consultation and negotiation" (p. 14).

In response to unmet academic expectations there are certain strategies which teachers can employ to help alleviate potentially negative effects. As it applies to curriculum design, Rivers, like Nunan, supports the concept of student input. "There is no single pedagogical answer, only the answers of many individuals. Language teachers must learn humility. They will have to abandon the authoritarian approach of 'designing the program to meet their students' needs' as they see them, in favor of discovering first how the students perceive their needs, and then considering what contribution they can make, as teachers and course designers, to meeting these needs" (Rivers, 1983, p. 137). In addition, university-level students are capable of understanding the goals of our language instruction techniques and the research which supports such techniques. It seems likely that these students may be more receptive to our techniques if we openly discuss our teaching strategies and our reasons for using them. Thus we can address students' academic expectations through open discussion and the current trends of student empowerment and student-teacher negotiation.

Whereas students are often willing and even demanding in discussing their academic expectations, other student expectations—from physiological expectations to the expectation of self-actualisation—are somewhat more difficult for the teacher to identify and address. Student journals have proven an excellent means of identifying personal problems. ESL students are often more willing (and able) to write about their fears and anxieties than to talk about them. They should be given opportunities to express these feelings. Intrapersonal games and role-playing can also be successful with some students.

Once unmet expectations have been identified, we need to recognize their possible influence on student achievement. Academic pursuits may be shoved into the background when students' time and energies are being devoted to dealing with failed expectations. Since there are so many psychological and social factors potentially affecting our students, factors which we can neither predict nor control, it would seem reasonable that we do everything appropriate, whenever possible, to help meet student expectations. The key word here is appropriate. As teachers, we cannot be available to solve every nonacademic problem students have. Most of my students indicate that they find their teachers friendly, helpful, and understanding. Therefore, there may be a strong tendency for students to come to depend on teachers for support through all kinds of difficulties. But students learn by dealing with problems themselves. They need this experience to maintain self-esteem and achieve independence. When we recognize a student crisis, we need to weigh the problem against its effect on the student's achievement and perhaps offer consolation or advice. But education, not counseling, remains our primary goal. If educational success is more likely when students are not wrestling with a multitude of psychological or sociological problems, we must recognize that we have some responsibility in helping our students to overcome these problems. Part of the solution is merely in the recognition of unmet student expectations by both the teacher and the student, part is in creative problem solving by the students themselves, and part is in providing a sympathetic ear and appropriate advice when necessary.

Thus if we notice our students' enthusiasm beginning to falter, their motivation appearing to wane, perhaps it is time to consider whether there is some expectation that has not been met. One enthusiastic student from Hong Kong is convinced that after four months, foreign students will suffer acute homesickness. "The novelty of studying in America has worn off, a return home is still months away," he writes. This phase passes, but by recognizing it (and similar situations) we can help our students get through a difficult time with the least damage to their academic progress. So when student achievement fluctuates, an investigation of unmet expectations might provide the teacher with some insight into possible causes and possible solutions. ■

Footnotes

[1] See Brown, 1981 and 1987; Krashen, 1981; and Widdowson, 1983 for further discussion of cognitive and affective variables.

[2] See Brown, 1987; Gardner, 1973; Oller, 1979; and Schumann, 1978 for further discussion of the intrinsic and extrinsic (psychological and social) influences on the affective domain.

[3] Journal entries and quotations were taken over a period of one academic year from my students: 35 high-intermediate- and advanced-level students from Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Lebanon, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Brazil, and Mexico. In addition, I conducted an extensive survey of the 60 students in our program representing all levels of proficiency. As noted in this paper, the majority of our students are Japanese.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Changing Contexts in Secondary Classes by Altering Teacher Assumptions

■ **While teachers always try to do what is best for their students, some teachers of bilingual students base instruction on assumptions that actually make learning harder and limit student potential. Such assumptions are: (a) Learning involves the transfer of knowledge from the teacher to the student; (b) oral language skills must be developed before literacy skills are introduced; and (c) learning proceeds from part to whole. This article examines each of these assumptions and shows the kind of classroom practices that follow from them.**

Then a second set of assumptions is introduced: (a) Learning is an active process of meaning construction that occurs during social interaction; (b) reading, writing, speaking, and listening develop interdependently; and (c) learning proceeds from whole to part. Extended examples of learning activities taken from classes in which the teachers ascribe to these assumptions are provided. The examples come from middle and high school classes with both Hispanic and Southeast Asian students. In classes based on this second set of assumptions, all students, but especially bilingual students, find learning easier.

Every classroom is different. Students are different, teachers are different, and the interactions that take place are different. Yet, many students complain that they "do the same thing every day" and that their classes are "boring." Indeed, the first impression a visitor to many junior and senior high schools would get is that most classrooms are more alike than different. In many of these classrooms, teachers give assignments out of textbooks and then sit behind their desks as students silently complete what was assigned. If "everything we do in the classroom is founded on a set of assumptions about learning and teaching . . ." (Newman, 1987, p. 727), then these teachers' practices reflect their assumptions.

Yet, not all teachers view their students as passive learners who must master the content of the textbooks to be successful. Some teachers approach teaching and learning in a way that reveals a very different set of assumptions. In these classrooms, students and teachers work together, allowing all learners, including bilingual learners, to achieve academic success.

Two Classroom Scenarios

A look at two classroom scenarios highlights the differences between the two sets of assumptions. In one high school social studies class, the teacher has just passed out a worksheet. Silent students are busy searching through their textbooks to find information about the early settlers of the United States. As they locate each answer, they fill in the blanks in their worksheets. By the end of the period most of the students have completed the assignments. The blanks on their answer sheets are all filled in. However, as the teacher moves to the back of the room, he notices that the papers of two students have almost none of the blanks filled in. The teacher is concerned because the two students, Chang and Juan, have both been leafing diligently through the chapter during the period, but their hard work has not given them success on this assignment, a completed worksheet. He decides that they probably need a lot more practice speaking English before they can be expected to do the written work required for his class.

In a second class, the students are also studying early settlers in the United States. They have just seen a video on the first colonists to land on the East Coast and have met in small groups to discuss the film and decide what aspect of colonial life they would like to explore further. Mai's group has chosen to draw a large map to show where the colonists of each state came from originally and where they settled. The students in Jose's group have decided to research what kinds of food the different groups of colonists ate. Jose is working with another group member, Ann. They are looking through reference books and magazines for information on food grown and eaten in Georgia during colonial days. Both Jose's group and Mai's group will present their findings to the class at the end of the unit.

Why do students such as Chang and Juan in the first classroom scenario have so much difficulty in school while Mai and Jose find success in the second setting? Chang and Juan's teacher likes them. They never cause much trouble in class. But they aren't doing very well on the class assignments, and they almost never complete their homework with correct answers. When the unit tests come around, Chang and Juan usually score at the bottom of the class. When questioned, the teacher explained that these two students have a poor home environment and that their family is not interested in their progress in school. Since their teacher believes that there isn't much he can do with them by the time they have reached high school, he leaves Chang and Juan alone to do the best they can.

Mai and Jose, on the other hand, are doing well in their class.

They participate in all the activities, and their English improves as they research topics of interest to them and interact with the other students. Their enthusiasm for learning is shared by their peers and their teacher, who eagerly shows samples of her students' work to other teachers, fellow graduate students, and her college professors. Mai and Jose are finding academic success in their classroom. Their teacher does not view their bilingual backgrounds as a deficit. Instead, she conveys to them her belief that they can and will succeed.

Unfortunately, Mai and Jose are exceptions. There are many more students like Chang and Juan in secondary schools throughout the United States. In California, for example, minority students will comprise 52% of the school population by the year 2000 (Cortés, 1986). Statistics from the California State Department of Education indicate that over 36% of the Hispanic students who enrolled in the 9th grade in 1981 failed to enroll in the 12th grade in 1984. And, despite the publicized success of certain Asian students, many minority students, including Southeast Asians, are failing at alarming rates (Olsen, 1988).

Many reasons have been proposed for the academic failure of language minority students in U.S. schools. Cortés (1986) cites genetic inferiority, cultural deficit, and cultural mismatch among reasons that have been proposed. That is, the problem for school failure has been attributed to the student, the student's culture, or the difference between the student's home culture and the school culture. Cortés rejects all three of these explanations and suggests that more complex factors are involved. He proposes a contextual interaction model to explain why members of some minority groups tend to do more poorly in schools than mainstream American students. This model holds that a number of nonschool factors contribute to the societal context within which schools operate. These social and historical forces influence three aspects of the context of education: student qualities, instructional elements, and educational input factors, "including the knowledge, skills, expectations and attitudes of teachers" (p. 19).

An awareness of how nonschool factors affect their students, particularly their language minority students, is important for teachers because that awareness may alter the teachers' expectations for the success of these students. While teachers may not be able to substantially change the nonschool factors, they can change what Cortés refers to as the "educational input factors" and the "instructional elements."

Educational Input Factors

Among the educational input factors is the way that teachers view learners. When learners are seen as plants, passive recipients of knowledge, teachers hold one set of assumptions. If, on the other hand, students are seen as active explorers, teachers assume that their students have a great deal of potential (Lindfors, 1982).

One way for teachers to change the educational input factors, then, is by examining their own expectations and attitudes about their language minority students. As Harts, Burke, and Woodward (1984) point out, "The assumptions we make limit what can be learned. Alter those assumptions and the potential for learning expands" (p. 70).

Three limiting assumptions teachers of language minority students frequently hold are: (a) Learning is the transfer of knowledge from teachers or texts to students; (b) learning oral language precedes learning to read and write; and (c) learning proceeds from part to whole.

The first history lesson we described contains all three of these elements. The teacher assumed that his students could learn history as the result of a transfer of knowledge from the text to their minds. He also decided that Chang and Juan did poorly on this assignment, in part, because their oral language was not well developed (and development of oral language was not his task). Finally, his assignment that broke the learning down into a series of questions about isolated facts comes from the assumption that history is learned from part to whole. In his classroom, students are passive as the teacher feeds them the knowledge the teacher chooses in the way the teacher believes is best.

Mai and Jose's teacher appears to have been operating on a different set of assumptions: (a) Learning is an active process of meaning construction that occurs during social interaction; (b) reading, writing, speaking, and listening develop interdependently; and (c) learning proceeds from whole to part. These assumptions allow this teacher to expand, rather than limit, learning potential for her language minority students. She is making it possible for all her students to succeed. Students in her classroom become active participants in the learning process.

Assumption 1: Learning is the Transfer of Knowledge from Teachers or Texts to Students

A closer look at the two classes reveals that specific assumptions the teachers hold determine the kinds of activities that typically occur in their classrooms.

Juan and Chang's teacher assumes that learning is the result of the transfer of knowledge from teachers or texts to students. As a result, he frequently lectures or assigns his students sections of the textbook to read. Many teachers share this view. In fact, Albert Shankar (1987), president of the American Federation of Teachers, has pointed out that for most students, success in school depends on being able to listen and read and that students who do not learn well through these two modes fail in our school system.

Inherent in this assumption is the notion that what is explicitly taught is what is directly learned. For this to be the case, students need to be viewed as plants (Lindfors, 1982). Plants are passive and need nourishment from outside sources in order to develop and bloom. For students, the nourishment comes from teacher talk and textbooks. Teaching from this perspective is the act of putting knowledge into students, who are essentially passive recipients.

Teachers who see their students as plants often adopt what Freire (1987) calls the "banking concept of education." In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Students passively receive deposits of knowledge to file and store. In this process, "The teacher teaches and the students are taught . . . the teacher talks and the students listen meekly . . . the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply" (p. 59). Although this banking approach to education is harmful for all students, it is especially pernicious for second language students such as Chang and Juan, who have to compete with native speakers of English as they complete assignments that emphasize reading and listening.

Not all teachers are like Juan and Chang's teacher, who accepts the banking concept of education and views his students as plants. Mai and Jose's teacher conceptualizes her students as explorers. Lindfors (1982) describes "explorer" classrooms as places where students and teachers interact with the environment and with one another as they learn about the world. In an explorer classroom the teacher does not simply transmit knowledge about religion, geography, or economics. Neither does she rely on a text to transmit that knowledge. Instead, she explores topics with the students, drawing on what they know, and she involves them actively in the process of discovering more.

Research in language acquisition supports teachers who hold this explorer image. Vygotsky (1962) argues that as students work with adults or more knowledgeable peers, they gain new concepts while working in their "zone of proximal development," the area just beyond what they can accomplish working alone. Dewey and Bentley (1949) point out that we learn by doing, and more recently, Ferreiro and Teberosky (1979), two Piagetian scholars, have concluded that "Obtaining knowledge is the result of the learner's own activity" (p. 15).

What are some characteristics of an explorer classroom? First, students engage in a variety of activities that they choose to do. Teachers in such classrooms invite students to participate in expeditions of learning. They believe that learning is intrinsically motivating so long as students can choose what it is they are learning.

In explorer classrooms, students frequently work together in cooperative groups. Kagan (1986) argues that cooperative group work is especially valuable for second language students. As they work with their classmates they have opportunities to improve their language skills. Long and Porter (1985), for example, found that group work improved both the quantity and quality of student talk. Group work also improves students' social skills. Often second language students are better accepted by their peers as a result of working with them in cooperative groups.

One teacher promoted social interaction by bringing to class an article from the local newspaper about Ban Vinay, a refugee camp in Thailand. When she pinned it on the bulletin board, students crowded around the article to read it because many of them had been in that camp or had relatives or friends in the camp. The teacher invited the students to write their responses to the article. Many of the students chose to write, and the teacher put their responses up on the board, too. Soon, even students from other classes came by to read both the article and the responses. In this classroom the teacher offers students choices as they read and write daily in response to topics of interest to them.

Teachers in explorer classrooms such as this one often organize their teaching into units based on broad themes such as survival, justice, freedom, humanity, or courage. This sort of organization allows teachers the flexibility to respond to student interests and create a learner-centered class.

For example, this same class was studying a unit on courage when a local Hmong man committed suicide because he feared he had contracted AIDS. The students began asking questions about the disease, and the teacher saw an opportunity to help her students become more proficient readers and writers and, at the same time, become informed about an important topic. The teacher expanded her courage unit to include a mini unit on AIDS. She and the students explored this topic together. They read newspaper articles as well as more technical reports on the disease. They listened to a guest speaker and watched an educational video on AIDS. They wrote their new understandings and presented them to one another. The teacher was able to act as the leader of an expedition in a community of learners. Rather than trying to be the source of all knowledge, the teacher saw her role as a fellow explorer helping others learn how to learn.

Expedition leaders must be able to respond to the unexpected, as this teacher did, in an organized way. In explorer classrooms, learning is not haphazard. Teachers develop what Goodman, Smith, Meredith, and Goodman (1987) refer to as a double agenda. They look at the school district objectives for their subject area and then find creative ways to accomplish those objectives as they examine areas of interest with the class. In the unit on AIDS, for example, the teacher was able to meet a number of objectives in science, social studies, reading, and composition.

In a second explorer classroom a biology teacher began his unit on fruits and vegetables by asking groups of students to cut up potatoes, onions, carrots, melons, and apples. As they did this, the students recorded their observations and made hypotheses. Then they presented their ideas to classmates who had worked on different fruits and vegetables in other groups. The students developed the competencies the district required about types of plants, plant growth, and plant parts without being aware they were doing so.

In a third class a world studies teacher began her unit by reading Peter Spier's book, *People* (1980). The book served as a stimulus for study on similarities and differences, world population, individual physical characteristics, religion, recreation, housing, means of making a living, and different world languages. Students then chose areas of special interest to them to read about further. They became experts in those areas and shared their expertise with their classmates.

A middle school teacher allows her students to choose from among several novels. Each week she conducts literature studies with small groups of students reading a particular novel. One of her students, Jaime, arrived from Mexico only five months ago. He is literate in Spanish and is now transferring those skills to English. Maria, a bilingual student, has been helping Jaime read *The Cay* in English. His teacher encourages Jaime to record his responses to the novel in Spanish. During the weekly conferences, Maria helps Jaime participate in the group discussion and translates parts of his response journal for the other group members.

Explorer classrooms expand learner potential by expanding the contexts for learning. Students in these classrooms are not expected to sit in isolation like plants as teachers or texts transmit information to them. Instead, they are involved daily in social interactions during which they actively construct knowledge. The contrast between the success of students like Jose and Mai in explorer classrooms and the failure of students like Juan and Chang in more traditional classrooms most clearly refutes the assumption that learning consists of the transfer of knowledge from teacher or text to students. Rather, learning is an active process of meaning construction that occurs during social interaction.

Assumption 2: Learning Oral Language Precedes Learning to Read and Write

A second assumption held by teachers in many traditional classes is that students need to master oral language before they begin to read and write. However, a look at a classroom where students are encouraged to read and write in their second language from the start suggests that this assumption is also false.

Even though Jaime could not speak English fluently, he was beginning to read and write in English as he participated in the literature study on *The Cay*. Jaime's teacher assumed that reading, writing, speaking, and listening all develop together. She rejected the linear model followed in many classes for second language students where the order of language learning traditionally is listening, speaking, reading, and then writing. By allowing her students to read and write before they develop full control of oral English, Jaime's teacher expands the potential for learning.

Oral language research supports early introduction of literacy. Harste, Burke, and Woodward (1984) discovered that preschool and kindergarten teachers working with monolingual English speakers often ignore meaningful reading and writing activities in language arts because they assume their job is to develop oral language. The same attitude is even more prevalent in classrooms with second language learners where teachers delay the use of writing in the second language despite the fact that written language is crucial for academic success (Hudelson, 1984).

Often, second language students such as Jaime can read and write before they can understand and produce conventional English orally. Clay (1975) has suggested that students may succeed with written language because they can better control the rate of processing. With written language students have time to focus on aspects of form that they select. For these students, learning to read and write may precede the development of oral language.

Often, however, the second language students are pulled out of their regular classes for extra help with an ESL specialist who works on their oral language. During the time they practice pronunciation drills, their classmates are learning important content area concepts and developing literacy skills. This leads to the second language students falling even further behind in their classes.

Although English as a second language classes are moving toward teaching language through content, many ESL teachers still ascribe to the notion of oral language supremacy, a legacy of the structural linguists, whose slogan was "Language is speech, not writing" (Diller, 1979). In two popular approaches to second language teaching, The Natural Approach and Total Physical Response, speaking, reading and writing are postponed until a certain level of listening proficiency is achieved. The general belief among some language educators is that readers must be able to understand spoken language in order to read or write.

However, research is challenging the oral language supremacy assumption. Krashen (1985), whose hypotheses form the basis for the Natural Approach, has more recently reported that "reading exposure" or "reading for genuine interest with a focus on meaning" (p. 89) provides language learners with comprehensible reading input similar to comprehensible oral input. The reading exposure contributes to second language acquisition just as oral language does. Krashen (1984) also proposes that reading contributes to competence in writing, just as listening helps children in their production of speech.

Research by Hudelson (1984, 1986) supports Krashen's more recent views. Children who speak little or no English can read print in the environment and can write English, using it for various purposes. In fact, Hudelson found that some second language learners can write and read with greater mastery of English than their oral performance might indicate. In the same way, Edelsky's research (1982) in bilingual classrooms indicates that written expression in English may precede formal reading instruction and that bilingual learners use knowledge of their first language and of the world and actively apply that knowledge as they write. John-Steiner (1985) reports that Vygotsky also believed in ". . .the central role of literacy in the interaction of first and second language development. . ." for older learners (p. 360). The work of these scholars supports the notion that orality and literacy both countribute to language development.

This research suggests, then, that functional reading and writing as well as speaking and listening activities should be integral parts of all classrooms because all these processes interact with each other. Research by Harste, Burke, and Woodward describes individual reading, writing, speaking, and listening encounters as all feeding into a common "data pool." Learners draw on the data in this pool for each subsequent reading, writing, speaking, or listening encounter. Rather than assuming that speaking, listening, reading, and writing are separate and should be kept separate, Harste, Burke, and Woodward argue that all expressions of language can support and develop growth in literacy. This data pool concept suggests that requiring second language students to master oral skills before they write and read can actually limit their learning potential.

In explorer classrooms where both teachers and students are involved in learning and teaching, second language students can develop all their language skills. Mai and Jose, for example, discussed the video on early colonists before doing research for their maps. Then they used what they had drawn and written as a base for an oral presentation to their classmates. The students in the classroom with the Ban Vinay article began by reading the article. Then they discussed it with their classmates. These discussions led to writing and more discussion. In the same class, some students read an article in the newspaper or saw the news on television about the Hmong who committed suicide because he believed he had AIDS. This reading or listening encounter led to a class discussion. Then students read and wrote as they researched this topic. They listened to each other and to guest speakers. They watched a film. They wrote reports on various aspects of the disease. In each of these cases students interacted through all four modes. They read, wrote, spoke, and listened as they explored their own topics of interest.

These classes stand in contrast to the class where Juan and Chang filled in worksheets. Although these students were required to read and write, they worked individually to answer someone else's questions. They had no ownership of the learning process, and they were not empowered to use the four language skills functionally in social interaction. Their teacher blamed their lack of success on the underdevelopment of their oral language. However, the classroom structure precluded the development of both language and thinking skills.

Juan and Chang would have had more opportunities in a social studies class such as the one offered in a pilot program for limited English proficient students considered potential dropouts (Freeman, Freeman, & Gonzalez, 1987). Although these 11th graders had all failed at least three classes the previous semester and had all scored low on standardized tests, they succeeded in a class where teachers provided daily opportunities for them to read, write, speak, and listen as they worked in cooperative groups.

For example, in one lesson on the Civil War, the teacher first read from Irene Hunt's *Across Five Aprils*. Students then read the textbook selections on the Civil War and compared what they had learned with the facts presented in the novel. Later, after seeing a movie on the Civil War, the class prepared for the unit test by first writing sample test questions in small groups. The groups then quizzed each other on these questions. The teacher collected the questions and used a number of them on the test the following day. Because they had been actively involved in constructing the test rather than passive recipients of it, the students did extremely well. They also came to realize that they could rely on one another and that they could work with the teacher for mutual success. One student reported that this had been the first test she had ever passed without cheating.

By allowing students to develop all their language skills simultaneously rather than assuming that mastery of oral language must precede the development of written language, teachers increase student potential by expanding the contexts for learning.

Assumption 3: Learning Goes From Part to Whole

In Juan and Chang's classroom the teacher operated on a third assumption that limited their learning potential. He believed that learning goes from part to whole. When Juan and Chang studied a chapter, they progressed section by section answering individual questions on their worksheets. Since the tests this teacher gave also emphasized individual facts, his students constantly focussed on details. Their teacher believed he was making learning easier by dividing topics into parts and presenting one part at a time. However, this part to whole approach to a subject actually can make learning more difficult because many students lack the broader conceptual framework that the details fit into. This is especially true for students such as Juan and Chang, who do not share the cultural and experiential background of their classmates.

The assumption many educators hold is that real, whole language and complete texts are too difficult for most second language students, and learning is easier if tasks are broken down into smaller parts. This assumption has guided instruction for both first and second language students. In language arts classes for English speakers, children are asked to underline parts of speech, put in capital letters and punctuation, and circle pictures of things that begin with the same sound. Second language students may be asked to fill in correct verb forms, substitute plurals for singulars, and practice minimal-sound pairs.

The assumption in either case is that mastery of these exercises dealing with parts of language in isolation will lead to mastery of real language. In the same way, Juan and Chang's teacher believed that mastery of details of history would result in an understanding of broader historical processes. This kind of part-to-whole assumption about learning holds that if students begin with the details, simplified sentences, isolated grammar points, or dates when the colonists landed, they will easily be able to build up to comprehension of whole texts. Further, if learning goes from part to whole, it is the teacher's (or the textbook writer's) job to select and sequence the parts the students need to learn. Like the first two assumptions, the idea that learning goes from part to whole only serves to limit student potential by limiting their contexts for learning.

The idea that learning goes from part to whole is a common-sense idea. In industry, complex tasks are often broken down into simple operations to improve production. However, the technology of business does not seem to work in learning. Research indicates that language and concepts are developed from whole to part, not part to whole. Vygotsky (1962) believed that word meanings develop in a functional way from whole to part even though in quantity language seems to develop from part to whole as the child moves from one word to several words to full sentence:

> In regard to meaning. . . the first word of the child is a whole sentence. Semantically, the child starts from the whole, from a meaningful complex, and only later begins to master the separate semantic units, the meanings of words, and to divide his formerly undifferentiated thought into those units. (p. 126)

The second language learner also uses individual words to convey whole meanings. For example, one of the authors, when learning Spanish, used the single word, *¿bano?* meaning *bathroom?* with questioning intonation to mean at various times: ***Where is the bathroom?; Is there a bathroom here?***; and ***Is that the bathroom?*** As more proficiency with the language was developed, the author was able to express these ideas with more complete sentences in Spanish.

Goodman (1986) explains that we are "first able to use whole utterances" and that "Only later can we see the parts in the whole and begin to experiment with their relationship to each other and to the meaning of the whole" (p.19). Parts are harder to learn than wholes because they are more abstract. Words or historical details embedded in meaningful and familiar contexts are easier to learn than isolated words or details.

Many secondary students have experienced the difficulties imposed by a lack of context when they are asked by their teachers to give a definition for an isolated word from a vocabulary list and then use the word in a sentence. Problems arise when students find a definition such as *sharp* and *acute* and then produce sentences like *The knife is acute*. Students familiar with a word will first use it in a sentence and then derive the definition from the context.

Only in the context of the whole is it possible to explain what most words mean. In the same way, individual facts or dates from a social studies book are harder to learn than facts and dates embedded in historical contexts. As Brozo and Tomlinson (1986) point out, using trade books adds the narrative element, ". . . the stories that lie within all human interactions" (p. 288). Content-area textbooks are often dry and lifeless and have little meaning to secondary students.

When older students like Juan and Chang first read Collier and Collier's *War Comes to Willy Freeman* and then study the details of the War for Independence, they have a picture of the whole situation, the people involved, and the setting. Once a context is established, the isolated facts, names, and dates can begin to make sense. The same principle holds for all subjects. For example, second language students studying the vocabulary and concepts of large numbers may more easily begin to understand these concepts and learn the vocabulary by reading or having read to them *How Much is a Million?* by David Schwartz, than by doing isolated exercises in translating numbers like *1,000,000* into words.

Learning in explorer classrooms goes from whole to part naturally. The class that studied AIDS began with a basic question: What is the nature of this disease and how is it transmitted? The students researched various aspects of the disease, listened to a speaker, and viewed a video. They discussed AIDS with their classmates and presented their research to one another. They read and wrote responses to articles about AIDS. As their understanding of the topic increased, they moved from a vague, undifferentiated concept to finer discrimination of the parts. The teacher did not attempt to determine the content to be learned and present it sequentially. She did engage her students in a variety of activities, and her classroom was highly organized, but she followed the lead of students. Her classroom was a community of learners exploring a subject together from whole to part.

In the same way, the biology students studying fruits and vegetables began with very general observations. Bananas had only one outer layer of skin while onions had many layers. Oranges could be divided into equal sections, but turnips were not so conveniently organized. As the students examined various fruits and vegetables they began to be able to categorize them according to different criteria. They became more adept at knowing what they were viewing, either directly or under a microscope. In short, they began to see the world as a biologist sees it and to ask the kinds of questions a biologist might ask. As their investigations continued, they worked in teams to explore particular aspects of the topic that interested them. In this class, as well, the teacher organized activities and involved students in certain experiences. However, he was interested in having students come to understand certain general concepts before they investigated particular aspects of it that were of interest to them. In this way, he was able to allow his students to learn from the whole to the parts.

The middle school students who read Theodore Taylor's *The Cay* were also learning from whole to part. In most classrooms, students are assigned only small sections of a book and then asked to answer specific recall questions on that section either on a worksheet or on a series of quizzes before moving on to the next section. In this class, on the other hand, the students were given time to read large sections of the novel before they discussed details. As they read, they kept journals in which they noted aspects of the story they wished to discuss. Once they had a sense of what the novel was like as a whole, the students held small group conferences with the teacher. In the initial literature conferences students shared particular passages that caught their interest. Then each group made some general conclusions about the kinds of passages they were interested in. During later conferences, students discussed specific aspects of the author's craft, such as the use of light and darkness as symbols. The discussions moved from more general to more specific reactions. Once students had a good idea of what the whole novel was about, they went back into the novel to look at particular features that made the writing effective.

Jose and Mai's history class provides a final example of learning going from whole to part. The video gave the students an overview of the unit they were to study. The follow-up discussion gave students a chance to clarify their general understanding of what had been presented. Subsequent activities allowed students to focus on particular parts of the topic. Mai studied where the colonists came from and where they settled. Jose researched the kinds of food they ate.

The details they gathered made sense in the context of the whole.

Organizing teaching by breaking down subjects into parts and presenting one part at a time may be easier for teachers but more difficult for learners. Teaching part to whole is logical, but it is not psychologically viable (Goodman, 1986). Students often fail to see how the individual pieces go together to form a coherent picture. It is as though they are trying to do a jigsaw puzzle without being able to see the picture on the box. Thus, although teachers sometimes assume that teaching the parts will help their students, that approach limits students' potential.

Summary

Teacher assumptions form part of the school context that helps determine the academic success of language minority students. Juan and Chang's teacher operates on these assumptions: (a) Learning is the transfer of knowledge from teachers or texts to students; (b) learning oral language precedes learning to read and write; and (c) learning proceeds from part to whole. These assumptions determine his methods and materials. He relies primarily on the text and his lectures to transmit knowledge to his students. He believes that his second language students fail because they have not adequately developed their oral language skills. Finally, he presents information part by part and tests his students on their recall of details. He views his students as passive recipients of the knowledge he deposits with them. The assumptions he makes reduce his students' potential for success by restricting the contexts for learning.

Mai and Jose's teacher has a different view of learning. She assumes: (a) Learning is an active process of meaning construction that occurs during social interaction; (b) reading, writing, speaking, and listening develop interdependently; and (c) learning proceeds from whole to part. These assumptions let her create what Lindfors (1982) calls an explorer classroom. In explorer classrooms students and teachers form a community of learners. They read, write, and talk with one another as they examine topics of interest moving from a focus on the whole area to a study of particular parts.

By changing their assumptions, teachers can alter educational input factors. They can empower students to take control of their own learning. For all students, and particularly for second language students, this approach expands the contexts for learning and increases the potential for success. ■

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Ethnographic Writing: A Model for Second Language Composition Instruction

In a variety of fashions, ESL student writers can learn to work along the lines of a practical-theoretical continuum in the ethnographic model of writing. They can (a) draw on what they know or what is accessible to them; (b) expand upon their knowledge by reading, observation, and discussion; (c) describe a set of concrete facts in the practical text component of their work that captures or shows the salient issues they want to write about; and (d) extend their discourse into new areas of analysis in the theoretical text component through reflection and by interpretation of the meaning of the actions, events, stories, or cases presented in the practical text. The end result for students is greater knowledge, of not only language, but themselves and the world.

INTRODUCTION

Ethnography, originally defined as the anthropological study of culture in small, preliterate societies (Diesing, 1983), has gradually expanded its domain over the years to include the study of individuals and cultures in larger, literate societies. Watson-Gegeo (1988) points out that today ethnography is viewed as a rigorous and systematic study of people's behavior in naturally occurring settings. Such investigation includes an account of what people do, a description of the ways they interact, and an interpretation of the meanings these interactions have for them. She notes "the cultural interpretation of behavior" is the focus of ethnography (p. 576).

A recent innovation in second language instruction has been the incorporation of techniques and principles of ethnography into an educational context (Enright, 1988). The goal of this innovative approach is to help students learn language by teaching them to become ethnographers in their own communities and schools. And when this ethnographic approach is successfully implemented, the educational results can be dramatic (see, for example, Heath, 1983). Recently, Johns (1988) has extended this ethnographic approach to education to university-level ESL classes. However, both practical and theoretical constraints of this process of turning students into ethnographers need to be fully considered.

As a practical matter, many ESL instructors—including those with a genuine interest in doing ethnography in their classes—may be unable to make the commitment to changing their classes or instruction in the dramatic fashion ethnographic approaches require because they face constraints imposed by existing programs, policies, or supervisory/administrative personnel. Other second language instructors may feel intimidated by the demands of time they perceive an ethnographic approach would necessitate. Furthermore, ESL teachers who are considering having their students do ethnography must be prepared to address and resolve certain theoretical limitations, especially those drawn from the field of ethnography. Rist (1980), for instance, cautions against what he terms "blitzkrieg" ethnography, a notion caricatured by Schultz (1983): "I hung around the principal's office for two days and eavesdropped on some conversations" (p. 6). Spindler (1982) adds that the application of ethnographic methods by those with limited understanding of the field creates a "fad," not the kind of disciplined fieldwork conducted by ethnographers. Deising (1983) discusses the serious problems faced by unprepared or biased observers.

Given the practical and theoretical constraints of converting entire classes of student writers into novice ethnographers, is ethnography fundamentally incompatible with approaches to ESL composition? The answer is no. The fact is that ethnographic writing can be viewed as a multifaceted discourse model (Geertz, 1988; Clifford, 1986) and, subsequently, can be considered as something quite different from actual ethnographic field research. ESL teachers need not be trained anthropologists to utilize ethnographic models of discourse in their writing classes. Interested ESL composition teachers can incorporate many ethnographic techniques and principles into their classroom instruction by simply recognizing that ethnographic writing provides comprehensible models of discourse and a viable alternative—or supplement to—traditional ESL writing instruction. And this ethnographic model can be utilized within existing curricula and without excessive demands on the teacher's time.

Ethnography and Writing

Perl (1983) points out areas of similarity between writing and ethnography. She notes both are recursive processes which emphasize learning by doing. Each leads to discovery by exploring different forms of discourse and different points of view. Writing and ethnography are also human modes and essentially rely on trust. Perl points out that in writing, as in ethnography, meaning emerges from repeated reflections on observations.

Five aspects of an ethnographic method of inquiry cited by Kanton, Kirby, and Goetz (1981) are highly relevant to language teaching and learning, especially to writing. These are its concerns with (a) a hypothesis-generating process of discovery, (b) the use of specific features of language contexts, (c) the thick description of phenomena, (d) a role for a participant observer, and (e) the importance of making meaning.

Furthermore, various techniques used by ethnographers to collect data can also be effectively utilized in writing classes (Bird, 1987; Rowe, 1986). These include observation, field notes, interviews, use of informants, study of records and artifacts, video or audio recordings of subjects, and diaries. The examination of data from multiple perspectives used in ethnographic research, Liebman-Kleine (1987) points out, can also be beneficial to student writers. As Schultz (1983) eloquently puts it:

> By attempting to understand the world from the point of view of others, we gain an appreciation for multiple interpretations of the same reality, and in fact, of multiple realities, rather than being blinded by or forced to live by only one. (p. 26)

In the next section of the paper, a number of rhetorical devices drawn from ethnographic writing will be presented and their applicability to second language composition instruction discussed. However, what underlies each of them—and makes them relevant to writing instruction—is the notion, as Schultz succinctly puts it, that "ethnography is not simply a technique, but rather a way of understanding and making sense of the world" (p. 6). The challenges that face inexperienced ESL writers, therefore,—particularly those in academic settings—are not at all dissimilar to the challenges which face a novice ethnographic writer.

Ethnographic Models of Writing

Berthoff (1984) provides a rationale for an ethnographic model of writing. She states the crucial issue directly—theory and practice need each other. She points out

> there is rarely any attempt to demonstrate the relationship of observation to interpretation or logical analysis or narrative, or indeed to anything we do with language. (p. 3)

Making explicit the relationship of the practical and the theoretical is the cornerstone of an ethnographic model of writing. For Mohan (1986), demonstrating the relationship of observation to interpretation means "going from practical understanding to theoretical understanding" (p. 100), or more precisely, going from a specific case to the background knowledge about a topic each case represents. The essential components of an ethnographic model of writing are presented in Model 1.

Model 1. Mohan

TOPIC
CASE
BACKGROUND INFORMATION
EVALUATION

Martha, from California, begins a paper on self-esteem by describing the case of Veronica. The purpose of the case in this student's writing is to show rather than tell what she wants to say before providing background information on her general topic and attempting an evaluation of the issues Veronica's case represents.

> Veronica is one of several millions that suffers from low self-esteem. Veronica has suffered many ordeals throughout her life. As a baby, Veronica was never claimed by her father. At age eight, Veronica's mother abandoned her for a while. As a teenager, Veronica and her mother were constantly moving. With her friendly personality, she has no trouble meeting people, yet traveling caused her to leave many friends behind. Traveling also caused Veronica to switch from school to school. When she would begin learning new material, it would be time to move again. Her academic ability decreased, even though she is a bright girl.
>
> Recently, Veronica noticed that Alicia, the girl who has been her best friend, is trying to change her into someone else. Veronica also noticed how Alfred, the boy she has been dating for two years, did change her. He would constantly tell her she was fat, ugly, and unwanted to the point she began to believe it herself. Veronica's mother now constantly pressures her to find a husband and move out.
>
> Veronica realizes that these incidents have left her confused, sad, and angry. She admits that she has a low self-image of herself, but this is the first step in improving her self-esteem.

Because the practical component of her paper (the case) illustrates or exemplifies the very concepts or issues to be discussed in the theoretical (or the background information about a topic), the theoretical becomes more accessible to the student writer. And the practical is better understood—or understood in new ways—because of the student's greater understanding of the theoretical. This greater understanding of an issue enables a student to assign meaning and make evaluations about the topic.

In the first excerpt below, taken from her paper on the homeless, Heang, a Cambodian refugee, integrates her firsthand knowledge of homelessness and background information on the general topic. As a result, she has a greater understanding of the practical and theoretical. Similarly Nancy, in the second excerpt, combines observations and descriptions of her mother and background information about the topic of arthritis. Her mother's daily life is seen in new ways and better understood by the student writer as a result.

> It took us six months to walk back to Cambodia from Thailand. On our way, my family had no place to stay at night. My father just built a small tent for our family to stay in each night. Sometimes, when it was raining, all of our things got wet because we didn't have enough space to cover everything. Somtimes we passed by a village. We asked the residents if we could stay at the side of their house overnight. Some of them were nice and would let us stay for the night. Some people didn't even look at us when we asked them if we might be allowed to stay there. They just ignored us. So we kept going until we could find a place to settle down for the night. That is why when I read the article in "The Bakersfield Californian" about the homeless and when I saw them on the street I felt sorry for them.
>
> In the United States the total homeless population has increased from 250,000 to 3 million since 1980. Many are young, chiefly minority men without jobs and education. Women are turning up on the street in large numbers too because they couldn't get help from family or friends. Now families are appearing in emergency shelters and on the road. Some of the homeless stay in parks, cars, and parking lots. Some dropped out because they did not have enough education or the experience or skill to get a job. Some ran away because they could no longer deal with things at home. Some had no income and no place to go. Even though homelessness in America is not as bad as homelessness in Cambodia, the U.S. government should help the homeless by building more public housing.

. . .

> The sound of my mother's hands patting and kneading dough lingers vividly in my mind. She grabs a small amount of dough and rolls it into a ball. As she picks up the rolling pin, she sprinkles flour on the dough and begins to roll out small balls of dough into thin, flat, round tortillas. She stops a moment and gently rubs her hands. Her once beautiful hands have been deformed due to her large swollen joints. She walks over to the medicine cabinet and picks up a bottle of medication. Push down and turn, the phrase on the cap reads. This simple task is almost impossible for her to perform. She calls out my name and I help her by taking off the cap. Even though I cannot feel the pain she experiences, I have extreme sympathy for her. This pain is caused by her inflamed joints, arthritis.

> Arthritis affects about 37 million Americans. That's one in every seven people, and one in every three families. People of all ages, including children and young adults, can develop arthritis.

Spradley (1980) makes a point about ethnographic research which is equally relevant to student compositions: "Although you will want to make generalizations during your research, it is necessary to begin with concrete facts that you can see, hear, taste, smell, and feel" (pp. 68-69). Inexperienced student writers and novice ethnographers face a similar task. Both must, in their own way, learn to deal with the most specific, concrete human events as well as with the most general. Spradley, like Mohan, believes that maintaining a strict separation between practical and theoretical components adds depth and substance to a study. Spradley illustrates how these practical and theoretical elements operate in a text and how they are related in ethnographic writing.

> We identify an infant with a specific name, held by a specific mother, nursing at that mother's breast, as a specific time and place. In these same field notes we make observations about human love, nurturance, and the universal relationship of mothers and children. (p. 162)

Spradley makes quite clear the purpose "concrete facts," or practical text, serve in the ethnographic model: "In order for a reader to see the lives of people we study, we must show them through particulars" (p. 162). By this he implies that the most important level of ethnographic writing is this level of practical text, or, in ethnographic terminology, "specific incident statements," which

> take the reader to the actual level of behaviors and objects, to the level of perceiving things. As a reader you immediately begin to see things happening, perhaps feel things the actors feel in the situation. Instead of merely being told what people know, how they generate behavior from this knowledge, and how they interpret things, you have been shown this cultural knowledge in action. (p. 166)

Spradley's caveat is equally relevant for ESL writers: "A good ethnographic translation shows, a poor one only tells" (p. 166).

Model 2. Spradley

PRACTICAL TEXT
(Showing Cultural Knowledge in Action)

THEORETICAL TEXT
(Generalized to Wider Contexts)

Drawing upon his own observations and experience, Albert, a college freshman, clearly shows farm workers' lives in this passage of practical text from one of his compositions.

> At about 4:30 in the morning workers begin to awaken. Some get up hesitantly and others are prepared to face another day of work. Most usually have a small breakfast and then change into their working clothes. Everyone wears long-sleeve T-shirts to keep the dust and sulfur off. Workers either drive to the grapevines or get picked up by a van with other workers. When they arrive at the grapevines, some wait in the van to rest, while others go to their assigned packing tables to prepare. They prepare by getting packing boxes, packing curtains, lids, and paper cushions.
>
> At 6:00 a.m. the foreman honks the horn of his car, like a whistle or a bell would sound in a production line of a manufacturing company, to get the workers started. One group of workers usually consists of three people: one person packs the grapes, the other two pick and bring grapes to the packer using a wheelbarrow. Every worker has a clipper, which is used to clean and trim the grape bunches. The types of grapes workers pick depend on the variety grown in the area. The varieties range from green Thompson's to purple-red Flames and dark purple Rivers, as well as other lesser varieties.
>
> During the morning you can hear the workers talking across one row of vines to the next. At first the workers start off slow, but soon the sun takes away the bite of the morning chill and the pace increases.

Creating a practical text helps students not only understand theoretical issues better, but also shape and form text because it is an act of structure formation, that is, organization. Like the ethnographer, to create the practical text, ESL student writers must first select and then represent in a concrete way the salient issues or themes they want to discuss in their composition. By providing evidence instead of merely explaining, ESL students become better writers.

Morgan and Engel recommend that "careful distinction be made between the description of data and its interpretation" (p. 176). This same distinction has been made by Bartholomae and Petrosky (1986), who encourage students in first langauge writing classes to distinguish between evidence and explanation.

> We want you to be able to distiguish in your paper between writing that is evidence (here we are referring to the stories you wrote about yourselves) and writing that is explanation (here we are referring to why you chose the stories you did and what points you want to illustrate with them. (p. 117)

Model 3. Bartholomae and Petrosky

EVIDENCE

EXPLANATION

Because the practical component, or evidence, in student writing is based, at least initially, on the writer's own experience, second language students can learn this evidence-and-explanation process of constructing, ordering, and interpreting text. Two immigrant students, Nancy and Miguel, use accounts of personal experience as evidence in the practical text portion of their composition. Their papers show how practical situations can illustrate a general topic, in this case, the adjustment problems of bilingual children.

> Que Dice?
>
> I recall seeing my father with that blank expression on his face. I have seen it so often, that empty child-like look. His eyes glaring down at me crying out for help. Me, his 10-year-old daughter whose English pronunciation is just beginning to develop. "Que dice?" he asks. Quickly, I begin to translate each word the doctor said to me into Spanish, carefully selecting each word so my father could understand. That night my grandmother had grown ill, and my father and I rushed her to the hospital. Being the only one who spoke English and Spanish, I naturally became the translator. I was frightened, confused, and angry. I was just a 10-year-old child. I should not have been forced under all that pressure.

. . .

> On Monday morning [his first day of school in the United States], I went to the class I was assigned to. My third grade teacher was Mrs. Smith and she was in her late 30s. She asked me for my name, but I did not understand her. I was also too shy and nervous to speak. Everyone was laughing at me. I felt very miserable and a total failure.
>
> The teacher, seeing that I didn't answer because of my lack of English, demoted me back to first grade. She hurt me very much with that decision. I bet I could have learned the English language very fast if she would have given me an opportunity to show what I did know. Mrs. Smith expected me to know English, but how could I if I just came from a place where they speak nothing but Spanish. Just because I couldn't understand her at that time she demoted me in grade. She thought I didn't have the reasoning skill, intelligence, and mentality of a third grader.

While ethnography differs from merely living through and recalling experience (Soven, 1979), an ethnographic model of writing, like the Language Experience Approach, does enable students to begin with what they already know. In the process of learning writing structures that they are unfamiliar with, students can build upon their own prior knowledge and past experience. The purpose of the ethnographic model of writing is to help second language students make sense of the world, not to teach them to conduct scientific research. Again Schultz' comments about ethnography are highly relevant to ESL composition instruction.

> In ethnographic inquiry, the emphasis should be on the latter half of the endeavor-inquiry—and the raising of questions about the way the world works. Then it becomes simultaneously a reflection on the assumptions we hold about the nature of that world and the ways with which we view it. (p. 8)

The crucial concept for ESL teachers and their students to understand about an ethnographic model of writing, as Geertz (1973) points out, is that a "good interpretation of anything—a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society—takes us to the heart of that of which is the interpretation" (p. 18). What the practical text component makes clear is that the student writer, like the anthropologist, should "approach such broad interpretations from the direction of exceedingly extended acquaintances wih extremely small matters" (p. 21).

Meaning Making

In both ethnography and student writing, the process of interpretation that occurs is directly tied to meaning making. Geertz goes so far as to state that "whatever, or wherever, symbol systems may be in their own terms, we gain access to them by inspecting events, not by arranging abstract entities into unified patterns" (Geertz, 1973, p. 21).

Two student papers on abortion illustrate this access to meaning by inspection of events. Solange, after presenting the case of a 16-year-old friend who decided against having an unwanted child, argues persuasively in the body of her text for women's right to choose in such instances. She concludes with this statement of understanding.

> After reading so many books on abortion, I realize now that my friend made the right decision because she wasn't ready to have a baby then. I can't imagine her taking care of a baby without any money or support from her family and friends. Since she was so young, she wasn't ready for a big step like raising a baby because she couldn't even take care of herself. My friend is married now and has a child. Seeing them so happy together makes me very happy. My friend told me that she

> doesn't have any regrets about her decision because she is so happy now and has a wonderful family to take care of.

Yvonne, a returning student, had an abortion when she was 18. After presenting her own story as a case, she describes her experiences in the hospital and argues persuasively against abortion.

> The first thing the nurse had me do was strip and put on a gown with an opening in the back. She took me to the operating room and put me on the table while she got everything ready. I do remember asking the anesthesiologist not to put me to sleep. I wanted to feel the pain to realize the full impact of what I was doing. He told me he could put me to sleep or give me a local anesthesia, which would lessen the pain to an extent. I chose the latter. After a few minutes, I heard the sound of a machine being turned on. It sounded like a vacuum cleaner...I still remember the sound of that machine fourteen year later.
>
> Just as the procedure began, I remember a nurse came over to the table and held my hands. At first, I thought she was holding my hands as a gesture of sympathy, but soon I realized she was holding my hands so I wouldn't grab something I shouldn't. I remember the nurse making a comment to me that I was hurting her hands by squeezing them too hard. I thought to myself: Too damn bad, how do you think I feel?
>
> After a few minutes that seem like hours, the abortion was over. The nurse led me to a room full of women; some were lying on beds asleep, others were awake. Some of the women were crying softly. Others were laughing and joking, perhaps to make light of their real pain, or maybe they were numb to it all. I remember I didn't cry, I couldn't.
>
> It's sad looking back on the experience. The emotions I now feel I couldn't feel fourteen years ago. I now have strong convictions and feel what I did was wrong. What I thought was the answer to my problem really wasn't.

For the ethnographer and the student writer, "analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses" (Geertz, 1973, p. 9). The importance of this meaning-making process should not be underestimated in ethnographic or student writing.

Theory serves in ethnography and student writing, as Geertz puts it, "to ferret out the unapparent import of things" (p. 27). Arief, a freshman from Indonesia, makes just such an extension to a wider context in his paper on general education.

> Looking at the purpose of general education courses offered by California State University, Bakersfield, I understand how important general education is for all students. Although some of the courses are not related to our majors, general education

> courses help us understand the basic knowledge that will be important in our future life. In these courses, all undergraduates hone their basic skills—writing, speaking, critical thinking, and mathematical reasoning—and we have experience with the sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. By the time we graduate from this college, we do not just know the knowledge of our majors but also the other knowledge we learn from general education courses. We will know our society more thoughtfully, apply the knowledge to the society in which we live, communicate with other people more fluently, and think more critically.

Clara, a Salvadoran, in a paper on the recent amnesty program in the United States, presents in detail the case of a college student who flees El Salvador because he has become a target for arrest or execution by the right wing, yet who fails to qualify under the conditions of the new amnesty law. She describes the problems such illegal aliens and their families face here. And in doing so, she extends her analysis to the widest possible context.

> Thousands of people like them are currently in this situation . . . If they stay in this country illegally, they don't have a chance of getting a job. Everywhere they apply, they are turned down because they don't have a work permit. If they return to their country, they face arrest, prosecution, or even execution. I know this is a real possibility because my own father was murdered in El Salvador.
>
> There has to be a way to help these people because we cannot send them back to where they came running from. There has to be justice, and as citizens of this country we have to help those who need our help. Many times we say that the law is the law. But we have to begin to think of the law of humanity and the law of God. We need to consider what these people have gone through in the past, and they should be given the right to live in this country without being persecuted or oppressed. After all, that is what they came here to get away from.

Building upon prior knowledge, past experience, the familiar, or the practical and concrete to reach unfamiliar, abstract, and theoretical domains is essential in an ethnographic model of student writing because it makes writing, especially academic writing, a meaning-making process which is entirely under the individual student's control. And through this meaning-making process ESL students close in on the key aspect of any writing event: They come to realize that practical and theoretical text are comments on more than themselves. Students learn in their own written work that "where an interpretation comes from does not determine where it can be impelled to go" (Geertz, 1973, p. 23). Or, as Geertz succinctly, but eloquently, notes, "small facts speak to large issues . . . because they are made to" (p. 23).

Using Analysis of Fairy Tales

Parkhurst (1988) shows how students can make interpretations through the analysis of fairy tales. Second language writers can practice, as Geertz puts it, "ferreting out the unapparent import of things" in analyzing fairy tales because the tales contain cultural values or messages which can then be interpreted by students in their writing. For instance, students can present a fairy tale from their culture and afterwards identify and analyze the cultural messages contained in the tales. From such analysis, ESL writers can generalize to make interpretations about their society or culture.

Model 4. Parkhurst

PRESENTATION OF FAIRY TALE

IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURAL VALUES IN THE TALE

INTERPRETATION OF SOCIETY OR CULTURE

Eventually, both student writer and ethnographer must, as Spradley notes, "learn to shift back and forth between the concrete language of description and the abstract language of generalization" (p. 69). However, this distinction, or that between the practical and the theoretical, or between description and explanation, should be seen as relative—not absolute. It is a continuum "between getting down the meaning social actions have and stating, as explicitly as we can manage, what knowledge thus attained demonstrates" (Geertz, 1973, pp. 26-27).

Ethnographic Writing as Allegory

Clifford (1986) takes this notion of the relativity of the practical and theoretical even farther, claiming that ethnographic writing is allegorical. He illustrates his approach by analyzing Shostak's (1981) study of Nisa, a !Kung woman, in particular Shostak's vivid and moving account of !Kung childbirth.

> The story has great immediacy. Nisa's voice is unmistakable, the experience sharply evoked . . . But as readers we do more than register a unique event. The story's unfolding requires us, first, to imagine a different *cultural* norm (!Kung birth, alone in the bush) and then to recognize a common *human* experience (the quiet heroism of childbirth, feelings of postpartum wonder and doubt). The story of an occurrence somewhere in the Kalahari Desert cannot remain just that. It implies both local cultural meanings and a general story of birth. A difference is

> posited and transcended. Moreover, Nisa's story tells us (how could it not?) something basic about woman's experience. Shostak's life of a !Kung individual inevitably becomes an allegory of (female) humanity. (p. 99)

Clifford argues that these transcendent meanings are not merely "added on" to the original "simple" meaning; they are the very conditions of its meaningfulness. Clifford adds that

> once *all* meaningful levels in a text, including theories and interpretations, are recognized as allegorical, it becomes difficult to recognize one of them as privileged, accounting for the rest. Once this anchor is dislodged, the staging and valuing of multiple allegorical registers, or "voices," becomes an important area of concern. (p. 103)

The practical and theoretical components, therefore, are not, in fact, distinct entities, though they may be presented separately in a student composition. Clifford's conclusion has great relevancy for an ethnographic approach to ESL composition, for it provides not only justification for student voices, but a tangible goal for their writing: "Whatever else an ethnography does, it translates experience into text" (p. 115).

Model 5. Clifford

ALLEGORY
(Telling a story to help us see
the cultural norms in
particular actions or events)

INTERPRETATION
(Discussing the universal
qualities of that story)

Heath (1983) describes the practical and the theoretical in an educational context as bidirectional, and she articulates the challenge students face in manipulating them.

> The key objective of this two way manipulation of knowledge . . . was to translate knowledge familiar in one domain into the other (unfamiliar) domain. Students move between the personalized, orally expressed knowledge of the home to the depersonalized, decontextualized, primarily written knowledge of the classroom. (p. 321)

The end result is that students become aware "that participation in both domains is viable for the individual, and features of one domain can be used in the other" (p. 324). Heath's analysis again makes clear that when familiar experience is used to help students understand the theoretical, their new understanding, in turn, changes their perception of the familiar or practical. Thus, the practical becomes the students' means to interpret the theoretical; and the theoretical sheds new light upon the familiar or practical and places it within a larger context. This process can be seen in the conclusion of Albert's paper on farm workers.

> At the end of the workday, the last of the grapes are packed, and workers tally up their bonuses. On a good day, when the grapes are nice and clean, an entire crew can pack four thousand boxes of grapes. When all the grapes are packed, the workers mingle among themselves as they walk to their cars to begin their drive home.
>
> Field workers may not receive the respect that executives, doctors, or lawyers get, even though they may work as hard and make an honest living. Field workers, like all people who work, should be treated with respect and decency. In the spring of 1968 Cesar Chavez fought a battle for the rights of field workers. Yet his sacrifice was not just for field workers. It symbolized a fight for all people who have been treated unfairly on the job. Today, the war rages on. The war is now against the use of harmful chemicals, which have caused sickness to befall field workers. Until all people are treated fairly and work in an environment that is not detrimental to their health, the war will never cease.

The accessible, the known, and the familiar come to be seen as real, meaningful parts of a new, broader context for student writers. And this is crucial because

> it is by weighing, evaluating, and comparing the relationship of new and old information that comprehension of the author's message, refinement of ideas, and acquisition of new learning takes places. (Langer, 1982, p. 153)

In the following suggestion to beginning ethnographers, Schatzman and Strauss (1973) summarize how the ethnographic model of writing works. It is also counsel well suited to ESL writers.

> We urge the novice in analysis to convert relatively inert abstractions into stories—even with plots—in order to induce themes and models that link datum to datum. Better still, he might go directly to the data. This way, the analyst escapes the formal stereotypes inherent in the concepts; he deals with very human and live phenomena that are amenable to story making and probably productive of new constructs. The story line can always, later, be reconstructed to formal terminology, should the analyst find it necessary. In the meantime he deals comfortably and naturally with what appears only as description and illustration, but which is only a short distance conceptually from

> generalized social process. (p. 121)

Schultz discusses the characteristics of such stories. He contends these stories should be written in everyday language about the lives of participants. He claims the stories will "provide raw material for reflection, analogies, and thinking on the part of educational practitioners" (p. 24). They will also require skills usually associated with writing fiction.

> These stories should be rich in the commonplace details of everyday life, leaving out as little as possible regarding the actions, thoughts, perceptions, and feelings of the actors. They should leave the reader with the impression of having been there, of having known the participants and having understood what they were trying to do. (p. 24)

Converting the observations or abstractions into stories, action situation, or cases and, afterwards, linking that data to formal terminology or background information is how an ESL student can use the practical and theoretical text components in the ethnographic model to create meaning in writing. In fact, covering Schaztman's and Schultz's "short conceptual distance, "or more precisely, helping students cover that short distance from description to generalization, becomes the fundamental objective of a teacher using an ethnographic model of ESL writing. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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ESL Writing Assignments: Student Preferences

■ **Each term teachers of academic writing, either for native speakers of English or nonnative speakers, must determine what topics to assign and how best to help students acquire the skills needed for college writing. In making these determinations, instructors often overlook or underestimate student preferences. This paper reports the results of a survey of student preferences regarding the type of topic assigned and the amount of freedom allowed in choosing a topic. The survey was administered to 168 ESL students enrolled in composition classes at the University of San Francsico in 1984, 1985, and 1987. The results suggest that students prefer controlled assignments based on previous classwork.**

In organizing academic writing classes and in choosing writing topics, instructors must decide what balance to strike between making writing meaningful to the student and making it meaningful to the academic community (Connors, 1987). What should be the balance between subjective, personal writing and practical, objective, impersonal writing? How much freedom should students have in choosing topics?

In seeking answers to these questions, a teacher often fails to consider student preferences. (See Kroll, 1979, and Olster, 1980, as examples of student preference surveys.) This paper describes a survey I conducted to determine ESL student preferences regarding types of topics assigned and the amount of freedom students are allowed in choosing topics.

Method

The survey of student topic preferences was administered during the 1984, 1985, and 1987 academic years at the University of San Francisco. The subjects were 97 nonnative speakers enrolled in a writing class in the Intensive English Program (IEP) and 71 nonnative speakers enrolled in Expository Writing 200 (EW 200), a freshman composition class with sections for native speakers of English and for nonnative speakers. Students in IEP had TOEFL scores between

450 and 547, whereas those in EW 200 had TOEFL scores of 550 or above. On the survey itself the means and variances of these two groups did not differ significantly except on Question 7, preference for using sources (see Figure 1). On Question 7 the difference between groups was statistically significant ($p < .05$), with IEP students answering the question more negatively than the EW 200 students. Therefore, I considered the groups as one population, making a total of 168 subjects.

The survey consisted of nine questions on a Likert scale of 1-5 with 1 being "strongly agree" and 5 being "strongly disagree" and one open-ended question. (See Figure 1.) Questions 1 through 3 dealt with the degree of freedom students preferred in choosing topics. Questions 4 through 8 dealt with their preferences in types of topics and types of information used to write papers. Questions 9 and 10 asked about the ease with which they found a topic and how they found a topic if none was given. The surveys were completed anonymously with only the date and class written on the questionnaire.

Figure 1.
Questionnaire of student topic preferences

Read the following statements dealing with composition topics. Circle the number which best describes your opinion for each statement: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) have no opinion (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree.

1. I prefer the instructor to assign a topic for a composition.
2. I prefer to choose from two or three topics given by the instructor.
3. I prefer to find my own topic without any suggestions from the instructor.
4. I prefer to write on personal subjects (e.g.,"The Most Important Person in My Life," "My Vacation Last Summer").
5. I prefer to write on impersonal subjects (e.g., "The Importance of Oil in the World," "Advantages of Living in an Urban Area").
6. I prefer to write papers in response to something I have read and have discussed in class.
7. I prefer to use other sources (e.g., magazine or newspaper articles) to write an essay.
8. I prefer to write more imaginative papers (e.g., narratives or descriptions) than expository essays (e.g., arguments, analysis).
9. It is easy for me to find a topic for an essay if none is suggested.
10. Give a short answer to the following question: How do you find a topic for a composition if none is given?

Results

The students surveyed preferred to be given a choice of two or three topics (Question 2) and preferred to write in response to readings and discussions (Question 6) ($X = 1.91$ and $X = 2.38$ respectively). To determine the statistical signifance of the differences in responses to the two questions, I computed the means and 95% confidence intervals (see Figure 2). Only responses to Questions 2 (2-3 Topics) and 6 (Response) differed significantly from the other questions ($p < .05$).

As the responses to the open-ended Question 10 show, students draw on numerous sources for ideas when they must choose a topic themselves (see Table 1). (Many students gave more than one answer to this question, making the total number of answers 228.) The two most frequent responses were (a) using written material and other media for ideas (26%) and (b) using personal experience (18%). Neither of these two responses, however, were a majority. The only other response with over 10% was to write on anything that was easy, for example, to rewrite a composition written in a previous class or to translate a composition written in one's native language into English.

Figure 2.
Means and 95% confidence intervals of student preferences for questions

1 (1 topic), 2 (2-3 topics), 3 (free), 4 (personal), 5 (impersonal), 6 (response), 7 (sources), 8 (imaginative), and 9 (ease).
See Figure 1 for questions.

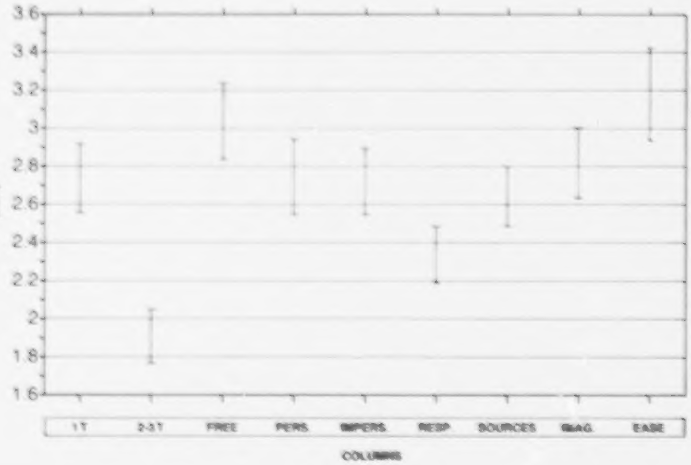

Table 1.
Ways of finding a topic if none is given and percentage of responses, Question 10 (See Figure 1.)

WAYS OF FINDING TOPICS	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES
From written material or other media	26%
From personal experience (e.g., about myself, my country, or my family)	18%
Anything that is easy to write about	11%
Any idea that comes to me	9%
Ask friends, family, or teachers	8%
Personal interests and hobbies	8%
No response	7%
Imagination	4%
I can't find a topic by myself	4%
It's easy to find a topic	4%
Miscellaneous (e.g., something entertaining and interesting for the teacher, or something about the U.S.	2%

NOTE: N = 228

Discussion

The results of this survey suggest that university-bound ESL students have no strong preferences regarding the type of writing assignments given. There is, for example, no preference if assignments call for personal, impersonal, or imaginative essays. The results do, however, indicate that these students prefer to be given some information on possible topics through readings and class discussions and prefer to choose a topic from a limited number of possibilities. The responses to the open-ended question (Question 10) also suggest these same preferences. One student wrote, "If I am not given a topic I will simply choose an easy and general one on something I know to write about. In this way I will find much easier to write because I had already know the topic but this is not too good because we can't write all we know all the time and we also need to write something else. Otherwise, I'll be bored and my knowledge will be limited." Another wrote, "I find a topic for a composition with my heart interest. If I interest to something then I write it for my composition. So no problem in choosing the topic, but the problem is how to write my idea clearly and right."

Similar results were found when the questionnaire was administered to a group of native speakers taking EW 200 at the University of San Francisco and a group of native speakers taking an analogous course at San Francisco City College in 1984 and 1985 (N = 51). The main difference was that the variance of the responses to each question was larger for the native speakers than for the nonnative speakers.

The two strong preferences of the ESL students are compatible with two common characteristics of academic writing assignments: (a) Assignments are based on content and/or data given to students in readings, lectures, and discussions; and (b) they are controlled, perhaps even containing possible thesis statements or a series of questions to answer (Bridgeman & Carlson, 1983; Horowitz, 1986; Johns, 1981, 1985; Shih, 1986; Spack, 1988).

These student preferences, or indeed any student preferences, should not dictate how we structure our classes and assignments; nonetheless in assigning topics we must strive to strike a balance between our students' "heart interest" and their academic needs, and we must help them express both their personal and their more objective ideas clearly so that they may become succesful academic writers. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Practicing What We Preach: A Collaborative Approach to Staff Development

This paper discusses the impact of an intensive, hands-on, research-based approach to staff development. It focuses on the experiences of teachers of language minority students (grades K-12) who took part in a 4-day literacy development institute. The paper challenges traditional, teacher-centered and teacher-dominated teaching practices. In particular, it challenges teaching practices that ignore or deny the knowledge that learners bring with them. It also confirms the need to personally experience instructional practices that are advocated for other learners and the value of reflection as a means to learn.

What a good four days! How connected we feel as a group from what we have experienced here. I expected to feel lonely this week. Part of me was looking forward to being alone and I purposely did not mix at first, or give of myself in any way. But the way the writing workshops and literature studies were conducted made me want to invest myself—to be a part of what was going on. . . The greatest strength of the institute was that it provided an environment that was safe and that showed us that we are writers and that our opinions and experiences and feelings are interesting and important to others. This is exactly what we want to communicate to our kids. If someone had lectured me that I must create such an environment in my classroom, I would have agreed, but not understood. Having experienced it, I understand, and having understood, I may indeed succeed in my classroom. . . I understand more about the impact the environment and the attitude toward writing and reading can have on the writer.

Angela, teacher-participant

This reflection was written by a participant in a literacy development summer training institute for teachers of language minority students in grades K-12. We spent four long, intense, and sometimes exhausting days together. Two of the authors, Katharine Samway and Lucinda (Cindy) Alvarez, taught in the institute; one of the authors, Frances Morales, attended it as a participant.

The institute was organized around what we considered to be three literacy-enhancing activities that would be new experiences for the participants: writers' workshop,[1] literature study,[2] and written and oral reflection. All three activities are based on the premise that students learn to read and write by reading and writing meaningful texts. Taking advantage of opportunities to reflect is a major step in developing an analytical or spectator stance and is considered by many to be at the heart of literate behavior (e.g., Applebee, 1978; Heath, 1985). It is likely that teachers who develop an analytical stance are more inclined to move from the traditional role of teacher as acquiescent enforcer of predetermined curriculum to one of self-directed redefiner of curriculum and instructional practices. We believe this is an important step for teachers to take. We also hoped that oral and written reflections would provide us with feedback, thereby enabling us to better meet the needs and concerns of the participants.

At the conclusion of the institute the participants wrote reflections, and Angela's sentiments were mirrored in the others over and over again. We read all of them in the car on a late afternoon in July as the three of us drove from the heat of the Central California Valley to the San Francisco Bay area. The more moderate weather that greeted us as we went through the ultra-modern, windmill-studded Altamont Pass coincided with a keen awareness of how exhilarated and exhausted we were feeling. This exhilaration could be sensed also in the written reflections that we read. After staff development activities we are usually tired, but this felt different. Why was this? As we neared Oakland we speculated that the physical and emotional invigoration and exhaustion that we were all feeling was directly related to the format of the institute, as Angela suggested also.

For the previous four days we had been involved with an approach to learning and teaching that we had not experienced previously, not as staff developers, not as student-participants. We had been determined to avoid a teaching role that has most recently been criticized by the Higher Education Research Program: "Too many professors still stand as tellers of truth, inculcating knowledge in students; too many students sit and listen passively—or not at all" (The Business of the Business, 1989). Instead of relying heavily on a lecture format, as one frequently encounters at the university level, we devoted large chunks of time each day to experiencing first hand what it is to be a reflective, literate person. Although we organized each day so that practice and theory were integrated, we allowed more time for actually reading, writing, and reflecting than we did to formal presentations on theory. In addition to leading the institute, Cindy and Katharine also participated as comembers of the group, thereby entering into a collaborative relationship with the rest of the group.

Genesis of the Institute Format

We have provided staff development for many years and have become increasingly disenchanted with its design and scope. For the most part we have met with teachers for short periods of time, often for no more than a few hours, and the circumstances of these brief meetings have dictated that we assume the role of performers. Generally we have not had time (or have told ourselves that we have not had time) to model in staff development sessions what we have been advocating for participants' classrooms. For example, we have emphasized the need for teachers to move beyond a view of teaching and learning that underscores the teacher as the "all-knower" (one who determines what will be learned and when it will be learned) to one that acknowledges that students must be more responsible for and invested in their learning. Often, however, we have heard ourselves apologizing to groups of teachers for actually relying heavily on practices that we are most critical of, such as spending too much time talking at, rather than with, learners. After we have returned from these staff development sessions we have rarely known the extent to which our work has had an impact on the lives and practices of teachers and students. At our most honest and introspective moments we have doubted that it has actually had much impact, after the initial flush of excitement.

Over the years that we have been staff developers we have also been graduate students. Our experiences as students have underscored for us the limitations of more traditional, teacher-centered and teacher-dominated teaching modes. For example, as students we have been encouraged to regard our teachers as infallible interpreters of knowledge and ourselves as the metaphorical empty cup just waiting to be filled with information and brilliant insights. Our personal experiences as students and teachers have been challenged, confirmed and enhanced by reading research that has investigated the nature of native and nonnative language and literacy development (e.g., Bruner, 1983; Calkins, 1986; Cazden, 1979; Goodman, 1982; Graves, 1983; Heath, 1985; Krashen, 1984; Rigg & Enright, 1986; Snow, 1977; Urzúa, 1987; Wells, 1986; Wong Fillmore, 1976). This research has shown us that language and literacy development are enhanced when:

(a) students' interests and needs drive the curriculum,

(b) students are allowed to learn about the world while also discovering what language is and how language works,

(c) students are allowed to engage in authentic reading and writing opportunities, and

(d) a collaborative and interactive environment is present in which students are both learners and teachers.

We wanted to build upon these findings in the summer institute.

We collaborated extensively on the planning of the institute and were determined to replicate this collaboration in the daily activities, hoping that this would underscore the notion that students as well as teachers are possessors of knowledge. It seemed essential to involve participants in hands-on experiences with key elements in literacy instruction that we would advocate. We also felt that we needed to provide ample time for reflections, both oral and written, an aspect of learning that is rarely attended to in staff development programs. In these ways we hoped that the teachers would have a better understanding of literacy learning and teaching, as well as have time to reflect upon and redefine the issues in ways that would be responsive to and extend their own philosophies of learning and teaching. We hypothesized that if the teachers had opportunities to personally experience the reading, writing, and reflective processes that we would be advocating in the institute, there would be a greater likelihood that their students would have similar opportunities once school began in September.

The following account describes the 4-day experience and the influence that it had on those who were involved, including ourselves. Field notes and reflections, written by us and other members of the institute before, during, and after the time that we spent together illustrate key points.

What Happened

Each day's schedule was designed to provide first-hand experiences with classroom practices, presentations on the theory upon which the practices are based, and time for reflection.

Figure 1.
Sample schedule of theoretical presentations interspersed with reading and writing activities and time for reflection.

8:30- 9:00	Reflection time (a time to orally reflect on the previous day's activities)
9:00-10:30	Writing and writing conferences
10:30-10:45	Reflecting on the writing process
10:45-11:45	Theoretical overview and discussion of writing processes
11:45-12:45	Lunch and browsing through materials
12:45- 2:00	Literature study session

2:00- 2:15 Reflecting on literature study experience
2:15- 2:30 Selections from literature read aloud
2:30- 3:00 Written reflections and browsing through resources

In addition to the more formal theoretical presentations, sessions devoted to practical experiences contained information on reading and writing processes.

Two overarching features characterized much of what happened over the course of the four days. The most obvious feature was the emergence of a powerfully collaborative environment. As we had hoped, members of the group spent a great deal of time collaborating with one another in writers' workshop and literature study sessions. However, Katharine and Cindy had not anticipated the degree to which participants would share their personal feelings with one another or establish relationships with other participants. The second feature was the group members' growing awareness of what it means to be a literate person, an awareness that was intimately related to the reading and writing that we did.

Emergence of a Collaborative Environment

We were aware that the establishment of a collaborative environment could be hampered by elements out of our control, such as time constraints and the fact that most of the participants would not know each other. We were also keenly aware of possible pitfalls related to the physical environment and the fact that we had not worked together before. These factors were reflected in a journal entry that Katharine wrote on the first day of the institute:

> *I'm more than a little nervous, not really knowing people, not sure how people will respond to what we are planning/will do, not sure how the three of us will work out together. I kept on waking up last night and a persistent nagging revolved around the room set-up. The way we had it last night was so traditional, authoritarian—front table and six tables in rows facing the front. Cindy and Frances came in this morning and rearranged it. Still not the best, but it feels more comfortable.*

As this entry indicates, it was clear to us that the physical environment, a symbolic entity, could either help or hinder the attaining of the collaborative goal. We therefore returned to the college early in the morning, before the institute began, and rearranged the room that we would be working in. Huffing and puffing, we pushed and pulled the rows of tables and chairs into a circular arrangement and hid the lectern under a table in a corner of the room. By the time we had finished our early morning labors, professional books and children's literature occupied the tables and benches that bordered the walls, and colorful posters that evoked the benefits and pleasures of reading adorned the walls.

Once the institute got underway our concern for establishing a collaborative, interactive atmosphere became paramount. When we realized that the institute would begin in a very traditional way (by means of an introductory speech from the dean of the college where the institute was held) we cringed, concerned that such a simple gesture would undermine our attempts to model nonautocratic classroom practices. At lunchtime we shared with each other our alarm at the way in which we had maintained the status quo of one person (the teacher) talking while all others (the students) listened. We had taken turns to describe our backgrounds, to discuss institute requirements, and to explore theoretical perspectives that underlie our understanding of literacy learning and teaching. Participants listened to our formal presentations attentively. They laughed courteously at anecdotes. They dutifully and, in some cases, furiously took notes on what we said. As we talked we began to feel uneasy. We were torn by a real need to establish the theoretical groundwork for the institute and by a realization that the more time we spent talking at the group about literacy the less time we would engage in and understand literacy-enhancing activities and model and establish an interactive-collaborative learning environment.

The participants' polite acquiescence to our formal presentations contrasted markedly with their spirited involvement in the hands-on, small group experiences that are integral to writers' workshop and literature study. After Katharine made a presentation on findings in writing research, she switched to modelling topic generation. This is an important first step when establishing a writers' workshop as, instead of being assigned topics to write on, students are given responsibility for generating and writing on topics that they are familiar with and care about. After listing and briefly talking about four or five topics that she might write on, Katharine asked everybody to generate their own lists of topics and then share their lists in groups of three. Soon the sound of a single voice lecturing to a group of listeners was replaced by a stream of animated conversation. When sharing our writing topics we did not merely read aloud our lists. Instead, we began relating highly personalized anecdotes that we wanted to write about. These anecdotes included accounts of first teaching experiences, events surrounding the births of children, criminal acts that we had either witnessed or been the victims of, and cherished childhood memories. We got to know each other as we shared the topics we listed and learned about similarities in our interests and background experiences. For example, Frances and Olga shared a common interest—the death of parents. Frances also learned that others in her response group were familiar with agricultural work or living in the countryside, experiences that she wanted to write about. In fact, her decision to write about her childhood experiences picking cotton in Texas was validated in part by the knowledge that this experience was shared and esteemed by others.

At this point in the day Katharine and Cindy began to relax more and to feel reassured that their original goal of collaboration was attainable after all. We were convinced that the rest of the group was feeling as relieved as we were as we moved away from the autocratic *talking at* to the more interactive and collaborative *being involved with*. Our initial conclusion was supported by reflections written at the end of the institute, such as Margaret's:

> *By presenting the program to us, as we would to a class, [it has] made the information meaningful. It also created an atmosphere of trust, honesty and friendship which allowed us to share more and enrich our experiences, giving more meaning.*

Little did we know, however, that many members of the group were initially uncomfortable with this aspect of the institute format. They were ill at ease with and not prepared for the collaborative, hands-on approach we were advocating. One participant, Rosa, put it this way:

> *I was skeptical at first, and others were too. I was thinking it would be a lecture format with students taking notes. It [the format] threw you at first.*

Like Rosa, Angela was skeptical. She confessed later that she spent most of the first two days of the institute resisting the hands-on, participatory format and comparing it unfavorably with previous staff development experiences. In fact, after rereading the reflections that she had written during the institute, she wrote to us, "I didn't express the rebellion I remember feeling." She told us later that on the second day of the institute she began to come to terms with her original resistance and entered into the spirit of the collaborative environment, as the following excerpt from her reflections log illustrates:

> *I'm more relaxed today—I think because I know more about what to expect. Today I'm not fighting my expectations. I "got into" my writing this morning and I think the conferencing had something to do with it. My companions were so accepting of what I* did *write that it empowered me to go on—even though going on meant really starting over. It will be interesting to see how the conferencing affects me tomorrow because I* do *like what I wrote and will want to stick with it.*

Angela's involvement in and commitment to the institute began only after she got involved in her own writing and had experienced a genuine and supportive writing conference.

During writing conferences we shared and responded to one another's writing. From these experiences we received guidance that helped us revise and improve upon what we wrote. Frances described her experience with conferences and the revisions that grew out of them in the following reflection:

> *I felt better writing about picking cotton in Texas after I received feedback from the participants in my small group. They asked questions about how I felt getting up so early in the morning, who else worked with me, and generally they encouraged me to expand and add more of my feelings to the piece. At night as I sat in bed trying to decide whether to read one of the articles or write, I decided to continue writing. As I wrote, I felt I was re-living some of those experiences and realized how important they still are to me. The next day I shared the piece with one of the participants and she commented on how improved it was. On the fourth day of the institute, and after much hesitancy, I volunteered to read my piece out loud to the whole group. As I read, I placed myself in Texas when I was a child. I read conscious of an audience and yet aware that what I was sharing was a part of me and my family. The group's favorable response to the story through their nodding, their clapping, and questions asked at the end gave me a sense of accomplishment as a writer and the feeling of a bond with the participants.*

As Frances pointed out, in addition to facilitating discussions on the craft of writing, conferences also became a time when we shared feelings and personal experiences. In essence, we got to know each other through our writing and the writing conferences. For many of us, this collaborative support eventually extended beyond our classroom. Several of us discovered that the audience for our writing included people who were not present at the institute, such as family members. In these cases we took our writing with us and worked on it later. Frances commented on this process in the following way:

> *I was glad we had more time after the institute to work on our stories. I had gotten feedback from the participants after reading the story aloud and I wanted to incorporate this into it. I also wanted to share the story with some of my immediate family members since I knew that the topic was a significant part of their lives as well. As anticipated, my two sisters, brother-in-law, and mother all could relate to the story and offered other information that could enrich it. For example, my brother-in-law*

> *talked about the significance of using a gunny sack versus a canvas sack when picking cotton. My oldest sister translated the story to my mother; both were very moved by it and after crying a little went on to clarify events that I did not remember too well.*

As this reflection notes, as relationships with one another developed, we became invested in the writing of others as well as in our own writing. One group of three teachers that met several times to confer on their writing rejoiced over their accomplishments as writers and felt a sense of commitment to each other, as Susan's reflection illustrates:

> *Because we were members of a team we felt special about Sally's piece. The fact that she stuck with the process and refined her piece validated the process for all of us.*

Although Sally was responsible for her own writing, she was not left alone. Instead, she was able to both benefit from input from her peers and contribute to their writing processes.

The group's experiences with conferences underscored the notion that we are all learners. Even those of us who had previous experiences conferring about our own and others' writing learned something new. For example, Cindy came to realize how important it is to acknowledge what students write, rather than to despair over what is not written:

> *I had been involved in conferencing experiences that were much more directive in nature. Here conferences helped me discover what I was writing rather than concentrate on what I had not written. In my previous experiences with students I had concentrated on what was missing. It was the same for literature studies. That is, I tended to lament what was absent in the discussion rather than celebrate and build upon what was present.*

As Cindy's reflection reveals, participants came to grips with their own meanings when discussing their writing as well as when discussing published literature in the context of literature study sessions. Several participants chose to read Yukio Mishima's (1982) "Swaddling Clothes," and during the first session they shared their reactions to and interpretations of the short story. When participants exclaimed, "I never thought of that," it became immediately clear that they were extending each other's understanding of the story through being exposed to the insights and interpretations of their peers, some of whom were familiar with the author's work. Cindy responded to this experience with the following entry in her reflection log:

> *I'm really surprised by the intensity and diversity of the participants' involvement. Many spoke of the social commentary implicit in Mishima's writing and debated a variety of viewpoints. Despite this variability, it was interesting to see how one person's comments triggered another's.*

As this entry illustrates, we did not strive for consensus. We argued, challenged each other, sometimes disagreed, searched for differences in understanding, and celebrated those differences. As we learned about one another's perceptions of a short story or novel, we extended our own understanding in ways that would have been unlikely had we worked alone or been reliant on one person's (the teacher's?) interpretation. Donna commented on this aspect when she said during a morning reflection time, "We're able to go more in-depth with the story. Literature study is exciting, [it offers] different perspectives." On the final day of the institute Katharine reiterated this view in her log:

> *The Literature Studies group today was really quite magnificent. Hearing so many incredibly rich insights—aspects of* The Eyes of the Amaryllis *[Babbitt, 1977] that I hadn't even considered. It confirmed one of the underlying principles that we have been working on—that knowledge does not reside in the mind and mouth of only one (authoritarian) person. I had been nervous, but the group's involvement dispelled that. They didn't need a leader. Do children really?*

The richness available in collaborative learning experiences was underscored for Katharine by the realization that she did not need to be the all-knower who would lead the group.

Despite the amount of meaning-making that went on during writing conferences and literature study sessions, there were times when Cindy and Katharine longed for more interaction. On the first day we were disappointed that participants were reluctant to talk during the periods for oral reflection that followed each major acitvity. We had expected that after their involvement with "real" reading and writing, the group would be full of burning questions and pressing concerns. Instead, these opportunities for reflection turned into periods of silence that we felt compelled to fill. At the end of the first day, after the three of us had dinner together and rehashed the day's activities, Katharine wrote in her journal:

> *[I feel] grateful and maybe cowed that Cindy had to point out that I didn't allow time for silence when we had the large group feedback session [at the end of the day].*

The next day we vowed to keep quiet during the oral reflection time that began the day. After an interminable pause, Betty volunteered to read what she had written at the end of the previous day:

> *I appreciate the opportunity of listening to a book read to me, whether by a student or by my teacher today! It is a special experience, a joyful one, to have a new story brought to me with the same love I feel when I find a special book to share with listeners I care for.*

Others responded with courteous smiles as she read her impressions of the read-aloud time that ended the previous day's session. Her contribution was followed by another lengthy pause. All eyes were upon us. We resisted this cue, smiled encouragingly (we hoped), averted our eyes, and kept quiet. Our efforts were rewarded. Fran honestly and simply told of how insecure she felt during the previous day's literature study session: "I had to grapple with the story. I'm so illiterate.I feel illiterate. It's shocking." Immediately others joined in and began expressing their insecurities with reading and writing and commenting on how the previous day's activities had led to an increased understanding of their own reading and writing processes. It was then that we began to realize that something was happening that we had not planned for. Not only were we, as a group, participating in classroom activities that enhance literacy, but we were coming to grips with what it means to be a literate person.

Renewing Our Literacy

As the participants became involved with real reading and writing they found themselves struggling with their own literacy. For some, the experience renewed their personal commitment to reading and writing. For others it meant having to deal with the fact that they did not consider themselves either readers or writers. Frances frankly admitted her own insecurities about reading and writing when she wrote:

> *Being able to say, "I am one who reads and writes" is a goal that I set for myself as I participated in the four days of the summer institute. I do not consider myself a reader or writer even though I like to go to bookstores and browse through books or write technical reports at work when needed.*
>
> *It is almost embarrassing to admit that making time to read or write demands from me a conscious effort, just like making time to jog. Once I'm jogging I really enjoy it. It's just the "getting started" that demands a conscious effort. . . Reading and writing is not an internalized habit yet, like flossing my*

> *teeth, but I feel more comfortable with it and personally satisfied. It's like discovering a whole new way of life which is invigorating not only to me but to others around me.*

Like so many of us, Frances was coming to grips with her sense of herself as a literate being. Some of us began to see how this has an impact on our teaching. For example, in her third day's written reflection, Angela began to make a link between her role as teacher and her role as literate being as she connected her personal and professional development:

> *I think I'm getting more out of this workshop personally than professionally. That is, my focus now is on enjoying my writing and reading and also on learning to talk about them. On the other hand I recognize that whatever I do that makes me grow as a person reflects positively on me as a teacher. . . I have been comparing the McCracken workshops to this one. I took away more concrete ideas and songs and methods and management techniques from that one than I will take away with me from this. But from this one I will come away with a new realization about myself. I am a writer. I not only prepare children to be able to write, but I can write. I think I knew that at some level before but now I really believe it.*

Andrea made a similar connection when she wrote about how she needs to develop as a writer if she is going to help her students grow as writers.

> *I found out some of the skills I need to develop in order to be able to work on that area comfortably with children. The skill that I am referring to is* WRITING. *I have never felt comfortable writing. I don't think I'm a good writer nor is it an activity that I particularly enjoy doing. However, this seminar has provided me with a process which, if used, is bound to help me improve in putting my thoughts and feelings in print.*

In some cases the structure and activities of the institute challenged us to reconsider aspects of literacy that had previously lain dormant, as the following reflection written by Alfredo at the end of the institute illustrates:

> *It seems a strange thing, indeed, for me to realize that only now do I know what "literacy" is. It is more than reading and writing. It cannot be conferred on one person or by another. Rather, it is not unlike a seed residing in each of God's children awaiting someone to encourage its germination. I carry away*

> *with me today the fiercest desire to deal with who and what I am before I die. This institute has provided [me with] the hope that it can be seriously attempted through reading/writing. This liberation is what a truly human education ought to inspire in all of us. Our students back home are waiting. Waiting for that liberation. I think I can help now. I think I understand the PROCESS of empowerment through literacy as a result of this institute.*

Alfredo is essentially challenging us to reconsider our role as literacy teachers in a profound way. He suggests that we must challenge ourselves to see literacy teching as the sociopolitical act that it is.

Final Thoughts

In many respects preparing for the institute was not easy. The planning was incredibly time consuming. For example, three full days were spent putting together a 30-minute videotape, only a small part of which was shown during the institute. Days were spent developing and redesigning the schedule, down to 5-minute segments. Some of the time and effort was no doubt a consequence of the collaborative planning. We bantered and even bickered as we decided what areas to cover and how much time to devote to each. Despite our differences, however, we found it much more stimulating to work together on the planning of the institute than alone. When one of us came to a dead end, the other would forge ahead.

Although the institute was successful, we are still grappling with organizational issues. We tried to cover too much material in four days, and the days were very long, particularly when the optional evening meetings and the readings each night are taken into consideration. One area of concern for us was the difficulty of balancing the need for theoretical perspectives with practical experiences. On the Monday following the last day of the institute Katharine was considering the strengths and weaknesses of the institute and wrote:

> *In retrospect, I'm beginning to think we didn't do enough with theory [and] research findings. This was a trade-off as we wanted people to experience [writing and reading in a collaborative environment] first-hand, and to think and reflect upon their experiences. We ended up eliminating sessions when Cindy and I would have more formally shared our [research] findings—revising, the reading/writing connection, etc. Although I wish we had had time to do it all, I don't regret our decision to allow time each day (I was going to write "plenty" but there certainly wasn't an abundance) for writing and discussing literature.*

Although we were unsure of the amount of time to devote to theory and practice, teachers clearly need to authentically share their knowledge, as well as their questions and concerns.

What have been the longer term consequences of this approach to staff development? The institute experiences encouraged Cindy and Katharine to insist on more intensive, long-term contacts with teachers, instead of the 1-, 2-, or 3-hour workshops that had previously characterized their work. Since then we have led semester- and year-long seminars for teachers, and several of the summer inistitute participants have been members of these groups. Active teacher support groups have come into being as an outgrowth of these seminars. We have just completed a semester-long teacher-as-researcher seminar that will continue beyond its original time boundaries because participants want to continue to meet together to explore and discuss mutual interests. The terms *seminar* and *semester* can conjure up images of formal entities that come neatly to closure at the end of a prescribed time; this has not happened.

We have heard from many of the teachers and they have shared with us dramatic changes in their teaching that have evolved since the summer institute. For example, Alfredo has been successfuly implementing literature study sessions with his nonnative English-speaking high school students, and he has been rewarded with the discovery that his students can enjoy and can discuss literature. Angela frequently celebrates with us entries from dialog journals that she and her kindergarten students have been writing in and is continually alert to the wealth of information about each child that these entries reveal to her as teacher. Angela and Alfredo and other teachers with whom we have learned and worked have come to understand and appreciate their own professionalism. This is manifested in their active roles as staff developers and planners of conferences for themselves and their educator peers.

We believe that the type of intensive, research-based, hands-on, collaborative staff development approach that we have discussed is an important and viable alternative to more traditional types of staff development. In this article we have tried to show what can happen when teachers listen more than they talk, when our voices are as conspicuous for their silence as for the pearls of wisdom that pour out of them. We have also tried to show what can happen when we emulate in our staff development sessions learning experiences that we are advocating for other learners. An unexpected consequence of this institute was discovering how staff development can be a powerful source of renewal for everybody involved. ■

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all our fellow participants in the summer literacy institute for teachers of language minority students that we were privileged to work with. Their insights inspired us to consider writing this article.

Footnotes

[1] Writers' workshop has been described and discussed extensively by Atwell (1987), Calkins (1986), and Graves (1983). The impact of writers' workshop on nonnative English-speaking students had been discussed by Samway (1987a, 1987b) and Urzua (1986, 1987).

[2] Students participating in literature study sessions first choose a book, short story, poem, essay, and so forth, from a selection of fine children's literature. After they have read the text, they meet with their teacher and other students who have read the same text to discuss and share their responses to it. Because literature study is a time for students to explore literature and analyze the author's craft, teachers do not ask questions designed to check students' comprehension. Instead, just like other participants in the session, teachers share their own perspectives on and responses to a book. Successful study sessions are characterized by conversations in which participants build upon and extend each others' meanings. Literature study has been discussed by Bird and Alvarez (1987); Edelsky (1988); Edelsky, Bird, Alvarez, and Norton (1987); and Eeds and Wells (1989).

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

Who Is He?

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"When an ESL student enters our classes, he faces many challenges."

Now for a moment, please imagine this ESL student as he enters your class. What does he look like? What sex is he?

Unless you recognized the situation as the set up it was designed to be, I'd bet my last red felt-tipped grading pen that you were picturing a male student. The supposedly generic *he* just does not conjure visions of a female.

Since language exposes cultural values, it is not surprising that American English reveals male dominance in many overt as well as subtle ways. Although by now most of us have evolved alternatives to a few of the more blatant forms of sexism in English and we use *Ms., chairperson, Dear People,* and so forth, many ESL professionals may be unaware of their contribution to the perpetuation of male dominance through their habitual use of the generic *he.*

At the 1989 CATESOL conference in Long Beach, I couldn't help noticing that at three of the best workshops I attended, the presenters consistently used the generic *he.* As I left their sessions carrying pages of notes and useful handouts, I was struck by the paradox that these women—who stood out as being particularly articulate, conscientious and creative—were nonetheless helping to maintain females' lesser status through their pronoun choice. In contrast, during his inspiring address, plenary speaker Jaime Escalante never failed to use *he or she* in reference to *a student.* Escalante has gained national attention as a result of the movie *Stand and Deliver* which portrays his tremendous success in teaching in a barrio high school in East Los Angeles. When he told the overflow crowd at the conference that 66% of his AP calculus class are females—in spite of girls' infamous math anxiety—the stir of approval in the room was obvious. Could it be that Escalante's overt inclusion of females in his speech reflects his concern for girls as well as boys and is one of many ways, both subtle and direct, in which he encourages outstanding achievement by such a high percentage of girls?

A considerable amount of research has confirmed that the word *he* prompts listeners to think of a *he*, but not a *she*. Studies consistently show that using male referents, even when both genders are intended, leads people to think of males, not males *and* females (Bertilson, Springer, & Fierke, 1982). For example, Mackay (1980) had university students read paragraphs containing the generic *he* which referred to neutral antecedents. Then the readers answered multiple choice questions, "one of which, unbeknownst to the subjects, assessed comprehension of prescriptive *he* and its antecedents" (p. 445). The results showed that "80% of the subjects on 75% of the trials comprehended neutral antecedents of prescriptive *he*—such as *person, writer*, or *beginner*—as *male* rather than *male or female*" (p. 447). Only one reader in five consistently interpreted *he* generically. Based on my own teaching experience, I suspect that if Mackay's subjects were asked directly about the meaning of singular *he* when it refers to a neutral antecedent, most of them would have been able to recite the prescriptive rule that *he* is a generic term required to maintain singular agreement; however, their performance indicated that in a simple reading context, male terms used "generically" induced four out of five of the readers to think of males. This shows the insidiousness of sexism in language—speakers may well be able to say what words are supposed to mean, yet in reality another meaning is applied.

Is this a petty issue? No, it is not. If we state that we are seeking "an outstanding student," and say that "*he* is expected to reveal certain traits," we are more likely to seek a man than a woman because of the dominant image of males conveyed by the use of *he*. Even though it is no longer allowed to advertise for a males-only position, using the singular pronoun may yield much the same effect. In fact, a study done by Moulton, Robinson and Elias (1978) showed that "self-selection bias is likely to occur with the use of male terms in gender-neutral advertisements. An employer may intend to attract both male and female applicants, but women are less likely to think of themselves as candidates when terms such as *he, his* and *man* are used" (Moulton, Robinson, & Elias, 1978, p. 1035).

Mackay (1980) argues that the generic *he* has many similarities with effective propaganda. First, he notes that among educated speakers it is used very frequently (over 10^6 occurrences in a lifetime). Also, it is seemingly indirect, not an overt assertion of male dominance, but rather a reflection of our assumption and acceptance of its existence. Its use is acquired by speakers at a very early age, before they might question it (Mackay, 1980). Further, generic *he* is reinforced as a high status form because it is typical of the grammar of well-educated and prestigious speakers who eschew the "incorrect" but commonly used third person plural form to refer to a singular sex-neutral antecedent, as in: *Everyone should watch their pronouns.*

Teachers' use of the generic *he* certainly does not indicate a blatant disregard for their female students. Its use is likely to be a longstanding, unquestioned habit. Also, for the benefit of their upwardly mobile students, some teachers may consciously strive to provide a model of correct, well-educated English. However, it is ironic that their effort to honor the traditional generic-*he* rule may perpetuate the limits on their female students and inflate the egos and expectations of the males. (Virginia Woolf wryly observed that the function of women in our society is to be mirrors who reflect men at twice their normal size. And we all know what happened to her.)

The problem of sexism in English reflects the problem in our culture. Although we have made some gains, an average full-time woman worker still does not earn as much as the average man; in fact, she makes only slightly more than two-thirds of his income. And it is not lack of education that is the cause for this wage gap: "Women with four or more years of college earn less than men who only have high school diplomas" (National Association of Working Women, 1989, p. 2). Women make up 52% of the U.S. population, yet only 5% of the U.S. Congress ("Record Number," 1988) and 11% of the Supreme Court. The list of inequities could go on and on, but instead of wallowing in the scope of the imbalance, let's turn to something we can do to be a part of the solution.

It behooves us to lead in reducing the limits placed on ourselves and on our female students—limits which the English language helps to sustain both overtly and indirectly.

Some scholars may argue that language change only follows cultural change and does not produce it. If that is indeed the case, since the culture is slowly moving toward more equality for women—albeit in jumps and starts—it can't hurt for us to do all we can to speed the language's response. Particularly in the field of ESL where women predominate, we should be conscious of linguistic choices available to us which do not contribute to females' invisibility.

What do we do to counteract the generic *he*? We know that pronoun forms are extremely resistant to change. And *he/she*, *his/her* can become terribly cumbersome: "*When a student enters an ESL class, he/she has to face many challenges as he/she confronts a language different from his/her native tongue.* Jaime Escalante would croon, "It's so easy, it's so easy, you can do it," and he's right. All we have to do is remember, whenever we can, to go for the plural.

When ESL *students* enter our classes, *they* have to face many challenges. (And so do we.) ■

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

Bringing Workplace Culture Into the ESL Classroom

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Van Tran worked for a large electronics firm for two years. One day her boss announced an opening for an assistant manager. Van was certain that her boss would choose her for the position because her production quotas were always the highest in the department, and she often helped him with scheduling. She waited patiently to be offered the job. One week later another worker in the department got the promotion. Van felt very hurt that she wasn't offered the job. She began to think about quitting.

Van acted in an appropriate manner for a Vietnamese worker. Had she understood more about U.S. business practices, however, she would have known that American supervisors presume workers will apply for jobs they are interested in, and she might have stood a better chance of getting the promotion.

Van's confusion and disappointment are mirrored daily across the United States as immigrant workers struggle to understand the workplace culture around them. This lack of understanding often leads to decreased productivity and bad feelings at work. Clearly, the more ESL students know about the culture of the U.S. workplace, as well as the multicultural workforce they are or will become a part of, the more successful their adaptation to living and working in the United States will be. ESL teachers can play an important role in this process by bringing workplace culture into the ESL classroom. This article will first outline American workplace behavioral patterns that constitute potential problem areas for foreign-born workers. Techniques used to incorporate cultural learning into the language classroom will then be discussed.

BUSINESS CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

Feedback

American business culture relies heavily on verbal feedback, particularly for clarifying and confirming instructions and summarizing agreements. Interrupting the flow of conversation to clarify and confirm instructions is allowed and even encouraged. In an American business situation, this type of feedback provides reassurance that good communication is taking place. However, problems arise because this need for verbal reassurance is not shared by many peoples around the world. Frequent questions and interruptions are considered rude, or at best, unnecessary in many Asian cultures and in some Latin American and Middle Eastern cultures as well. In these cultures, reluctance to ask questions stems from the notion of saving face which requires that all parties in an interaction be spared embarrassment. Workers from other cultures, therefore, will often refrain from asking questions or confirming instructions in order to avoid the embarrassment of appearing ignorant. They also may worry that questions will be construed as an insult—implying the speaker's ideas were not clearly expressed.

Initiative

Taking initiative by presenting new ideas, solving problems, and making independent decisions has always been a valuable worker attribute in the United States and is becoming increasingly important in light of the recent push toward participative management in many American businesses. However, these behaviors are often perceived as offensive, aggressive, and disrespectful in many foreign cultures. In some Asian and Latin American cultures, making suggestions implies that workers are more knowledgeable than their superiors. Acting on a problem independently without going to superiors for advice and leadership, is gravely impolite.

This respect for authority, coupled with strong mores toward modesty, also makes it difficult for workers to perform well in interviews and performance reviews where workers are expected to freely discuss strengths and accomplishments. This is especially problematic for many Asian workers who feel that calling attention to oneself, particularly one's achievements, is rude and unprofessional. As we have seen in the case of Van Tran, this kind of modesty in the workplace can lead to serious frustrations.

Similarly, foreign workers are often reluctant to speak up in staff meetings because they fear appearing boastful and disrespectful. In Turkish cultures, where collective opinion generally dominates, workers will refrain from giving personal opinions until they have conferred with a leader. In many Asian cultures as well group consensus rather than independent thinking is the norm. Unfortunately, American managers misinterpret silence in a meeting as a lack of self-confidence or drive, and consequently these workers are frequently passed over when opportunities for raises and promotions arise.

Nonverbal Communication

Birdwhistell (1970) asserts that nonverbal communication makes up roughly 65% of our social interactions. Therefore, teachers can provide students a great service by teaching about gestures, facial expressions, and other body movements characteristic of American working culture. Eye contact plays a significant role in American culture, and the absence of it is generally interpreted as shiftiness, dishonesty, or shyness, and in some cases, as a nonverbal snub. However, direct eye contact in many foreign cultures is avoided to show deference and respect to teachers, supervisors, elders, and so forth. To further complicate matters, many Latin American and Arab peoples consider the American practice of periodically shifting the gaze away from the speaker to be rude and disrespectful, while their culturally appropriate steady gaze is considered overly aggressive here.

Nonverbal behavior used to indicate agreement and disagreement varies considerably from culture to culture. One gesture given to wide interpretation around the world is the affirmative nodding gesture. While it signifies agreement and understanding in the United States, in Mexico and many Asian cultures, nodding and even saying *yes* does not necessarily mean that the listener agrees or understands. Nodding is used to indicate, rather, that the listener is paying attention and wants to make the interaction smooth and positive. In the United States a smile or a small laugh is usually interpreted as agreement, while in some cultures the same behavior is used as a screen to conceal embarrassment, anger, shyness, or confusion. As mentioned earlier, silence in the American workplace is often interpreted as lack of self-confidence. However, in some African cultures, where it is rude to verbally disagree, silence is used to express confusion or disagreement.

Spatial distance is another area of nonverbal behavior with diverse norms around the world. Immigrant workers need to be aware of the spatial distance required at the workplace. A "business zone" of approximately 4 to 13 feet has been identified in the United States for interpersonal spatial distance in the workplace. This varies, of course, depending on whether one is speaking to a supervisor or coworker or to someone of the same or different sex—the rule being to allow more physical distance where there is more social distance. Violators of this zone will set off protective mechanisms and/or negative responses. Workers from some Arab and Latin American cultures, where spatial distance is much smaller, might, for example, be thought of as overly aggressive by their American coworkers.

Interpersonal

ESL students are often shocked by the level of informality in many American companies. The friendly, family-like atmosphere, which many companies foster to create a favorable, cooperative working environment can be confusing to people from cultures that have a more rigid class society and where formality pervades customs and daily routines. Many American supervisors, for example, prefer to be addressed by their first name in order to break down social barriers and to inspire an egalitarian team spirit in their workforce. This practice is bewildering to many Asian workers who find this level of informality with superiors disconcerting. The "open door" policy, common in American businesses, is based on the premise that operations run smoothly and efficiently when supervisors maintain open channels of communication with their staff. Staff members are encouraged to come to their supervisors at any time to discuss problems, ask questions, or raise new ideas. This is an alien concept to many foreign workers who usually do not initiate dialog with supervisors, particularly to offer suggestions or air grievances.

American employers have noted that foreign workers, even those with high-level language skills, often lack the social skills necessary to function well in business. An Asian worker, for example, might offend an American coworker by asking inappropriate questions about salary, unwittingly rebuff another coworker's friendly compliment by stubbornly denying the compliment, and frustrate a third by responding to conversational overtures by simply nodding and smiling. Foreign-born workers clearly need training in appropriate conversational topics, initiating conversation, taking turns, and keeping conversations going at work.

Social

Gift-giving practices differ greatly from one country to another in terms of types of gifts and appropriate occasions for giving. Anyone who has spent time in a foreign country knows how confusing and embarrassing social interactions can be without cultural information in this area. Foreign workers need explicit information about gift-giving practices in the workplace in order to fit in comfortably. In some cultures, for examaple, it is acceptable to offer gifts to supervisors and managers in return for favors, a practice frowned upon in the United States. Baby and bridal showers and birthdays, which are often celebrated at work in the United States, might not be part of the work domain in some immigrant cultures. Potluck parties at work, common here, also might be considered strange by many foreign workers.

Teaching Techniques

Clearly, immigrants benefit when cultural information about working in the United States is explicitly taught along with the language needed to function well in the workplace. In presenting cultural information to our students, we enable them to make decisions about their behavior in a variety of situations. Ultimately they must decide which behaviors to adopt. Our job is to provide them with the information needed to understand the surrounding culture so that they can make informed choices. A number of techniques can be employed to bring cultural training into the classroom. Below are some possibilities.

Case Study

A case study, also called a *culture bump*, is a brief description of a situation in which a misunderstanding has occurred because of cultural differences. Case studies can be based on true incidents or can be created by the teacher to illustrate a point. Questions that follow help students to analyze the situation and to problem solve. McNulty (1985) illustrates how this is done.

> *Situation*: Kayoko is an accountant in a small business. One day her boss says to her, "We're going to be audited sometime soon. Check the date."
>
> Kayoko doesn't understand exactly what her boss said. She thinks maybe her boss means: "I will check the date and tell you when the auditors are coming."
>
> Kayoko waits for her boss to tell her when the auditors are coming. The next week the auditors come. Kayoko is not prepared.
>
> *Question*: Here is the beginning of the conversation that Kayoko and her boss had after the auditors came:
>
> Boss: Didn't you check the date?
> Kayoko: I'm sorry. I didn't understand you.
>
> What do you think Kayoko's boss said next?
>
> a. Oh, that's okay. I didn't explain clearly.
> b. How can you be so stupid?
> c. You didn't understand? Why didn't you ask me?

A number of activities can be generated from this case study. Class discussions can center around analyzing the problem, discussing how the situation would be handled in various cultures, and suggesting how it could have been handled more effectively here. Students can discuss the situation in small groups and then go on to write another version of the same dialog.

Role Play

Role play is another technique which helps students learn about cultural differences and problem solving. A situation is presented and discussed in pairs or small groups, and the solutions are role played. The following example (Hemphill, Pfaffenberger, & Hockman, 1989) illustrates:

> *Job*: You are the supervisor of a shop in a factory.
>
> *Situation*: You have a new worker named Liu. Liu works hard, but he doesn't speak much English. Liu listens when you explain things, but he doesn't ask questions, and he doesn't say anything. You are not sure if Liu understands. You want to know if he understands.
>
> *Discuss*: What is the problem? Now, go talk to Liu about this situation.

Students then write a script illustrating how they would handle the situation in their own countries or in the United States. If possible, these role plays can be videotaped and then used to teach vocabulary, idioms, grammar and pronunciation. Following the role play, the class can discuss the situation and cultural differences around the world. These discussions introduce students to American culture and, at the same time, teach them about each other's cultures.

Simulated Staff Meetings

Staff meetings, an integral part of American business operations, are an area in which many immigrant workers have little or no experience. Simulated staff meetings can be set up in the classroom giving students valuable training in initiating topics, asking questions, offering opinions, interrupting, holding turns, and summarizing. Meetings can be either controlled or spontaneous, depending on the class. To set up a controlled meeting, students are given the topic of discussion (such as a new company medical plan) along with specific questions and issues to be raised by participating students. A facilitator and secretary are selected in advance. Six to 10 students can be active participants, while other classmates act as observers who note the frequency and quality of each participant's interactions. Following the meetings, the class discusses the session, focusing on the level of participation, problems that arose, participants' feelings during the meeting, and further language needed. After the discussion, the observers and participants change roles, and another meeting is held. As students gain confidence, subsequent meetings can be organized with increasingly less control, until students are able to participate in spontaneous meetings. Students' participation and enthusiasm for this activity is highest when the topics are related to their experiences (campus issues, interesting field trips, job search plans).

Reading and Writing Activities

Students can use journals to improve their writing while they learn more about American working culture. The journals can be used to discuss problems that arise at work, ask questions about American culture, or make comparisons between the working culture of the students' countries and the United States. Often the teacher will have to begin by assigning topics, such as "Describe five things about working in the United States that are different from working in your country." Students often have a lot to say about this topic after they have been prodded.

Business magazines and newspapers offer articles that illuminate business culture in the U.S. These can be used for whole-class reading assignments or for research projects. My students enjoy "Ann Landers" and "The Question Man" (a daily public opinion column in the San Francisco *Chronicle*), because of the emphasis on etiquette and attitudes of American people. Studs Terkle's novel, *Working*, has a wealth of information about U.S. working culture for advanced students.

A good activity that helps to develop awareness of American workplace values uses typical employee evaluation forms. Students can complete these evaluation forms for a mock job and then role play a meeting between the employee and supervisor where the employee's progress is discussed. Teachers can also create their own evaluation forms for the classroom, have students fill them out, and later discuss progress and grades with each student.

Nonverbal Communication Activities

Nonverbal communication can be incorporated into many of the above activities. Yet because of the central role gestures and other nonverbal cues play in communication, it is a good idea to focus some activities specifically on this area of communication. One simple and fun way is to have a class view a taped segment from a television show with the volume turned down. Students can then work in groups to interpret the video. Another enjoyable project is to have the students write their own dialogs for the scene before viewing it again with sound.

Total Physical Response activities can be used to prepare students to behave in a nonverbally appropriate manner for the workplace. Through oral commands the teacher directs students to act out situations that might come up at work. Suppose for example, students are preparing for a job interview. They work in pairs as the teacher gives the following commands:

Look into each other's eyes.
Now look away.
Look at your partner's eyes.
Now look away.

Interviewer: Ask a question. Look into the interviewee's eyes.
Interviewee: Smile at the interviewer. Look into the interviewer's eyes. Answer the question.
Interviewer: Say *mm hm*, *I see*, and *uh hu*.
And so forth...

Pictures of people from magazines, especially pictures of people at work, can also be used in class to teach nonverbal behavior. Students analyze a picture or group of pictures in a small group and then write a short description of the situation from their native culture perspectives, guided by teacher and student-generated questions (e.g., How does this person feel right now? How does the person's body language communicate that emotion?) Later, the students can change the description to reflect the cultural perspective of the U.S.

Miscellaneous Learning Activities

Teachers can capitalize on students' natural inclination to talk about themselves with comparison and contrast activities. Students are given a series of questions that they use to compare their culture with American culture. Possible questions are: How do people get job promotions? What do you do if you have an idea about changing something at work? What social activities do people engage in with their coworkers? When do people give gifts at work?

Another activity that draws attention to how much students know about the working culture is to ask them 10 questions about American culture to which they must answer with *yes*, *no*, or *I don't know*. The questions begin: *Is it true that*. . . These minichecks can be performed in 10 to 15 minutes and, therefore, can be incorporated into any class period.

Materials

There are a number of interesting and creative materials on the market for teaching about American culture. The following materials are helpful in teaching about workplace culture.

Textbooks

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Editors' Note: Because all of the bibliographic citations within the text of this article are in the list of suggested teaching materials above, this article does not include a separate References *section.*

The CATESOL Journal
CATESOL EXCHANGE

Personality Types, or Why I Teach Composition the Way I Do

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How do teachers decide which theories and practices to adopt? Why do most of us continue to search for the best theories throughout our careers? After graduating from the University of Essex with an MA in applied linguistics in 1971, I was brimming over with theory. But I still wasn't sure of how to apply the theory to classroom practice. I had just been appointed coordinator of courses at the Colchester English Study Centre in England and I needed some answers to my questions in a hurry.

One of my problems was that very few professionals with real ESL expertise had observed my teaching. (I had slipped through without ever taking a methods course.) One of my professors from the University of Essex used to visit the Study Centre very often as his wife worked there. So, I invited him to observe one of my lessons.

He was not very enthusiastic about the lesson and commented, "There isn't enough tension in the class. The students are enjoying themselves too much." I understood the comment to be a criticism but found that I couldn't change my teaching style. For me, a classroom needs to be as relaxed as possible for good learning to take place.

For years my professor's comments bothered me. The word *tension* is ambiguous, and I never found out whether he meant *stress* or *dramatic tension*. But I did know that I wanted my classroom to be a happy, relaxed place. That professor went on to become one of our leading experts on classroom management, and every time someone mentions Dick Allwright, the past president of TESOL, I feel guilty because I could not take his advice.

At last I am beginning to understand why teachers such as Dick Allwright and I differ so much and why what works for one teacher doesn't work for another. The decisions language teachers make are complex, and we are only beginning to understand how many factors are involved (Spolsky, 1988; Strevens, 1988). At least two important psychological factors appear to affect a teacher's decisions: the way that the teacher believes that people learn, and the personality of the teacher. These factors affect what procedures we choose to use in the classroom.

I finally came across a description of a psychological theory that helps explain the procedures I choose—humanistic psychology. Humanistic psychology emphasizes free will—the human ability to make choices. Humanists recognize the importance of the psychological need for love, self-esteem, belonging, self-expression, and creativity. Abraham Maslow, one of the leading exponents of humanism, identifies the human need to develop one's potential fully, to lead a rich and meaningful life, and to become the best person possible. Humanists believe that everyone has this potential, and they seek ways to allow it to emerge.

Humanism in language teaching has come to mean "concern for affect, for the dignity of the individual, for fully developing the potential of the individual" (Stevick, 1984, p. 106). This psychological theory puts into words what I instinctively believe about the conditions my students need in order to succeed in their studies. If there is to be tension in the classroom, it can only be dramatic tension. The kind of nervous panic that affects most language learners, particularly adult students, should be avoided if possible.

Not all teachers believe in a humanistic approach and prefer to encourage their students to perform in other ways. Realizing that there are other reasons for my decisions about methodology, I was more than enthusiastic when a colleague introduced me to the idea of personality types.

In the 1940s, Isabel Myers and her mother, Katherine Briggs, began to develop a personality test based on Carl Jung's theory of personality type. This test divides people into 16 different categories. People are either Extroverts or Introverts. They may be Sensing or Intuitive. Some people are Thinking and others are Feeling. People can also be divided into Judging or Perceptive types. Naturally these divisions are on a continuum but, fundamentally, you are either one or the other. The test, which has been extensively researched, is becoming increasingly popular among educators. At a recent Conference of College Composition and Communication, for example, a full day workshop and several papers dealt with the Myers Briggs Type Indicator Test.

After taking the test, I discovered that I was classified as an ENFJ (Extrovert-Intuitive-Feeling-Judging). This did not mean much to me until I read *Please Understand Me: Character and Temperament Types* by David Keirsey and Marilyn Bates (1984). After reading the section about NF (Intuitive-Feeling) teachers I had an "Aha!" reaction. Keirsey and Bates describe the kind of teacher that I am far better than I ever could.

Only 5% of the general population are ENFJs, but 30% of teachers are. According to the authors, NF teachers are marked by personal charisma and commitment to students. NF teachers are genuinely concerned about all aspects of the welfare of their students and try to individualize instruction. "Under the NF's leadership, students often find that they have talents previously unrecognized" (p. 163). NF teachers conduct a democratic classroom. They are more willing than other types of teachers to allow student-to-student interaction and do not see themselves as the source of all wisdom. "They can be unconventional in their teaching and can handle the unconventional in students. They reluctantly use workbooks and manufactured tasks and projects, preferring to create their own curriculum materials" (p. 164). This is the story of my career as a teacher.

Not everything about NF teachers is so positive, and I must admit to the negative aspects as well. I agree that "It is difficult, sometimes, for NFs to be as accepting of superiors in general as the NFs are of students and fellow teachers . . . (which) can be destructive to working relationships" (p. 165). As a young teacher I had to deal with the problem of sometimes "Discussing inappropriate details concerning students . . . in the teachers' faculty room" (p. 165). There is no doubt that I recognize myself in this description.

Discovering humanistic psychology and the Myers-Briggs personality types has been empowering. Having a theoretical framework to explain what I do as a teacher in the classroom allows me to make sense of what has always seemed natural to me. It also makes it quite clear that there will never be an ideal way for everyone to teach. Decisions on teaching methods will depend on what kind of person the teacher is and what she believes and understands about people and learning.

Application

With that in mind, I would like to describe how I teach composition as an ENFJ humanist. Like many other teachers I find that I am eclectic—anything that works is grist to my mill. Realizing that most of us expose ourselves more when writing a composition than in many other situations, I use methodology that takes the emotional as well as the cognitive needs of the students into consideration. The discovery and acknowledgment of the role of character types has led me to reduce or eliminate the need for absolute judgment about what is right or essential for teachers or students.

This brings me to the methodology I use in the composition classroom. Like many other ESL teachers I turn for help to Earl Stevick (1984). Stevick has always maintained that there is no one way for teachers and/or students. He describes his search for better methods and admits that he has become interested in such nonconventional methods as Suggestopedia, The Silent Way, and Counseling-Learning (C-L) because they may provide answers to the difference between success and failure for a highly variable student population. Stevick is convinced that the fact that these methods deal with affective aspects of teaching makes a real difference.

Jack Richards (1984) seems to agree that such methodologies as Total Physical Response, the Natural Approach, and C-L result from "individual instructional philosophies and personal theories concerning factors that promote successful learning" (p. 11). They deal with the way an "individual's learning potential can be maximized." These methods operate without explicit syllabus models but they all emphasize learning experiences that reduce stress and anxiety.

In particular, Curran's C-L aims at the whole person model of learning. It applies group counseling methods to language teaching in an attempt to remove emotional and affective barriers created by learners. Curran believes that learning is a social phenomenon that best takes place within the supportive environment of one's fellow learners. Richards believes that C-L is a teacher dependent approach in which procedure, rather than content, is specified. This particular approach fits in very well with my teaching style.

I have never attended any of the workshops offered by Gattegno in The Silent Way or those of any of the other proponents of these unconventional methods. I have, however, read articles in journals and attended presentations at conferences in addition to reading everything Earl Stevick has to say in *Memory, Meaning, and Method* (1976) and *A Way and Ways* (1980). The strongest message that I get from all these methods is: teacher, get out of the way of learning! The techniques I have adopted and adapted focus on the learners and help them to develop as writers in efficient and beneficial ways.

One of the strategies I use is that I mostly adopt a process approach to writing that ". . . is intended to create a humanistic, nonevaluative classroom atmosphere" (Casanave, 1988, p. 29). Unfortunately, there are times when students must be tested and tension in the classroom is inevitable. Apart from such instances, the process approach is the one I choose since it fits so well with my teaching style.

Most students enter the composition class convinced that the teacher is going to be prescriptive. (From discussions with students, I gather that they perceive most English teachers to be totally prescriptive.) As a result, I set out to be as descriptive as possible. I don't want students to leave my class remembering only such comments as: "never use *I* or *you* in your composition"; "you can't begin a sentence with *and* or *but*."

To help to free them, I recommend a handbook with a descriptive approach such as *Writing With Style* by John Trimble (1975) which I use for intermediate and advanced students. His approach is sensible, practical, and appealing to most students. Quite often students actually thank me for introducing them to the book.

In line with my humanistic approach to teaching composition, I choose topics that are both controversial and topical. One of the best composition teachers I had says that if you give students simplistic topics, they will write simplistic essays. Consequently, I look for subjects that will prove challenging for the class. Very often we begin by reading a newspaper or magazine article or editorial. Editorials work particularly well as they are written in the kind of academic style we want our students to acquire. Topics that have worked well with more advanced mixed ESL/native speaker classes are: Joseph Biden and plagiarism, the controversy over hiring a deaf president at Gallaudet University, the integration of new immigrants, the English-only movement, and sexist language.

My latest plan includes the class reading Neil Postman's (1987) *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. After reading the book and watching Postman being interviewed on television, students write a research paper about some aspect of television. Their task is either to agree with Postman, who is very suspicious of television, or to defend the medium. Either way, their task is to carry out research about some aspect of television that interests them. The research papers they write are among the best my students have every written.

When we start a new topic, we discuss it either in groups or as a whole class. I encourage students to take notes during the discussion; then they go home to think about the topic. About a week later, they either bring a thesis statement or an outline to class to discuss with another student. After they have made any necessary changes, they show it to me. I usually make a few suggestions, which they may accept or not. They then write the essay. Before the whole essay is submitted to me, it is reviewed by their peers. (One way to motivate the reviewers is to give them a grade for the review.) Students really appreciate this step for two reasons. First, they enjoy seeing what the other students in the class write; second, a peer-edited paper usually gets a higher grade as most of the mechanical errors have been caught by the time I see the essay. In order to direct the students' reviews, I supply them with an editing or peer review sheet in which I suggest what they should be looking for.

The next step in the process is to discuss the criteria used for grading. They need to know what is expected of them in order to improve their grade. The students are presented with three or four essays written by class members and they are asked to grade them holistically. We write up the range of grades on the chalkboard and students are asked to defend the grades they give if they differ from the majority. The purpose of this exercise is to teach them to evaluate writing so they can judge and improve their own writing.

After the communal grading session, we examine the papers in detail. Obviously all the papers are anonymous and most students seem to accept the process. In fact, their peers' comments seem to have more effect than the teacher's. As a result, it doesn't take long for them to finally recognize the difference between such words as *its* and *it's* and *there*, *their*, and *they're*.

When I return the essays, I always write at least one paragraph as well as a grade. I always address the student by name and try to be honest. It is important to find something positive to say, which helps many students to accept critical comments. They know that I can't teach them how to write, but I can provide them with optimum conditions for learning to write.

To reach this point in the composition process, we have been through the following steps:

- I choose a controversial, current topic;
- the topic is discussed in class either in groups or as a whole class;
- students go away to think about the issue;
- students bring either thesis statements or outlines to class;
- students discuss and edit these;
- I edit and approve the student's work;
- students write their essays;
- essays are reviewed and edited by peers;
- final versions of the essays are submitted for grades;
- sample essays are graded by the whole class;
- criteria for the grades are discussed; and
- error analyses of the sample essays are carried out orally by the whole class.

These are some of the procedures that work for me. Perhaps other teachers who have similar teaching styles may find my ideas helpful. Probably SF (Sensing-Feeling) and ST (Sensing-Thinking) teachers will reject these ideas as being unsuitable for them. If we accept that everybody is different, we can learn to accept each other and stop trying to make others like us. We must learn to appreciate each other's special talents.

I found it helpful to find out about my personality type as well as the affective aspects of teaching composition. This knowledge has made me a better teacher, and although grading a pile of compositions will never be my favorite activity, I am rarely disappointed with the results. In fact, I am often delighted by the insights and perceptions of many of my students. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Integrating Skills in the ESL Reading Class Using Student Experience

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As an ESL instructor in the intensive English Language Program at the University of California, Santa Barbara Extension, I was daily faced with a need for meaningful reading activities for my students, until I began writing reading texts based on personal stories written by the students themselves and creating a variety of language learning activities to accompany the texts.

The quarter I first began using such texts I had a low-intermediate level class of 14 students: one Korean speaker, one Spanish speaker, and the rest, (Swiss) German or Japanese speakers in nearly equal numbers. There were seven male and seven female students, ranging in age from 19 to 70. At the beginning of the quarter, their ability level was somewhere between Stage 2 and Stage 3 of Dixon and Nessel's (1983) three stages, that is to say, they had from some to considerable oral fluency in English and considerable written ability in their native languages. They were eager to learn more English but generally insecure in using it. On the Foreign Service Institute scale, where 5 represents a native speaker, they would probably score 1+ or 2.

Our class met for 1 hour and 15 minutes daily for 10 weeks. In addition to reading, the course covered vocabulary, listening, and speaking. Shortly before finishing our reading text, which consisted of simplified, well-known short stories, the students and I discussed the idea of using their own personal stories as the basis for reading texts. They liked the idea, so I asked each of them to write a story for me about an unforgettable and important personal experience. These stories then gave me the basic content for 14 class sessions in which all language skills could be integrated and practiced.

Preparation and Classroom Practice

I took the stories home and prepared a reading text based on each one. Some stories were less than a page; some were more than two pages. Such differences in length made for variety in presentation and classroom activities, short stories offering more time for discussion, longer stories more opportunity to practice active listening. In writing the texts, I tried to stay as close as possible to the meaning and the flavor of each story. In one case I actually changed a first person narrative into a poem because I felt it lent itself to such a form. I then developed pre and post reading activities for each text. These varied according to the "feel" that I got from each story. For example, for one prereading activity, I recast an account of an unusual retirement party I received from my 70-year-old Swiss student as a strip story by dividing it into parts equal to the number of students in the class. Having to put together the action sequence of the story as a group prepared the students for reading the text I had written. It also allowed me to use different but synonymous words and phrases in the strip story and the text. (See Long & Richards, 1987, for more details on strip stories.)

I planned to have the authors tell their stories to the class. In preparation, I had the class do a prereading activity, while the author of the story and I conferred in order to ensure that the author understood the recast story and that I had gotten the facts straight. This conference time also gave the author a chance to reread the story in preparation for telling it to the class. I directed the author-storytellers to tell the story, not read it, and to look at class members while speaking, looking down at the text only to refresh their memory. By the time an author was ready to tell the story, the class was primed by the prereading activities to hear it. During the telling of the story, I took a noncentral place in the class so that the storyteller held center stage. As the story was related, I observed the class and got a feeling about who was following the story and who was not. During the comment and question session and before students received the text, I silently wrote vocabulary and corrections on the board based on what students were saying or I took notes for later class review.

When students finally had the text, they were able to read what they had heard in order to confirm or disconfirm their guesses about what was in the story. This often led to discovery of differences in seemingly homophonous words and phrases. For example, a German-speaking student assumed from the context that a word used by a Japanese student was *working*, but he was confused because what he heard the speaker say was something like *waking*. When he saw the text, he was able to reconcile his understanding with his perception. Such discoveries produced a greater understanding and tolerance for differences in pronunciation and a willingness to simply absorb information until a considered judgment would be formed. All of this contributed to class cohesion.

After the students had read the text, I asked the author to take questions. These ranged from requests for information and elaboration of the story to requests for the meaning of words. With a strong student I absented myself completely from the interaction; with a weak student I acted as an on-call collaborator, contributing only when asked, and then talking only to the student, not to the class.

Another technique in the post reading question and answer session I used was to divide the class into groups and ask them to produce questions about the text. While they were doing this, I would again confer with the author-storyteller to work on problems that had come up in the telling of the story or to ensure that the student fully understood differences in the original text and my recast version.

After the post text question and answer session, there was some final activity designed to have students practice language in a personal way. For example, the final activities for the retirement story consisted of students individually describing an unusual celebration they had taken part in and, as a class, briefly discussing work and retirement. In all of these discussions, students acted as experts, sharing information about their own countries and cultures.

For each discussion I would vary student groupings. For one activity, I had students carry on a discussion with a partner and then share with the class the information they had gleaned from the discussion. For another activity, I had them work in dissimilar national groupings in order to promote understanding among students of various nationalities. My self-defined goal for these class activities was to build class cohesiveness by creating structures in which real communication could take place.

Results

The use of student-generated texts as the basis for an integrated skills methodology paid off for me and for the members of my class both in terms of learning English and of forming a classroom community. It enabled me to better understand the students as individuals and to serve their needs as learners of English. For them, it fostered fluency, discussion, cross-cultural understanding, and a genuine interest in reading. It also helped them to understand one another better and created a positive classroom atmosphere in which communication could take place. Strong friendships developed between individuals in the class, and the class as a whole took on an upbeat, interested and positive feeling. One often finds in intensive classes that those with the most fluent English dominate regardless of whether they possess other qualities that would project them into a leadership role. But in this class, the 70-year-old Swiss man was able to find a natural place of respect and leadership among a considerably younger group of students in spite ofthe fact that he was not the most fluent in English. I believe he won this respect by the way he told his story and by his sympathetic understanding of the stories of others.

Based on my experiences with student-generated texts, I have decided to create a supplemental text for my reading classes made up of student stories from previous courses, while continuing to elicit new stories. I will not abandon published materials altogether, but they will not have the same place in my reading class they once did. ■

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A Rationale and Set of Activities For a Language in Education Approach To Persuasive Writing

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The purpose of teaching persuasive writing is to help students learn to elaborate meaning and construct their own written arguments, not simply to evaluate whether they have mastered certain recognizable or conventional rhetorical forms. The framework presented here shares Mohan and Early's (1987) point of view: "It is not a method. Rather, it is a perspective on learning and communication."

There are six key steps in developing activities for a language in education approach to persuasive writing. These include (a) talking to activate past experience and prior knowledge, (b) connecting experience to purpose through focused writing, (c) constructing an argument, (d) supporting an argument, (e) extending an argument, and (f) examining and evaluating alternatives.

Talking to Activate Past Experience and Prior Knowledge

A theoretical basis supporting the role of prior knowledge and past experience in text processing has been developed in schema theory (Rummelhart, 1980; Rummelhart & Ortony, 1977; Schank & Abelson, 1977). Adams and Collins (1979) put the issue directly: "Schema theory provides a way of integrating our understanding of text with our understanding of the world in general" (p. 21).

Carrell (1983a, 1983b) has applied schema theory's concept of prior knowledge to text processing in ESL. Second language research has also pointed out the importance of the interactive features of talk in ESL classes (Long, 1981; Porter, 1983; Long & Porter, 1985; Rulon & McCreary, 1986). Duff (1986) advocates the development and use of tasks that "require learners to make use of world knowledge and previous experience, both linguistic and non-linguistic" (p. 171). Such research provides a rationale for the first element in the language in education framework. Possible classroom activities which can help ESL writers activate past experience and prior knowledge are listed below.

1. Tell your partner about a conversation you had with a friend, classmate, or family member in which you disagreed with what that person was saying about some idea, issue, topic, or plan.
2. Tell your partner about a discussion in one of your classes in which different ideas or opinions were expressed on some issue or topic.
3. Tell your partner about a conversation you heard outside of school in which different ideas or opinions were expressed on some issue or topic.
4. Tell your partner about something you read in a newspaper or magazine in which a person expressed his or her point of view on a subject.
5. Tell your partner about something you read in a book or textbook in which clearly different ideas were expressed on an issue.
6. Tell your partner about something you saw on TV or heard on radio in which people expressed different points of view on a topic or issue.
7. Tell your partner about some issue you care a great deal about. Explain why other people should agree with your position on this issue.

Connecting Experience to Purpose Through Focused Writing in Order to Generate a Position on a Topic

The second step in the language in education framework builds upon the first. Students explore, connect, and extend the ideas generated during the exercises listed above in focused writing practice. Widdowson (1983) provides a rationale for focused writing activities by pointing out writing's capacity to generate the thinking process:

> Writing can change the character of the information the writer wishes to convey. For although he may start with a fairly clear idea of what he wishes to say, the very interactive process he enacts continually provides him with a different point of view which may yield insights and cognitive connections which he would not have otherwise perceived. The interaction not only facilitates the conveyance of information but also generates the thinking process. So it is that in writing one so frequently arrives at a destination not originally envisaged, by a process not planned for in the original itinerary. (p. 41)

The following sequence of activities is one possible way for implementing focused writing:

1. Choose a topic, issue, policy, or event you know something about and that is important to you.

2. Write for 10 minutes about your ideas, opinions, feelings, previous experience, or personal knowledge of that topic.

3. Without reading what you have written, explain to your partner what you were trying to say. Also, tell your partner what you would have said if you had had more time to write. Then, ask your partner if there are any relevant or important aspects of the topic that you did not mention.

4. After discussing your focused writing with your partner, re-read what you have written and continue writing for 10 more minutes.

5. Write a short letter to the editor expressing your opinion on this issue. Read the letter to your partner. Ask your partner to respond. Then, ask your partner to point out any important points you forgot to mention in your letter.

6. Write a dialogue or conversation between you and a friend or relative who disagrees with you on this issue. Read the dialogue with your partner and continue the discussion.

7. Write a short letter to the editor which responds to yours and criticizes the points you made in your letter. Ask your partner to respond once more to what you have written. Again, ask your partner to point out anything you neglected to mention in your criticism of your own position.

8. Summarize your position on this topic in a sentence or two.

9. Summarize the opposite point of view in a sentence or two.

Constructing an Argument

Two essential parts of constructing an argument in the present framework help connect persuasion to students' own language: (a) interpretation and (b) reflection. These two components can be related in argumentation by developing cases, that is, particular examples or stories which illustrate important aspects or issues in students' persuasive papers.

A case can be true, disguised, or fictitious. Cases provide students with a way to describe, account for, and interpret an actual situation or condition. Cases are a recognized structure in journalism, business, medicine, psychology, sociology, and many other academic fields. Developing cases gives student writers practice in analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, this process of analysis and reasoning remains entirely under the students' management and control. Ferreira (1987) states that critical thinking and reflection about the meaning of cases can be done by individuals or groups of students to define, clarify, and analyze problems.

Classroom activities designed to help students construct an argument using cases follow.

1. Think about a personal experience that is relevant to your topic. Describe one specific event from your experience that led to a later reflection. Describe that later reflection and discuss its meaning. Dis-

cuss how this reflection led to subsequent action.

2. Find a particular case or example which would help a reader understand the general issue you are discussing. Present that case in terms of description, sequence, choice, and meaning.

3. Find an example of a particular person's story that illustrates the issues involved in your topic. Tell this story in terms of details, feelings, summary, meaning.

4. Find some analogy which shows that what happens in one case may occur in another situation, too. Compare these two situations, or compare a present case to some historical example.

5. Show how a present case is different from a previous example or case. Give reasons stating why you think a prior or historical example related to your topic is unlikely to occur again.

6. Show cause and effect about some aspect or feature of your argument. Put this cause and effect into "if → then" statements.

7. Discuss how some things seem to go together, even if you cannot say for certain that one causes the other. (One example of this might be the way crime is associated with poverty.)

After students have completed these activities, they should have a clear position on their topic; and they should be growing cognizant of the fact that an equally logical but opposing point of view exists.

Supporting an Argument

Supporting an argument is more than retrieving and transmitting information. Bartholomae and Petrosky (1986) discuss the role of information in writing: "We don't have students shuttling information from texts to teachers and back again, but...between their understanding of what they have read and their understanding of what they must say to us about what they have read" (p. 4).

In the present framework, information serves an intermediary role. It is a way for students to connect what they know to what they want to say about a topic. Students address the essential question of what they want to say as writers by compiling questions various kinds of readers might ask about their topic. These groups include (a) people who are neutral or unconvinced about the students' positions on the topics, (b) people who disagree with the students' positions, (c) people who know a great deal about or have had a lot of experience with issues in the students' topics, and (4) people who do not know very much about these issues. The lists of questions students compile dictate the information they need to find to support an argument. The following activities help students compile the questions and find support for their arguments.

1. List questions a neutral or unconvinced person might ask about your argument. Try to answer them. Ask your partner or group members to think of any such questions.

2. List questions a person who disagrees with your position might

ask. Try to answer these questions. Ask your partner or group members to think of any such questions.

3. Interview two classmates and two native speakers to find out what they would expect to read about in a paper on the topic you have chosen.

4. Find and read two articles related to your topic that provide you with background information on the topic.

5. Find out the position of an expert or recognized authority on your topic. Try to find another expert who disagrees with him or her.

6. Gather statistical information and references about the topic you feel are impressive.

7. Gather evidence to support your position from two sources of information that do not come from the library. (These might include observation, surveys, interviews, lectures, pamphlets, or meetings.)

Extending an Argument

Ethnographic writing provides techniques of analysis that help ESL writers extend their arguments. Both the ethnographer and the student writer must learn to deal with the most specific, concrete human events as well as the most general. Spradley (1980) lists six levels of ethnographic writing.

1. *Specific incident statements.* These are attempts to describe behaviors and events. In one example from his ethnographic writing, Spradley describes a waitress working in a particular section of a specific bar on a Friday night.

2. *Specific statements about a cultural domain.* These are taxonomies or classifications of terms from particular cultural scenes. Spradley lists the ways customers ask for the waitress (teasing, hustling, hassling, or some other speech act). These descriptive taxonomies capture a great deal of information that is known to people in that domain.

3. *General statements about a specific cultural scene.* At this level, important themes are identified and developed. Spradley discusses the particular bar in his study as both a place of business and a ceremonial center. While these statements appear to be general, they do represent a level of abstraction.

4. *General statements about a society or cultural group.* These place particular cultural scenes within the context of a larger society. Spradley makes comments about the role of women in American society based upon his observations at the bar. He comments that the role of women at the bar is an extension of their role at home—serving men.

5. *Cross-cultural statements.* This level may frequently be highly appropriate for ESL writing. Different societies or aspects of different societies can be compared based on student themes or analyses at previous levels.

6. *Universal statements.* These are attempts to make generalizations which are relevant to all humans or their cultures. Here Spradley states that all societies have created identities or roles for males and females.

Possible classroom activities which help students to extend their written arguments include the following.

1. Describe specific events or behaviors which are relevant to your topic. Set these descriptions at specific times and in real places.
2. Make a classification of terms about important aspects of your topic.
3. Based upon your descriptions and classifications, identify and state themes you will write about in your paper.
4. Discuss what you think these themes say about society as a whole.
5. Make comparisons between societies based on your analyses.
6. State the theme in a way which makes it relevant to all human beings. Or describe some event, activity, or behavior mentioned in your paper as a cyclical or recurring phenomenon, that is, as something which is repeated every day in all parts of the world.

Examining and Evaluating Alternatives

Mohan (1986) makes evaluation a cornerstone of his language and content framework and discusses evaluation as a thinking process. In fact, students write persuasively in order to make written evaluations. The importance of evaluation in persuasive writing should be particularly stressed when teaching ESL students from educational backgrounds that do not emphasize the role of original analysis and critical thinking in education.

In academic writing in American educational contexts, students need to recommend and develop alternatives, draw conclusions, form positions, weigh evidence, apply knowledge, and make refutations. In ESL writing classes, students need many opportunities to use these thinking processes as well as support for making these processes an integral part of their persuasive writing. The following activities provide such opportunities.

1. List the specific policies, programs, alternatives, plans, or proposals you are advocating.
2. Show how and why the proposed recommendations, policies, or solution of a person who disagrees with your position will not work. State this in terms of problem, alternatives, reasons, and conclusion.
3. Cite legitimate limitations to your own proposals or recommendations.

The preceding sets of activities are intended to be guidelines. ESL teachers should revise and adapt the activities to meet the particular needs of their second language learners. The sequences of activities

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outlined in this paper are only starting points; they are practical ideas to help teachers develop their own materials. They are not definitive solutions applicable to all teaching situations. However, the language in education framework provides a viable way for teachers to help ESL writers connect persuasion to their own lives and language. And the approach enables L2 students to extend that language into the discourse of academic communities. ■

Ed. Note. For more on ethnographic writing and the use of cases in writing, see Ethnographic Writing: A Model for Second Language Composition Instruction, *p. 43.*

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

The New California English Language Arts Framework

California State Department of Education. 1987.

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A casual look at the new *California English Language Arts Framework* (1987) might lead one to suspect that something different is about to occur in the language arts instruction in California public schools. In contrast to past frameworks, gone is the focus on isolated teaching of bits and pieces of written language. Gone is the emphasis on skill sheets, spellers, and scope-and-sequence charts. Gone is the segmentation of language into its various expressions—listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Gone, also, is the notion of developing a series of language arts frameworks, each destined to meet the needs of a particular group of students. In their place, the *Framework* calls for a focus on meaning. The language arts are to be taught in an integrated fashion; core literary works are to be the content of instruction and students are to learn to read and write by reading and writing. The *Framework* addresses the needs of all students: elementary, secondary, gifted, less prepared, language minority, and those who require special education.

We applaud the *Framework*'s shift in emphasis from skills to meaning. We are also encouraged by the *Framework*'s call for high quality literature within the language arts program. And, we are especially pleased to see that students are to spend more of their time reading and writing whole, meaningful texts.

Given these strengths and the overall spirit of the document, we hesitate to say "but . . ." for fear that it will be perceived as a failure to recognize the real accomplishments of the *Framework* and encourage critics of meaning-centered language arts curricula. The purpose of our critique, therefore, is to acknowledge these strengths of the *Framework* while noting areas of weakness and suggesting solutions.

It is clear that the authors of the *Framework* want students to read and write for meaning and that the source for this meaning is to be "great, classic literature" (p. 7). Unfortunately the developers of the *Framework* never come to terms with the relationship among skill attainment, literacy competency, and meaning. Consequently, the

Framework is unclear and at times even contradictory as to how students are to generate this meaning. For example, the section "Learning to Read by Reading" (p. 9) begins with the following quotation from Frank Smith: "Learning to read is a complex and delicate task in which almost all the rules, all the cues and all the feedback can be obtained only through the act of reading itself" (p. 23). Those familiar with Frank Smith's skepticism of the effectiveness of phonic and vocabulary instruction might predict that the *Framework* would reject such instruction and present more viable alternatives.

Surprisingly, not only is a more viable alternative not presented within the *Framework*, but the traditional skills approach is maintained, though certainly in a weakened form. A skills perspective toward literacy teaching and learning essentially advocates that the processes of reading and writing can be broken apart into discrete language skills. Literacy mastery involves the learning of such language parts as sound/symbol relations (phonics), word attack skills, and vocabulary.

Throughout the document, while some mention is made of teaching students to make use of context clues, the directive to teach students to "identify individual words by sounding them out" (p. 9) is clear. In fact, a systematic phonics program for the early grades is mandated in the *Framework*. In Appendix A the traditional skill components of decoding, vocabulary development, and comprehension are listed. Hence, the *Framework* appears to be telling teachers to focus on meaning but to continue to teach the skills. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that many teachers, in their attempts to implement the *Framework*, have taken classic works of literature and taught them as one would a basal story.

In place of a skills approach, we recommend a process approach to reading instruction. In a process approach, reading is goal driven and the focus is on constructing and responding to meaning on a variety of topics. Materials are not fragmented but whole, real, and relevant. Comprehension, while variable, is not an "add-on" but a prerequisite to and a consequence of reading.

Fortunately, the *Framework*'s stance toward writing instruction is a great deal more process oriented. Writing is defined not as a think-it-say-it process, but as the exploration of thought which can promote student learning. Teachers are to engage students in prewriting, drafting, and revising strategies; instructional activities are to promote student response to their own and others' writing; and revision is to move beyond surface level corrections to the clarification and rearrangement of meaning (p. 10).

The *Framework* also advocates the use of all elements of language—listening, speaking, reading, and writing—as students study various literary works. Current theory and research on concept development supports such a stance toward learning. Chapter 4 describes sample lessons which demonstrate the integrated use of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. While the focus of each program and lesson is on the use of various language elements to enhance student comprehension of a piece of classic literature, other characteristics of integration are also exemplified, e.g., literature is integrated with science and social science reading material and language is integrated with art, music, and mathematics.

If the developers of the *Framework* had not had such a concern with building the language arts curriculum around classic works of literature, they might have more fully articulated the concept of integration at which they only hint in chapter 4. From our perspective, integration is best accomplished through thematic units rather than through core literature. In thematic teaching, key concepts which focus on a particular topic serve as the base for the language arts curriculum. All materials and activities are conceptually linked to the topic and come not only from the field of literature, but from science and the social sciences as well. In such a curriculum, conceptual learning is promoted because students repeatedly encounter a set of interelated meanings throughout the unit and language learning is enhanced because students use reading, writing, listening, and speaking to generate meanings related to the themes at hand.

The incorporation of materials from various fields of study into the language arts curriculum has a number of benefits for students. First, it helps them to develop a fuller understanding of the topics and major concepts. In addition, the written materials in each field may also use different organizational patterns. Science materials are often expository in nature while social science materials are frequently time ordered. Literary materials may reflect narrative patterns as well as poetic and dramatic patterns. A curriculum focused primarily on literary texts, as suggested in the *Framework*, not only limits students to a narrow range of meanings, but also limits their ability to develop reading and writing proficiency in different types of discourse.

Thematic curricula also allow for the use of reading materials which reflect various degrees of difficulty. In any classroom there will exist a range of reading abilities. If core literature serves as the base for the curriculum, less proficient students will be automatically excluded because they lack the ability to read particular core texts. While these students might experience the material through other avenues, such as being read to, watching filmstrips, and so forth, the only way they will improve their ability to read is through reading.

We have already seen this exclusion happening in classrooms which are currently using core literary texts. The more capable students are engaged in the reading of the selected work while the less capable students listen to the literature as it is read by the teacher or on audio tape. In many ways, this procedure simply continues established classroom norms: those who read well are allowed to read, while those

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who are struggling are excluded from print. In the use of themes, students with varying degrees of reading proficiency can still engage in the curriculum as the focus is on key concepts rather than on key literary works. Students read those materials which are most appropriate to their ability and, because all materials focus on the same themes, increase their conceptual knowledge.

The *Framework* recognizes the increasing number of limited-English-speaking students as one of California's greatest challenges. We applaud the *Framework*'s emphasis on meaning-based second language instruction. However, we are concerned about its unenthusiastic support for the use of the home language for instructional purposes with limited English students. While the California Office of Bilingual and Bicultural Education argues, based on current research, that first language development, including first language literacy, provides the strongest foundation for the academic success of limited English proficient students, the *Framework* views the use of the home language as simply one instructional alternative. The alternative is presented with "the understanding that English instruction should begin as soon as possible" (p. 23).

Ironically, although the *Framework* advocates meaning-based curricula, the frail support it gives to primary language instruction has the potential of closing one of the means by which language minority children can participate in meaning-based curricula. We feel that the *Framework*'s emphasis on a quick transition to English will only provide support to the now discredited notion that maximum exposure to English instruction automatically leads to a higher degree of English achievement.

In its push to minimize the use of the primary language for instructional purposes, the *Framework* fails to define how first and second language development interface and support one another. The *Framework* might have highlighted the fact that language minority students' experiences with one language promote the development of a common proficiency which underlies both languages. Consequently, subject matter knowledge attained via the first language will support the development of both cognitive and linguistic development in the second language.

In selecting materials for the language arts program, the *Framework* endorses the use of core literary works which are to be identified at the school or district level. Core literary works, according to the *Framework*, would "offer students a common cultural background" (p. 7). One of the difficulties we see in the *Framework*'s adoption of the notion of cultural literacy rests in how *culture* is defined. The document vacillates betwen wanting to reflect the Western "high" view of culture and wanting to represent a view which is more pluralistic.

We do not object to a language arts program which concentrates on the "greatest" works of literature. The problem is that many of the works which offer the viewpoint of racial, ethnic, or language minorities are not often described this way. Such works then fail to find their way into the established canon. The *Framework*, in illustrating the use of high quality literature, often refers to literary examples which reflect the more traditional view of culture rather than one which represents minority cultures.

We also question the notion that simply having students read the same core literature will provide them with a common cultural heritage. Culture, as we define it, is far more dynamic. However, in encouraging a core list development at the local level, the *Framework* has the potential to positively impact the students it seeks to serve. Those involved in the development of core lists at the local level must be conscious of the need to provide experiences which reflect minority as well as mainstream groups.

In summary, we applaud the overall direction of the *Framework*. In promoting a meaning-centered language arts curriculum, the *Framework* moves in a positive direction. A literature-focused curriculum, even though potentially elitist in its conception, is a vast improvement over the literacy instructional practices which traditionally have plagued our schools.

We must, however, beware of the setback which the document represents in terms of the previously won gains for bilingual education. The *Framework* has the potential of limiting language minority students' access to the state's second language educational reform. Moreover, the document, because of its focus on English-only instruction, further removes the possibility of a truly bilingual education for all students, including those whose native language is English.

Rather than a narrow focus on skills, Western literature, and English, we would propose a focus on process, the use of a wide range of written material reflecting diverse cultural viewpoints, and bilingualism.■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

What's Whole in Whole Language

Kenneth Goodman. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1986. Pp.79.

Ideas and Insights: Language Arts in the Elementary School

Ed. Dorothy Watson. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1987. Pp. xiii + 243

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What's Whole in Whole Language by Ken Goodman serves as a concise introduction to *Whole Language*. It sets out very clearly what Whole Language is and what it is not. *Ideas and Insights*, edited by Dorothy Watson is a second valuable book, containing a wealth of practical classroom activities consistent with a Whole Language philosophy.

While these two books serve as an excellent introduction to Whole Language, it is important to note that they are just that, an introduction. Teachers wishing to study Whole Language in more depth will need to read other books and articles to develop further insights into the philosophy and application of Whole Language.

Teachers moving toward Whole Language may wish to share these books with administrators, other teachers, or parents as a way of introducing them to new practices, materials, and classroom organization. Many ESL teachers will recognize similarities between the goals of a Whole Language program and the goals of ESL programs, especially ESL programs that reflect current theories of oral and written language acquisition. In fact, many ESL teachers may discover that they have been Whole Language teachers all along.

In the preface to *What's Whole in Whole Language* Goodman states the book's purpose, "to describe the essence of the whole language movement—its basis, its features, and its future" (p. 5). The book covers each of these three areas. The basis of Whole Language, and what makes it particularly relevant for teachers of English to speakers of other languages, is that Whole Language is a view of how oral and written language develop. The Whole Language approach suggests ways that both parents and teachers can help children develop literacy. The future of Whole Language looks promising. Goodman considers this future by reviewing sucessful Whole Language programs now in operation and suggesting how other schools can develop effective Whole Language programs.

Goodman approaches the basis of Whole Language and language development, both oral and written, by posing this paradox: "Learning a language sometimes seems ridiculously easy and sometimes impossibly hard. And the easy times are outside school, the hard times in school" (p. 7). ESL teachers will recognize this as the same point that Krashen (1981) has made in his distinction between acquisition and learning.

Goodman contrasts factors that make learning hard with those that make it easy. These are outlined in a clear chart on p. 8. For example, language is hard when it is presented in bits and pieces, and it is easy when it is presented in meaningful wholes. Language is hard when it is presented as a sequence of skills to be mastered and easy when skills to be taught are selected as the result of examining student work. It's hard when the focus is on language itself and easy when the focus is on using language to accomplish purposes that have meaning for the learner.

There is a parallel between teachers moving from traditional approaches toward Whole Language and ESL teachers moving from a structural syllabus toward a communicative syllabus or teaching language through content. Whole Language and recent ESL approaches emphasize keeping language whole and meaningful and focusing on language use rather than on the forms of the language itself. The writings of Hudelson (1984), Urzua (1987), Rigg (1981), Rigg and Enright (1986), and Enright and McCloskey (1985, 1988), among others, describe ESL programs consistent with a Whole Language approach.

After examining the factors that facilitate language learning, Goodman considers more directly the process of learning a language. He suggests that learning occurs from whole to part, that function precedes form, and that two forces, convention and invention, are in balance as individuals develop language. He goes on to explain that although oral and written language develop in the same way, they serve different functions and involve different conventions. Written language itself serves a number of different functions. For instance, environmental print provides information such as names of streets and stores while occupational print is needed to complete one's job. He encourages teachers to help students develop control over these different functions of written language and says that students will learn as long as they see a need for using written language to serve their own purposes.

In this section on language development, with its emphasis on function over form, there is a clear parallel between what Whole Language teachers are attempting and what many ESL teachers are doing in their classrooms. ESL teachers are moving away from oral and written exercises that focus on correct forms of language and are moving toward classroom activities in which students use language to accompllish both academic and social goals (Chamot & O'Malley, 1987; Krashen & Terrell, 1983). There is more acceptance of error in this process and a recognition that students' invented forms will begin to approximate conventional forms over time. ESL teachers respond more to what students are trying to say or write before attending to details of how they say or write it.

The next section of *What's Whole* provides a Whole Language view of schools. Goodman outlines the theoretical base for Whole Language teaching by reviewing learning and language theory. He goes on to consider a Whole Language view of teaching and curriculum. Whole Language teachers are knowledgeable professionals who continue to learn and refine their practices in light of current research. These teachers, "keep trying to make the curriculum more relevant, to make language experiences in school as authentic and relevant as those outside school, to reach all children and help them expand their language competence as they continue to learn through language" (p. 30). Whole Language teachers attempt to integrate their curriculum. They provide students with choices and work to help students take responsibility for their own learning. They emphasize language across the curriculum and often organize their lessons around thematic units. It seems clear that these goals for a Whole Language teacher and a Whole Language curriculum are the same goals many ESL teachers have always held and that other ESL teachers are moving toward.

The first half of *What's Whole* ends with a section titled, "Whole Language: What Makes It Whole?" in which Goodman summarizes his key points. He compares what Whole Language is with what it is not, concentrating especially on reading. He claims that a skills-technology view of reading dominates many classrooms. This view is characterized by the use of basal readers and direct instruction, by a concern with readiness and an emphasis on phonics. Goodman urges a shift toward a scientific view of reading and writing instruction in which teachers use authentic materials to help students understand that reading is a process of constructing meaning.

For ESL teachers, this section is particularly relevant because ESL materials are often similar to basal reading programs. Materials for second language learners often lean more heavily toward worksheets, skill packs, and artificial reading selections written to include certain grammatical structures. However, many ESL teachers are rejecting these materials and moving toward the use of real literature and authentic expository text to teach their students. They are also introducing process writing (Graves, 1983) and teaching skills in context rather than depending on workbook pages. This is exactly the sort of shift that Goodman calls for in his book.

The second half of *What's Whole* includes a number of specific suggestions for implementing a Whole Language program. Reading instruction could include the use of predictable books, taped stories, and langauge experience stories. Under writing, Goodman discusses the use of journals and process writing. He also deals with spelling, punctuation and handwriting.

An especially important section for ESL teachers is Goodman's discussion of "revaluing" as an alternative to remediation. He says, "When pupils don't do well in a technologized reading and writing program, it's assumed there must be something wrong with *them*." (p. 55). As a result of their failure students are often labeled and given instruction designed to cure their disabilities. But, says Goodman, "A whole language perspective is bluntly opposed to all that. Language learning is not difficult. If young humans haven't succeeded in becoming literate in school, something must be wrong with the program: *it* needs remediation, not they" (p. 55). What language learners really need is to revalue themselves and to revalue reading and writing. Until they see themselves as competent learners and until they see reading and writing as activities that will serve their needs, instructional programs will have little effect on them.

The last section of *What's Whole*—"Whole Language: Not Without a Whole Language Teacher"—gives some practical suggestions for how teachers can move toward Whole Language. It encourages teachers to keep communications open with administrators, other teachers, and parents. It recognizes that while there will be more noise in a Whole Language classroom than in a traditional classroom there is still the need to maintain order. It provides ideas for making long-range plans. Goodman ends his book with the reminder that "all kids are whole language learners, but there are no whole language classrooms without whole language teachers" (p. 78).

One area of concern to many teachers that is covered only briefly in *What's Whole* is evaluation. Teachers often ask how students in Whole Language classes compare with students in traditional classes. Recent research indicates that students in Whole Language classes do well. In "The Power of Reading" Stephen Krashen (1985) reviews a number of studies and concludes, "Research appears to support overwhelmingly the hypothesis that reading exposure alone has a strong effect on the development of language abilities necessary for school success" (p. 90). His comparisons of programs show greater test score gains for self-selected or sustained silent reading than for programs with traditional reading instruction. Michael Tunnell and James Jacobs (1989) also review a number of studies, including studies with limited-English students and conclude that literature-based reading instruction typical of Whole Language classrooms results in greater gains in reading than does traditional instruction.

Although recent research documents substantial gains in the kinds of reading and writing instruction consistent with Whole Language,

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teachers beginning to use Whole Language will need to do further reading for suggestions on evaluation. One source many teachers have found helpful is *The Whole Language Evaluation Book* with chapters by teachers at different grade levels. Each chapter explains how that teacher attempts holistic evaluation. Included are descriptions of Whole Language evaluation in bilingual classes and classes with substantial numbers of limited English proficient students.

While *What's-Whole* provides some practical suggestions for implementing a Whole Language program, the emphasis is on theory—on what Whole Language is and what it is not. A second book, *Ideas and Insights*, edited by Dorothy Watson, provides a wealth of practical suggestions for teachers wishing to launch into Whole Language. ESL teachers should find many suggestions that are appropriate for their classes as well.

The book begins with "An Invitation" to the reader from the many authors to "consider our best teaching ideas" (p. vii). The book is not just a random collection of ideas: "What you will find, . . . are activities that are based on the whole language approach to learning" (p. vii). The activities are anchored in a consistent philosophy. Each one includes a *why* as well as a *who* and a *how*.

The philosophy supporting the book is expounded in the introductory section which comprises three brief essays. Leland Jacobs begins with "Literature: Its Rightful Place in the Curriculum." Jacobs argues that literature has always been central to public education on this continent. He points out that there is a greater wealth of literature for children and young adults available now than ever before. He stresses the need to involve students with authentic literature by getting them to "re-view what has been aesthetically enjoyed" (p. x).

In the second essay, "Readers Detechnologizing Reading," Kenneth Goodman reiterates ideas presented in *What's Whole in Whole Language*. He points out that we have built a technology of reading instruction around basal progams. He calls for rejecting this technology of reading and immersing students in good literature and expository prose instead.

The third essay, by Donald Graves, is titled "Writing to Learn, Learning to Write." Graves, who has taught second language students and who is well-known for his work on process writing, illustrates how a teacher can work with students to involve them in meaningful writing. He stresses that teachers, too, are learners, and the demonstrations of reading and writing that they give their students are crucial and have "the greatest effect on the children's enjoyment of learning and literacy" (p. xiii).

Together, these essays provide a sound theoretical base for all the activities collected in this book. The activities themselves are all presented following the same format. This makes it easy to flip open the book to any page and make sense of the lesson idea being described.

Each activity or lesson idea begins with a section titled "Why." This section may be quite brief. "Why" for the activity "Peek and Describe" states, "To help students make use of the descriptive language they possess but use infrequently" (p. 14). Other "Whys" are more detailed and cover a paragraph or two. The second section, "Who," explains who the activity is designed for. "Peek and Describe" is for "all elementary students" (p. 14). Some activities are specifically designated as appropriate for teachers with ESL students. An example is "The Linguistically Different Child: How to Soften the Culture Clash."

While *Ideas and Insights* doesn't address the needs of adult ESL students specifically, ESL teachers will find suggestions that would be easy to adapt for older second language students. However, these teachers may also wish to consult other sources for suggestions for activities to use with ESL students consistent with Whole Language including Enright (1988), Hudelson (1984), Rigg (1986), and Urzua (1987).

Part 3 of each lesson is titled "How." These sections are succinct but sufficiently detailed so a teacher can read them and then try them out. The activities are all written by classroom teachers who have already used and modified them, so the explanations reflect teachers' experience, not idealized situations. Finally, many of the activities include a "What Else" section in which possible extensions or follow-up activities are included.

The activities in *Ideas and Insights* are organized into five parts. Each part has a particular focus: (a) reading, (b) writing, (c) language across the curriculum (d) students and parents as resources, and (e) assessment. This organizational scheme makes it easy for teachers to locate activities to serve particular needs. *Ideas and Insights* also includes a large bibliography of books, including read-aloud books, wordless books, and predictable books.

For teachers interested in Whole Language, *What's Whole in Whole Language* and *Ideas and Insights* provide an excellent introduction to Whole Language theory and practice. ESL teachers will find that the movement toward Whole Language is consistent with the *California English Language Arts Framework* as well as with current practice in ESL. These are books written for teachers and designed to help teachers help all their students become successful learners. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

BOOK BYTES

NATALIE A. KUHLMAN
San Diego State University

New ESL Texts

Bridges to Communication (ELEPS). Santillana. 1989.

The long-awaited San Diego City Schools ESL curriculum has just been published. Initial reviews are very positive. The curriculum is based on language development in content areas, using the concepts of Krashen, Cummins, and Terrell as the theoretical foundation. Three ESL stages per grade level are provided. There are 10-12 units per stage, each unit comprised of 10-12 lessons. Each lesson has a warm-up, focus, and closure activity, followed by independent and additional tasks. Primary grades (1-3) are now available. Intermediate grades (4-6) will follow. Secondary will be the final segment.

Savage, K. Lynn. *Building Life Skills.* Longman. 1989.

This adult ESL series of three books uses a similar model to *Bridges to Communication*, each unit containing a warm-up, presentation, guided practice, and application (in which students use the information in real-life tasks). The first book focuses on basic language structures and applications (rearranging information, one-step processes). The second book—intermediate level—focuses on interpreting information. The third helps students use information to solve problems.

Walker, Michael. *Addison-Wesley ESL.* Addison-Wesley. 1989.

This just published content-based ESL curriculum will likely compete well with Santillana's *Bridges to Communication.* It, too, is divided into several levels and units to meet the varied needs of second language learners. The focus is on life skills using role-playing activities. Many worksheets are included, along with stories to be read to students.

CALL

Taylor, Macey, and Laura Perez. *Something To Do On Monday . . .* Athelstan. 1989.

The success of this book, as CALL-expert John Huggins says, is that "it removes some of the drudgery of routine decision making by providing practical plans and management routines for a huge range of available [computer] programs" (Foreword).

The book begins with a questionnaire to test readers' knowledge of computers. Next, some 36 programs are divided into three kinds of learning tasks computers can perform: (a) knower of the right answer, (b) workhorse, and (c) stimulus. Each program is identified by computer model, age, and grade level and is followed by specific directions for using the program. This will be a great asset to all CALL teachers (or anyone with a computer in the classroom).

Research/Teacher Training/Reference

Johnson, Donna and Duane Roen. *Richness in Writing: Empowering ESL Students*. Longman. 1989.

This anthology focuses on empowering the student writer (as opposed to the teacher imposing tasks on the writer) in authentic situations. Articles are divided into three sections. In the first, "Settings, Networks, Connections," James Cummins sets the stage with "The Sanitized Curriculum: Educational Disempowerment in a Nation at Risk." Other articles include those by Luis Moll and Sarah Hudelson. The second section, "Rhetorical Concerns in Writing," looks at the classroom setting with articles by Carole Edelsky, Yvonne and David Freeman and Joy Reid. The final section is "Culture, Second Language Writing, and Creativity." The three articles included are on topic development (Sandra McKay), contrastive rhetoric (William Grabe and Robert Kaplan), and a new challenge for composition evaluation (Robert Land and Catherine Whitley).

McKay, Sandra and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong. *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource?* Newbury House. 1988.

This teacher resource examines linguistic diversity in four parts, beginning with a conceptual framework by Richard Ruiz ("Orientations in Language Planning"). The second section offers an historical perspective on diversity in the United States, followed in the third by a specific examination of the language situation today of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, Korean Americans, and Vietnamese Americans. The final section focuses on implications for education with articles by Mary McGroarty, Sandra McKay and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong.

Trueba, Henry. *Raising Silent Voices: Educating the Linguistic Minorities for the 21st Century*. Newbury House. 1989.

Using a case study approach, Trueba in his latest book examines the complexities of educating and understanding the linguistically diverse populations that are rapidly becoming the majority of public-school students. The book focuses on sociocultural influences on school achievement and learning, legislation, and the instructional process. Chapter 6 is particularly timely—"Empowering Teachers to Become Effective: Teachers' Struggles and Concerns." This is an excellent book for teacher/researchers, teacher trainers and classroom teachers alike.

Amnesty/ESL

Seely, Margaret. *Handbook for Citizenship.* Alemany Press. 1989.

In this book, Seely's second edition, the emphasis is on the oral preparation of immigrants for the naturalization test. Reading out loud is used throughout. Forms that students will need to fill out for the test are included. Each chapter has a short oral reading selection, followed by practice words and questions. ■

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The CATESOL Journal focuses primarily on the teaching of English as a second or foreign language, standard English as a second dialect, and bilingual education. That is, the journal provides a forum for highlighting the innovative teaching going on at all levels in schools, colleges, and universities. Original articles can focus on a particular technique, problem, or situation, but readers should be able to generalize insights from these articles to their own particular situation.

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3. Reviews of books and other published materials, including software (up to 8 pages).

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It is understood that manuscripts submitted to **The CATESOL Journal** have not been previously published and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere.

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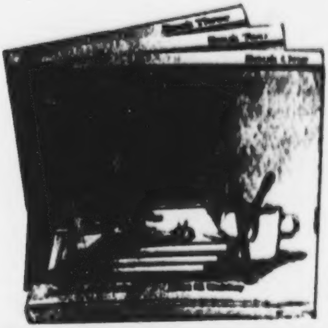

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Editors' Note

This issue of *The CATESOL Journal* once again features a range of articles, exchange ideas and reviews. The area of writing predominates beginning with the Leki and Berger articles, both of which explore the issue of feedback. The CATESOL Exchange features two articles on writing by Poggi and Grant and Caesar. These examine the use of the instructor as a model for writing and the use of student journals as classroom materials. In addition, the review section of the journal features several writing texts as well as a work on coherence.

The remainder of the journal reflects the diverse interests of the CATESOL membership. An article by Andrews examines ESL in the workplace. The article by Herda transports the membership to China. The Devenney article explores wordlists while Lipp promotes the technique of sustained silent reading.

The remaining articles in the CATESOL Exchange by Master and Murray reflect common professional concerns.

Finally, additional book reviews include works that can be used for teacher education.

Dorothy Messerschmitt
Denise Murray
Editors

The CATESOL Journal

ILONA LEKI
University of Tennessee

Potential Problems with Peer Responding in ESL Writing Classes

■ **Many native speaker composition classes and increasing numbers of ESL composition classes use small group work and peer responding to improve writing. Teachers who have used peer responding are generally convinced of its usefulness, but many are unaware of the special problems ESL writers and readers face when asked to comment on a classmate's writing. These problems stem partly from ESL students' lack of experience in using techniques like peer responding and partly from the varying rhetorical expectations that readers from other cultures bring to a text. This paper discusses the issues surrounding the attempt to bring ESL writers into the American academic discourse community through the use of peer responding in ESL writing classes.**

Few teachers who have used peer responding in their writing classes would be willing to do away with the undeniable benefits of this technique, one that has been with us since at least the last century (Gere, 1987). In the late 60s and early 70s a spate of doctoral dissertations on native speaker writing classes reported research investigating which classes made greater gains in writing ability—those which employed peer responding, with or without teacher responses, or those which employed only teacher response (Ford, 1973; Lagana, 1972; Pierson, 1976). Some findings showed greater gains among the classes which employed peer responding. Other findings showed no difference between the experimental classes and the control classes. But all the studies concluded that peer responding is superior to teacher response alone since it produces results at least as good as, if not better than, teacher response classes and has the additional advantage of reducing teacher work loads.

Peer responding came somewhat later in ESL writing classes, but the same kinds of results came from research on peer responding in ESL writing classes (Chaudron, 1983). Furthermore, teachers who use this technique often comment on its ability to promote a sense of community in the ESL writing class, to help students develop a clearer sense of audience, to make real the idea that writing must communicate a message, and to encourage a willingness to revise.

Student Reactions

Student testimonials abound as well. The following are student reactions to an ESL writing class which used between-draft peer responses for all assignments. The student comments are reproduced here in their entirety because they are typical of ESL students' reactions to peer responding and because they raise certain important issues about this technique. (Simple spelling and morphological errors have been eliminated; otherwise, the original responses are reproduced.) The students responded to two questions.

Q1: How useful was it to you to read other students' papers?

S1: It was very useful when they wrote about the same thing as I did.

S2: Sometimes it (reading and responding to a classmate's paper) helped me to get more ideas and find out about the points I had not thought about before.

S3: We can help each other.

S4: Very useful. In this way, I can also help my peers in their paper, with whatever knowledge I have of English.

S5: Yes, I realized my own mistakes when I find out about other people's mistake.

S6: That was good because (a) you get to know how the other students write and what is their levels in writing English; (b) makes you look at the paper critically; (c) indicates the style of writing in different new points.

S7: Help to explore more ideas. Learn from the mistake others made.

S8: It helped me to arrange my own essays. At least I saw how other people think and write about a particular subject.

S9: Very useful. By doing this I can conclude best topics and right structure in presenting my next papers.

S10: It was very useful because first you can see other people's way of thinking and writing. Also, seeing other people's errors makes me realize my own mistakes.

S11: It was useful because it gave me the opportunity to evaluate and give my opinion about other papers. It also makes me be familiar with other writing styles.

S12: I learnt how the others organize their essay and sometimes different view they took even we wrote the same subject. I enjoy learning the culture of other countries from essays such as special item/concept and educational system.

S13: Some of the things that I think was important did not seem important from my responder's view. Sometimes it was hard because I know something is wrong or missing but I can't seem to tell what it is. But it is easier to correct other people's mistakes and not knowing that I've made almost the same ones.

S14: Reading other students' papers, I realize one mistake which I used to make that is going round the bush. Whenever I write I always remind myself to be specific and clear as what other students did.

S15: It was very useful. It made me realize the mistakes that I have made on my paper.

S16: I can steal (?) good expressions, or find unclear expressions. I can analyze why it sounds so good or strange if I were he/she, I would change like...

S17: I do not find this extremely useful to me. But still I can learn from this. This helps me to know how others think about perhaps trigger me to think of more ideas.

Q2: How useful was it to you to hear/read other students' comments on your papers?

S1: Students' comments on my paper were usually vague and I didn't find much help with them.

S2: Not as much as reading other people's papers.

S3: It was useful that you learn from other students' comments and you can improve your essay.

S4: The coments are helpful to improve my writing.

S5: Very useful. It helps me know my mistakes before I actually hand in for grading. It also helps me to know where I stand/my standard of English.

S6: Very helpful. You can at least know what others think/respond to your writings. This also helps one to correct his mistakes.

S7: Yes. Constructive criticism are very helpful. However, some sarcastic remarks made by fellow students are uncalled for.

S8: I found it very useful. So many times they directed me to the right point.

S9: Very helpful to improve my paper.

S10: Sometimes it was very useful. Something might be clear to me but not for others. In this sense it was helpful to get comments about my papers from classmates.

S11: Very useful. The comments had helped me realize my mistakes and I can correct them when I write my last papers.

S12: It depends on who the responder is.

S13: Sometimes it was helpful, but sometimes it was confusing because I didn't know whether to consider the student's comments for my final draft or not.

S14: Yes, it was very helpful because you have to know what the other thinks about what you wrote. Because maybe there might be unclear points that you think are clear because you know the subject.

S15: It is helpful sometimes but I think some readers are sometimes afraid to point out the mistakes that I make. They might afraid that means criticizing my papers.

S16: It was real helpful because there were somethings that seemed important to me but was not so from the responder's point of view.

S17: I like this very much because I can learn my mistakes from here and learn some other ways of writing a good essay from other students.

S18: Very useful. I improved quite a bit after reading the comments and suggestions on my papers.

S19: I could find my weak points. When I am writing, I understand what I'm going to say, but my words, sentences, and paragraphs cannot always bring my thoughts to the reader. If someone asks what I will say by this word, sentence, or paragraph, I know that part must be changed more clearly, directly or somehow. To read other papers is very interesting and helpful. Also that others read my papers and comment is very helpful. *But to comment for others to improve the writers is extremely hard because I have to be a good reader.*

S20: At least I can know how others evaluate my papers. It is sometimes very useful to me.

Discussion

The responses to the first question (How useful was it to you to read other students' papers?) were overwhelmingly positive, with only S1 and S17 suggesting some misgiving. The answers to the second question, however, (How useful was it to you to hear/read other students' comments on your papers?), while still decidedly positive, included negative reactions, highlighted above. These students raise questions about the quality of responses (unspecific or simply unhelpful), the destructiveness of critical responses, the action to take based on the responses, and the honesty or frankness of responses.

Writing teachers have experienced other problems with peer responding as well. While those who use peer responding in their classes remain committed to the idea, it is important to determine what peer responding can do and what it cannot do for our ESL writing students and to consider what sorts of approaches teachers might take to ensure maximum benefits for ESL students in light of their special needs in writing for the academic community. This paper will explore some of the pitfalls of this technique for ESL writing classes and suggest ways to avoid them.

Responding Versus Editing

An initial problem with peer responding in the ESL writing classroom is that ESL students new to the practice nearly always confuse responding with editing. Instead of engaging with the text they are reading and responding as real readers, they are likely to respond to surface concerns of grammar, mechanics, spelling, and vocabulary, taking refuge in the security of details of presentation rather than grappling with more difficult questions of meaning. In this they may well be imitating responses they have received to their own papers, particularly in ESL language classes not focused so much on writing as on practical applications of grammar lessons. Certainly, peer editing has a place in the writing classroom, but peer editing is an activity distinct from peer responding, and students need to be made aware that an initial focus on editorial concerns is probably misplaced and may inhibit the perception of ideas. This tendency to edit rather than to respond is fairly readily discouraged by directions to attend initially to the ideas of the text rather than to the form.

Inappropriate Responses

A stickier problem, one not unknown in native speaker writing classes, probably also results from ESL students attempting to imitate their teachers' responses to their writing. Pushed by this peer responding activity to say something, and at a loss as to what to say, students often resort to exhortations like "Be specific" or "Give some examples." It is not unusual to see labels like this stamped in the margin of a paper at a spot where it is difficult to imagine what an example might be or how an example might clarify an assertion. (Excerpt from a student's paper: "In the spring young people from the surrounding villages gather at X (a village in China) to prepare for the traditional singing contest." Comment in the margin: "Give some examples.") Students who write this sort of comment reveal their confusion about its meaning, perhaps because of the way it has previously been applied to their own work. In all likelihood, these students have, at some point in their English writing careers, been asked to supply an example at a spot in their texts where they themselves perceived no need for one and have come to think of examples as inherently good or necessary rather than as aids to understanding.

Overly Direct Responses

The complaint of S7 about sarcastic responses to her work is echoed by researchers. Acton (1984) complains about the bluntness, rudeness, and even sadism his ESL students display when they comment on the papers of their classmates. Hawkins (1976) calls native speaking student responders "cruel taskmasters and rigid conformists" (p. 5). Where have students learned to respond this way? In their usual interactions with each other, they are not so quick to display exasperation. These types of responses may again be modeled after the way students have seen their teachers respond, presumably in classes which take a product-oriented single-draft approach to teaching writing or in ESL classes where, again, the focus is actually written grammar practice rather than composing. Peer responding cannot function properly if students feel that their efforts will be met with sarcasm or criticism from their peers; few people are willing to expose themselves to such abuse. However, the problem of teachers modeling these types of responses has been fading as more teachers turn away from a writing-as-grammar-practice approach, in which students are expected already to know what they are supposedly in the class to learn, and toward a more student-centered orientation. Nevertheless, keeping in mind that students feel exposed and vulnerable in their written texts, teachers do well to reiterate to peer responders that the purpose of the activity is to help, not criticize.

Validity of Peer Responses

The problems mentioned above are mainly the result of certain characteristics of ESL writing courses and as such dissipate (or increase) as the character of these courses changes in response to the tenor of the times. There are also, however, problems inherent in the peer responding approach itself. Expressing a concern common to native and nonnative writers, S13, for instance, voices uncertainty about altering his text to accommodate his responder. On the one hand, such uncertainty reflects the positive and appropriate need for this writer to make his own decisions about whether and how to alter a text and works against the appropriation of this student's text by anyone else, particularly his teacher. On the other hand, the student's concern is legitimate. How can an inexperienced ESL writer know what to accept and what to reject from among the comments made by another inexperienced ESL writer/reader?

Foreign Accent When Reading Aloud

Elbow (1973), Ponsot & Deen(1982), and others working with native speakers assert that nonjudgmental observations by several responders allow writers to witness the effect of their pieces on readers. Writers can use this information to compare the actual effect with the intended effect of the piece and modify the piece however necessary to bring these two effects in line with each other. These authors suggest that the best way to provide writers with enough input to delineate clearly reader reactions is to have writers read their pieces out loud to their peers. This technique, however, poses a real problem in ESL classes. Native speakers can eventually learn to accommodate an enormous variety of accents and even speech defects (Ponsot & Deen, 1982, p. 54). But nonnative speakers not only have less linguistic flexibility as listeners but (particularly international—that is, nonimmigrant—students) sometimes feel little need to develop oral skills and speak with accents which are very difficult to understand and defy the abilities of even ESL teachers, many of whom have become adept at understanding nearly any version of spoken English. It is even possible that in ESL writing classes of both international and immigrant students, the oral fluency itself, as well as the speed of delivery and colloquial style, of some immigrant students will impede the international students' ability to understand.

It would seem such a problem might be solved by having the teacher read the writing to the class. But this solution has the psychological drawback of disconnecting the writers from their own texts and of seeming to give the teacher more authority over the writers' texts than desirable in the type of classroom that would use peer responding. Another approach to this problem might be to project the text as the writer reads so that ESL students can make use of visual support to supplement listening. But here again native speakers are at a decided advantage since the ability of nonnatives to follow such a reading can easily be derailed by such basic and surface distractions as lapses in vocabulary. Since ESL students are slow readers, the goal of exposing a piece of writing to a large peer audience is difficult to attain within the typical limits of institutional time constraints. It is not unusual for an advanced ESL student to require an entire class period to read a classmate's 500-word paper. Thus, while the idea of exposing student writing to a large audience is appealing, in practice in an ESL writing class, this solution is less feasible than it at first might seem.

ESL Students' Rhetorical Expectations

Instead, the usual practice in ESL writing classes is to have one or perhaps two students read a classmate's paper and respond in writing or both orally and in writing. This practice raises the most knotty of problems with ESL peer responding—the expectations which nonnative speakers bring to a text. Given findings of contrastive rhetoric (Collado, 1981; Eggington, 1987; Hinds, 1980, 1987; Kaplan, 1983; Matalene, 1985; Oliver, 1971; Ostler, 1987; Prothro, 1955) and the insights of schema theory (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983), we have every reason to assume that these expectations are likely not to be exactly the same as those of native English speaking readers, not to mention those of the American academic community. Students who are accustomed to a style of rhetoric which argues by assertion, or a style which discourages the author's drawing conclusions for the reader or generalizing from specific instances, or a style which requires heavy reliance on the words of revered philosophers of the past, all of which are legitimate in one culture or another, may bring these same expectations to their reading of texts in English.

These kinds of expectations have two problematic consequences. First, as readers these students have a more difficult time understanding, and remembering, texts which do not meet their expectations for rhetorical development (Connor, 1984; Connor & McCagg, 1983). As a result, they are more likely than native speakers to interpret a text incorrectly. Second, since these readers' expectations of a text do not correspond to the expectations of native speakers of English, their responses to a text may well lead the writer in a totally inappropriate direction, not because the responses are those of inexperienced writers or readers, but precisely because the responders are experienced and educated in a different rhetoric. The more literate students are in their own languages (graduate international students, for example), then, the greater the potential difficulty. This mismatch of expectations, it would seem, is the crux of the theoretical problem with using peer responding in ESL writing classes and accounts for the greatest potential limitation of this technique.

While this problem is perhaps less acute for immigrant students who are not literate in their native languages (ironically, perhaps an advantage in this instance), we know little about how oral L1 patterns of discourse are transferred to writing and therefore must at least entertain the idea that oral L1 patterns will also affect readers' expectations of texts.

In commenting on the importance of feedback for writing development, Moffett (1968) makes an analogy between playing tennis and receiving feedback on writing. Tennis players receive immediate feedback on the success or failure of their serves or strokes from observing physical objects: the ball, the lines around the court, the ability of the opponent to return the ball. In order to be able to modify what they do, writers also need feedback on the success or failure of their work to produce the intended effect. But, of course, success or failure in writing depends on the writing context, the purpose of the writing, and the intended audience. If the audience is operating under different rules for the game, they are in a difficult position to determine the success or failure of an effort. To some extent, all inexperienced writers are unfamiliar with the rules of the academic writing game. The additional problem for ESL students who are experienced writers in their native languages is that these students are also familiar with rules for a different version of the game.

To combat this problem of disparity among the versions of the academic writing game, some rules of the U.S. version can be directly imparted to these ESL students. But the rules that can be imparted in this way are extremely limited in scope. Much like the limitations of the grammatical monitor in Krashen's (1981) monitor model of second language acquisition, it would seem that the rules of writing which can best be taught and learned are strictly formal: Papers should be double spaced, typed on one side of the page, include a bibliography, and so forth. The really important skills of conveying and gleaning meaning are acquired or absorbed slowly through exposure to the very successes and failures which, I would argue, these ESL students are not yet able to recognize.

Writing for the American Academic Community

With the advent of the communicative approach in ESL and the process approach to teaching ESL writing came a humanistic, student-centered classroom and the assertion that a reader need not be an expert in writing in order to be able to respond to writing. However inexperienced a responder might be or however different the rhetorical expectations of a nonnative reader might be, responses which are supportive and nondirective allow students to find their own voices, to experience pleasure and success in writing, and to gain confidence as writers. In native speaker classes even responses limited to "I understand this, but I don't understand that" have a positive effect (Butler, 1980).

Here again the issue of what kind of response is necessary for a writer to be able to improve is complicated by another essential difference between native and nonnative writers and perhaps between immigrant and international ESL students. While native speakers and immigrant students are likely to write for many different contexts in the course of their professional lives, international ESL students, particularly undergraduates, often insist that when they finish their studies abroad, they will return to industries, ministries, or companies at home where they are unlikely to need to write in English ever again. Like the other conventions of life in the U.S., the conventions of academic writing are merely temporary and serve no purpose beyond allowing these ESL students to function within their current environment. These students agree that they need to learn to write in English, but their need for written English is limited since the only audience they will have is the professors in their classes in the U.S. For these students, writing in English is likely never to become the means of self-exploration and empowerment that it can become for native and near-native speakers.

If these students' perception is true, then the only writing community which they aspire to enter is that of their academic discipline. A criticism of the process approach in ESL writing, and with it such techniques as peer responding, has been that this approach does not prepare students adequately to write for that academic community because it focuses too exclusively on the writer and on affective domains (Horowitz, 1986). "A basic dogma of process-oriented teaching is that good writing is 'involved' writing, that students write best when they care about their subject. It is assumed that students who choose their own topics and answer the questions they are truly curious about will be more highly motivated, better writers" (p. 142). Yet many actual academic assignments not only prescribe the subject of the assignment but also even require students to follow an established outline to complete the assignment, giving students little leeway for choice of topic or presentation. The gentle peer responses characteristic of process-oriented writing classes which focus on what students have succeeded in doing well may support the writer as a person but, it is argued, do little to prepare those students to write for examiners who will not be judging the writer as a person but rather only the writing (Horowitz, 1986).

A further criticism of peer responding is that it takes for granted that the students' peers are their natural audience (Newkirk, 1984). But the goal of writing instruction classes at a university is not to enable students to write for each other but eventually to permit student writers to develop a sense of the academic community as audience. The peer audience is not yet the academic audience; it is still only an apprentice audience. In an attempt to determine how effectively native English speaking students had absorbed the criteria an academic audience uses in evaluating writing, Newkirk asked 10 freshman students and 10 teachers of composition to read, evaluate, and rank four freshman compositions. He found the student readers were willing to view the text as transparent, supplying from their own experiences the examples or elaborations needed to understand the writers' claims for generalizations. In other words, if the writer did not make explicit the explanation of a point, the student raters were willing to make that point explicit themselves in order to be able to understand what the writer was saying. As long as they could bring to bear on their reading of the text similar experiences in the world and could therefore understand the text and sympathize with the content of the essay, they did not demand of the writer that he or she make those points explicitly in the text; the readers were willing to do that work. The teacher raters, on the other hand, viewed the text as opaque, less as message than as object which intends to produce a certain effect, and judged the texts on the basis of how successfully they produced their effects. As in most academic settings, these English teachers were not doing personal readings, trying to get something for themselves out of the text; rather, they viewed the texts through the filter of their roles as representatives of the academic community with its expectations of explicitness, clarity, and substantiation. Newkirk argues that while a peer audience is not yet a member of the academic writing commmunity, writing teachers can effectively represent that community, with its standards and expectations.

But Newkirk's assertion about writing teachers' ability to play that role is problematic. A study of ESL students (Leki, 1989) designed to determine how well they could predict the criteria their English and content area professors used in evaluating writing showed, not surprisingly, that these students were unable to predict how their teachers would evaluate a group of essays and that their own criteria for evaluating writing differed substantially from that used by their professors. More troubling, however, the study also compared evaluations by the English faculty to evaluations done by the content area faculty. While the findings showed some agreement on what constitutes good writing, the English faculty and the content area faculty did not agree on which essays displayed those abstract qualities of good writing. This research calls into question the degree to which even writing teachers, not to mention students, can represent the rest of the academic community.

The argument has been aptly made (Spack, 1988) that English teachers cannot be expected to have absorbed the various conventions and criteria for good writing prevailing in all other disciplines. She argues that certain characteristics of the written presentation of ideas underlie all academic writing, such as the synthesis of information from disparate sources or presentation and support of a position and that these skills can be sucessfully taught in writing classes. Ponsot & Deen (1980) too advise teachers not to teach the peripheral, the unessential, in writing (p. 66). Both these authors consider the writing demands typical of specific disciplines to be specialized forms which students can master after they develop ease in, presumably, a kind of general, educated written English.

Again, while this may be an argument for teaching "general English" writing to native speakers, who will be using English all their lives to communicate in writing for a variety of contexts, purposes, and audiences, there are those in the ESL profession who maintain that, especially for nonnatives, no such thing as general English even exists (Johns & Connor, 1989) and that to try to teach general English or general writing is wasting students' time. Many in ESL, particularly in higher education, argue for discipline-specific writing classes and assignments. Presumably if peer response played a role in such classes, the students would need to be carefully trained to recognize writing which meets the criteria of the discipline. Whether or not such training is practical depends at least in part on the characteristics of the class (graduate or undergraduate, with all the same majors or not) and in part on the experience and training of the teacher.

In the meantime and despite doubts, we continue to function as though ESL writing teachers can in fact represent the general academic community and its responses to writing. Whether or not they can, if we use peer response groups, certainly ESL students need initiation into peer responding, and there are several tactics a teacher might employ to guide students toward helpful responses. First, given that cultural differences in rhetorical patterns exist, it makes sense to spend some time discussing what those different tendencies might be and pointing out to ESL students examples of how an idea might be presented in "typical" American academic rhetoric as opposed to the styles of several other cultures. Next, the most obvious way to initiate students into writing appropriate responses is to model responses to several texts before asking the students to respond on their own. One way of doing this is by preparing response guide questions to a text, allowing each student to answer the questions alone and perhaps compare answers with other students, displaying the teacher's responses for the students to compare with theirs, and eventually discussing what differences there might be. Finally, a useful technique which seems to be little employed entails the teacher monitoring responses from responders to writers. Such monitoring functions as a modeling technique also in that the teacher comments on the responder's written answers to response guide questions, primarily encouraging what the teacher regards as helpful responses. Both the responder and the author of the text need access to the teacher's reactions to the responder's answers so that both know what may be expected of responders and so that both may judge whether their instincts about a text are in line with those of the teacher and perhaps with those of a broader academic community.

Conclusion

What one initiate into the academic discourse community can actually do to help another initiate through peer responding may be limited, perhaps especially in ESL classes. But both initiates do gain experience in reading, in recognizing academic writing patterns, and most importantly in manipulating text to respond to a reader's needs. This last should help prepare ESL student writers to make whatever alterations in their approach to writing might be called for in the disipline-specific discourse of the academic commmunities they hope to enter. ■

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The Effects of Peer and Self-Feedback

Recent studies of the writing process have confirmed the pervasiveness of revision and the complexity of skills required to revise successfully. Teachers and researchers, looking for ways to improve revisions, have examined the effects of feedback from teachers, peers, or self on this process, but studies juxtaposing these feedback sources have not determined conclusively which is the most effective.

This study, conducted by a community college classroom teacher, was implemented to examine the effects of peer versus self-feedback on (a) the number and kind of revisions ESL students make and (b) their attitudes toward feedback and revision processes. The subjects of this study were 54 multilingual ESL students at Grossmont College, San Diego. Data for the research were collected from drafts of two student essays, writing questionnaires, and feedback evaluation forms. The results suggest that peer feedback is more effective than self-feedback in number and types of revisions students make and that more students prefer peer feedback.

Extensive writing research in recent years has resulted in a description of writing as a complex cognitive process involving a recursive cycle of prewriting or invention, drafting, evaluating, and revising (Barry, 1980; Emig, 1971; Hairston, 1982; Pearson-Casanave, 1987; Raimes, 1983; Zamel, 1982). Revision is now considered an integral part of the entire writing cycle, said to occur each time the writer reviews her writing for evaluation and tries to resolve any dissonance between the intended and actual text by making changes (Della Piana & Endo, 1977; Fitzgerald & Markham, 1987; Murray, 1978; Nold, 1982; Ruszkiewicz, 1982; Sommers, 1980). Because of this new interpretation of revision, researchers have become more interested in it, and classroom teachers at all levels have required that their students write multiple drafts of their papers. However, basic writers and English as a second language (ESL) students have often had little success in making meaningful changes in their papers (Beach, 1976; Bridwell, 1980; Faigley & Witte, 1981; Heuring, 1985;

Perl, 1979; Raimes, 1985; Sommers, 1980; Zamel, 1983). This has prompted researchers to focus on factors that facilitate revision, one of which, feedback from either peers or self-evaluation, is the subject of this study.

Review of Literature

The three major sources of feedback on written work are the teacher, the writer herself, and peers. Teacher feedback, the traditional source, is in the form of either written responses to papers or oral responses in conferences or on tapes. Self-feedback, which helps writers become independent as they learn to critically evaluate their own writing, is most often conducted by having students either fill out a checklist or self-rating scale or respond to a series of open-ended questions about their intentions, problems, and intended changes (Beaven, 1977). Peer feedback, widespread in composition classes at all levels and for native speakers as well as ESL students, generally follows what Gere (1987) labels a semi-autonomous or nonautonomous format. An example of the former is the technique reported by Brady and Jacobs (1988) in which Brady's 4th and 5th graders met in heterogeneous groups of four (including ESL students) to share and respond to each others' story drafts. No specific guidelines for response were given, but for 5 to 6 weeks the children practiced how to make effective responses to journals and other writing projects in large groups. Nonautonomous peer feedback requires peers to fill out a prepared edit guide, checklist, or evaluation sheet when reviewing the draft (see examples in Beaven, 1977; Freedman, 1987; Pianko & Radzit, 1980; and for ESL students Frodeson, 1988; Hafernik, 1984; Moore, 1986). While each of these feedback sources has its advocates, the question still remains as to which is most effective under which circumstances.

Research that contrasts the effectiveness of peer and teacher feedback has been conducted at all instructional levels. Several of the studies with native speakers showed that there were no significant differences in writing ability when teacher feedback was compared with peer feedback (Fox, 1980; Myers, 1979; Pfeiffer, 1981; Pierson, 1967; Putz, 1970; Sutton & Allen, 1964; Weeks & White, 1982). Others reported higher gains by the peer feedback group than the teacher feedback group (Benson, 1979; Ford, 1973; Karengianes, Pascarella, & Pflaum, 1980; Lagana, 1972; Sager, 1973). Because different methods of peer feedback and teacher evaluation were used in each study, and other techniques such as individualized instruction and teacher conferencing were employed concurrently, it is difficult to generalize from this evidence.

Four experimental studies on feedback have been completed with ESL learners as subjects. Partridge's (1981) study involved a writing class of 17 ESL college students who wrote two compositions a week, one peer evaluated and one teacher evaluated. The data indicated that teacher feedback was more effective than peer feedback in improving students' writing. The questionnaires, however, reflected a positive attitude toward giving peer feedback and a favorable, though not as positive, attitude toward receiving it. Chaudron's (1983) study was conducted during one quarter with two classes: one advanced and one high intermediate. Two essays were evaluated, half the class by peers, the other half by teachers. A comparison of the mean differences between the draft and revised essays for all students showed improvement, but there was no significant difference between teacher or peer-feedback groups.

Building on Chaudron's study, Zhang and Halpern (1988) and Zhang (1985) added proficiency level and type of writing improvement as variables, as well as self-feedback. The results of both studies indicated no effect of any of the variables on discourse quality. In the Zhang and Halpern study, grammatical/mechanical accuracy was better with teacher feedback at both the intermediate and advanced levels. However, teacher feedback was not significantly more effective than peer feedback in correcting grammatical problems in the second study, although it was more effective than self-feedback. The results of three of these four L2 studies thus favored teacher over peer or self-feedback. But as more studies were completed, it became evident that other factors such as proficiency level and area of writing being analyzed probably had an effect on the results.

The study reported here, conducted by a classroom teacher, was designed to help answer some of the many remaining questions about feedback and revision in ESL writing and, while doing so, to avoid some of the problems of classroom research. Although the subjects were community college students, the design could be adapted for use with other populations as well. This study focused on between-draft revision on just two papers in an attempt to measure variables that were more directly related to the feedback treatment and to control for the many factors other than feedback that can influence writing quality. Rather than relying on subjective and sometimes inaccurate quality ratings of writing, this research was based on tallies of between-draft changes made in three different revision categories.

The feedback types and techniques in this study were different from other research in several ways. Teacher feedback was not examined directly because this was not part of the between-draft revision process used in the researcher's classroom. Instead, peer and self-feedback were compared to determine how sense of audience and negotiation within the group influenced revisions. The students were also given some training and practice in the feedback techniques before the research began to ensure that a functioning method was being tested rather than students' abilities to follow directions. Both the peer and self-feedback were structured but gave the subjects enough freedom of response that the feedback, not the guidelines themselves, was the variable. Through these different approaches, this study sought to determine what effect, if any, peer feedback as compared to self-feedback had on advanced ESL students' revision.

The Classroom Study

The study was designed to explore the following questions:
1) What effect does between-draft peer or self-feedback have on the number of revisions per 100 idea units students make in each of 3 categories—Linguistic Structures, Content, and Form—and in total?

2) What significant differences are there between how the peer and self-feedback groups revise?

3) What effect does topic have on the revisions?

4) What effect do these two feedback types have on students' perceptions of the feedback and revision process?

5) What relationship, if any, is there between the students' responses during the feedback assignment and the revisions actually made?

Subjects

The subjects of this study were 54 ESL learners at Grossmont Community College who were enrolled in ESL sections of English 110, the freshman composition class. Students had been placed in the classes either because of their scores on the Secondary Level English Proficiency (SLEP) Test (Educational Testing Service, 1980) or because they had passed English 103, the entry level grammar class, with a C or better. Students were further evaluated using the advanced level of the Structure Tests-English Language (Best & Ilyin, 1976) and an in-class writing sample. *T* tests comparing the STEL scores of the two groups indicated no significant differences between the groups.

Because intact class groups were used, the study did not control for demographic or ethnographic variables. There were 37 (69%) females (15 in Group 1; 22 in Group 2), and 22 students ([41%] 6 in Group 1; 16 in Group 2) were from Japan. Eighteen other nationalities were represented.

Both classes met twice a week for 80 minutes, had the same teacher, used the same text, and followed the same syllabus. Compositions from 46 of these students (23 from each group) were used as data for this research. Two students dropped, three either did not turn in one paper or only wrote one draft of it, and one blind student did not participate completely in the feedback treatment. To obtain the same number of subjects in each group, the data from one student whose background and scores were similar to another's in the same group were eliminated, resulting in 23 subjects in each group.

Procedures

Before data collection for this research began, students in both classes wrote a narrative paragraph on which they practiced the feedback technique assigned to their class. After completion of the next text unit, students in both classes wrote a problem-solution essay at home. The first drafts of these essays were reviewed either by peers or through a self-feedback method. In the peer feedback class (Group 1), students met in groups of three that had been assigned by the teacher to read and respond to each others' papers following the steps practiced (Clifton, 1980; Elbow, 1973; Jacko, 1978, Brady & Jacobs, 1988; Spear, 1988; Yoshihara, 1987). In the self-feedback class (Group 2), students answered questions about their first drafts on a teacher-prepared form (Beaven, 1977; Matsuhashi & Gordon, 1985). All students revised their first drafts at home and turned all drafts and a feedback evaluation form into the teacher at the next class meetings. At the end of the next unit students wrote a different problem-solution paper, following the same between draft feedback procedure. The researcher made two copies of the first and second drafts of all students' papers. All between draft changes were noted and coded by two trained graduate students following a standard research taxonomy of revisions (Faigley & Witte, 1984; Matsuhashi & Gordon, 1985). As teacher-researcher, I divided each paper into idea units, which are text divisions identified as one of the following: main clauses; full relative and adverbial clauses; sentence-initial or interrupting phrases; reduced clauses; post-nominal-*ing* phrases; absolutes; or appositives (adaption of Kroll's idea units by Johns and Mayes [in press]). I then tallied the number of revisions per 100 idea units in each category. *T* tests were conducted between the means of all the dependent variables, including the STEL scores and all the revision categories and totals to determine any significant differences between groups and topics.

More in-depth information was obtained from questionnaires, the evaluation forms filled out by the peer feedback groups (see Appendix A), and the self-feedback forms (see Appendix B). The students filled out a questionnaire on writing methods and attitudes toward peer and self-feedback both at the beginning and end of the semester. Any differences in responses were recorded and their statistical significance, if any, was determined. The student questions recorded on all the evaluation forms were divided into those dealing with A-Linguistic Structures, D-Content, and E-Form. These were totalled by category and group and their percentage of the total questions asked was calculated. These figures were then juxtaposed to the percentages of revisions actually made in the different categories.

I divided the taxonomy of revisions in a pilot study of the types of revisions my students typically made. It is based on taxonomies previously designed by Faigley and Witte (1984) and Matsuhashi and Gordon (1985). The three major categories of the taxonomy are Linguistic Structures (A,B,C)—Faigley and Witte's surface changes; Content (D)—Faigley and Witte's microstructure changes; and Form or Content Slots (E)—parallel to Faigley and Witte's macrostructure changes. The Form category is further divided into Hoey's (cited in Johns, 1986) problem-solution slots of *situation*, *problem*, *solution*, and *evaluation*.

Results

The descriptive data reveal that in both groups more revisions were made in the Linguistic Structures category: 66 and 65% of the total mean in Group 1 and 59 and 69% of the mean in Group 2 (see Table 1). The second highest number of revisions was in Content, and the lowest was in Form. The total number of revisions was higher for Group 1 but *T* test results indicate that the only significent difference between the feedback groups was in two categories, Linguistic Structures, Topic 1 ($p < .05$) and Form, Topic 2 ($p < .01$).

Although a significant difference was indicated between topics in Linguistic Structures ($p = .05$) and in total number of revisions ($p = .05$), the topic effect was confounded by the fact that there was a time lapse between topic assignments. Practice, not topic, therefore, could have been the variable actually tested.

Treatment did not seem to affect students' attitude toward their writing ability because both groups felt that their ability had increased. Students' responses on the writing questionnaires did, however, reveal significantly more confidence in whichever feedback method they had been exposed to the most.

Students' revision questions on their feedback forms showed a pattern that differed from the revisions they actually made. In the peer feedback group, over half of the revisions made were in Linguistic Structures, but on the feedback forms less than a third of the students' comments dealt with linguistic Structures. The students in the self-feedback group indicated an almost equal concern with all three types of revisions when they filled out their forms. Their actual revisions, however, were more often made in Linguistic Structures. The data therefore do not point to a positive relationship between students' reseponses during feedback and the actual revisions they make on their second drafts.

Table 1
Mean Number of Revisions Made by Students in Peer and Self-Feedback Groups

	Feedback type	
Revision Category and topic	Peer (1) (n = 23)	Self (2) (n = 23)
Structure (1 AC)		
$\bar{X}$	43.00	32.35
SD	30.50	19.00
Structure (2 AC)		
$\bar{X}$	48.09	45.15
SD	27.83	28.90
Content (1 D)		
$\bar{X}$	10.48	14.47
SD	10.67	10.76
Content (2 D)		
$\bar{X}$	14.48	14.52
SD	13.86	13.66
Form (1 E)		
$\bar{X}$	11.57	7.78
SD	21.08	10.69
Form (2 E)		
$\bar{X}$	11.70	5.13
SD	10.98	5.46
Total Revisions		
$\bar{X}$	65.09	54.70
SD	30.38	25.51
Total Revisions (2)		
$\bar{X}$	74.39	64.78
SD	35.29	33.60

Note: Numbers following revision categories refer to Topic 1 or Topic 2. Letters refer to revision codes. $\bar{X}$ = mean; SD = standard deviation.

Conclusions and Discussion

Due to the small sample and intact group design of this study, the results cannot be generalized to other groups, but they are valuable as indicators of certain trends in feedback effects and revision at all levels. They suggest an overall more favorable effect on revision when students use peer rather than self-feedback. The peer feedback groups did make more revisions than the self-feedback groups in every category except Content. Furthermore, one of the revision categories in which Group 1 scored significantly higher—Form—requires the highest level of revision skills. Student attitude also appears more favorable toward peer feedback because on the final questionnaire, 48% of those in the self-feedback group actually chose peer over self-feedback even though they had only tried this method once after little training.

The fact that the groups did not differ more can possibly be attributed to the composition of the intact groups. First, although as the placement scores and initial writing questionnaires indicate, the groups were similar in overall ability and other factors, the language/nationality mixture was different. An unusually large number of the students in Group 2 were from Japan, many from the same language institute. This may have led to a more conscientious effort to revise than is normally observed with self-feedback, as well as more compliance with the method. In contrast, several students in Group 1 were less motivated and committed than is common, as was indicated by their absenteeism on peer-review days. This may have brought the two groups closer in terms of results.

One major question raised by this research, as with many of the previous studies, is whether or not a longitudinal study would yield different results. Gere (1987) contends that successful writing groups require months of preparation as students establish trust, develop collaborative skills, and learn to critique writing. Indeed, students in the study became more comfortable and adept at this process with each attempt. Therefore, if the data had been collected after more practice, the results may have favored peer feedback more. In addition, Beaven (1977) cautions that self-feedback can make students anxious if used extensively because it puts too much of a burden on them. Therefore, if self-feedback had continued in Group 2 over a longer period of time, the attitudes and revisions made might have been different.

The types of revisions students actually made followed the pattern of most basic writers. Most of the changes were made in the low-level Linguistic Structures category. Students added, deleted, or substituted vocabulary, articles, verb tenses, punctuation, or spelling. These revisions, however, do not reflect the students' greater or equal concern on their feedback forms with Content and Form category problems. Several explanations are possible. First, their reading skills may have developed faster than their writing skills so that they could identify the macrostructure problems but could not fix them (Rubin, 1983). Also, ESL students make a number of these low-level errors and have been taught to focus on them; so they have more competence in correcting these than the higher level errors, even though they may identify these. A third possibility is that the students did, in fact, make the higher level revisions they intended, in addition to Linguistic Structure changes. There were just more of these low-level changes.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should be designed to avoid some of the typical problems that I as a teacher-researcher encountered and to discover a definitive answer on which type of between-draft feedback is most effective under which circumstances. The intact group design that most classroom teachers follow limits the number of subjects, making it more difficult to arrive at significant statistical differences. Other variables difficult to control for are the length of the study and the demographic and ethnographic makeup of the classes. In the future, a longitudinal study of a larger population might give a more accurate picture of the effects of feedback type. This research could be replicated with different student populations so that such variables as students' proficiency level, first language, sex, and age can be tested as to their effect on feedback and revision.

Because the teacher as researcher has an obligation to cover the required curriculum and to meet her students' needs, certain results may be confounded, as the topic was in this research. Topic effect should be more accurately measured by assigning different topics to matched groups at the same time in the research process. Although I tested the peer and self-feedback techniques that I had found most effective for my students, other methods should also be studied and compared.

Designing, piloting, and training coders to use an instrument such as this experiment's taxonomy of revisions is time-consuming and often does not measure results accurately. If an improved taxonomy were translated into a computer program, all essay revisions could be coded and tallied by the computer to ensure more precision and objectivity. Although the classroom teacher's resources may be limited in this area, the use of audiovisual equipment would provide more complete qualitative data. Videotaping of both the peer response groups and think-aloud protocols for the self-feedback group would illustrate the feedback process more clearly. Taped student interviews following their writing of second drafts would also provide more data on how they used the feedback to aid revision.

Implications for Teaching

One of my purposes in undertaking this study was to determine whether or not peer feedback actually led to enough quality revisions to warrant the class time it required. Although the results tend to favor peer feedback, there is no clear answer. When teaching writing to all levels of ESL students, therefore, it might be most effective to use both feedback methods for stimulating between-draft revisions.

In the beginning, when students are still establishing trust and learning to work cooperatively, it might be better to use a self-feedback form once or twice. After students know each other better and have learned how to respond to writing, they can begin meeting in peer response groups after training in this method.

Although there are many different techniques for peer and self-feedback, it is important that the ones used include supportive, challenging, and editorial feedback. Supportive feedback must be solicited by the writer, focus on what she is able to change, and be reinforcing, as the peer suggests at least two good things about the writing. Challenging feedback involves asking questions, which, at first, may be chosen from a set developed by the whole class. Editorial feedback, the guidance on grammar, punctuation, and spelling, should come last and be aimed at helping the writer turn in a polished paper (Spear, 1988). Students at all levels benefit from feedback, but teachers should adjust their expectations and the amount of guidance they give their students to their proficiency level, maturity, and back grounds. I, for example, teach much simpler and more specific feedback techniques with a lower level writing class.

This research confirms that our ESL students need practice in revising, especially at the higher content and form levels. They need to be exposed to the reading of different texts with a focus on the gist and intention of the writing. They need to be asked: What was the author's purpose and audience? Was she successful in accomplishing her goal? How did she do this? If the author was not successful, the students should revise the text, either individually or in small groups. As Elbow (1981) emphasizs, it is much less painful to rewrite someone else's text than it is your own. After this practice the gap should shrink between students' ability to detect and diagnose correctly problems in their own and others' writing at these higher levels and their knowledge of how to fix the problems.

Finally, it is important that ESL teachers as classroom reearchers at all levels continue to look for answers to these questions about feedback and revision. Each study builds upon the previous ones, either corroborating or refuting them or looking at different variables, until, it is hoped, a clear conclusion can be reached about which type of feedback will be most effective with which students in aiding which type of revision. ■

Appendix A

Writing Response Group Evaluation Form

1. SUMMARY:

   How did your response partners summarize your paper?

   Were their summaries different from the way you would summarize your paper?

   If so, why do you think that happened?

2. STRENGTHS

   What specific things did the reader like about the way you wrote your paper?

3. QUESTIONS

   What questions for clarification did the listeners have?

   What parts, if any, did the reader misunderstand? Why do you think he/she misunderstood?

4. REFLECTIONS

   What did you find most helpful about sharing your paper with the response group? What specific changes will you make in the next draft to improve it?

Appendix B

Self-Feedback Form

Name ______________________________

1. How long did you spend on this draft?

2. What do you like about the paragraph? (LIST AT LEAST TWO THINGS.)

3. What questions do you have about the paragraph? (AT LEAST TWO)

4. List and number two things that you want to add to improve your paper.

a.
b.

5. Turn back to your paper and write in the number of each addition where you think it belongs.

6. On the back of this paper, write out the added material next to its number as you would like it to appear in the next draft of the paper. Do you need more information to accomplish this? What?

7. What changes will you make in your next draft besides the additions listed above? (deletions, corrections, substitutions)

Answer after you have completed the second draft.

8. What changes did you make?

9. Did this self-feedback help you write a better paper? Why or why not?

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ESL Instruction in the Workplace[1]

The teaching of English to foreign-born vocational and professional workers at their place of work is an unexplored possibility for many ESL instructors in California. Yet the increasing number of these workers and their need for advanced language skills on the job combine to create a viable market for instructor services. This paper explores what it is like to teach in the workplace based on interviews with 10 San Francisco Bay Area ESL professionals. Class structure, learner needs, instructional considerations, and the need for relevant, flexible materials are discussed. Practical recommendations are made to interested instructors: network, establish a reputation in the field, know compensation norms, focus on professional workers, use a business approach with companies, project a professional image, be aware of company attitude toward instruction, involve management, adapt teaching theory to meet specific needs, encourage learner independence, and stay current.

I began exploring ESL in the workplace out of pragmatic interest. I was an ESL instructor considering employment possibilities. My initial questions were, "What is it like to teach ESL in the workplace?" and "Is there a market for my services in this field?" In seeking answers to these questions for myself, it became apparent that other ESL instructors were equally interested. Those not yet in the field wanted to know if it held potential for them. Those already in the field wanted to compare their experience with that of others.

My exploration consisted of (a) reading literature on the topic and (b) interviewing either in person or by telephone ESL professionals actively involved in workplace instruction. The literature, however, proved limited. Occasionally the information in literature proved contrary to the experience of my informants. It is the experience and insights of the 10 ESL professionals I interviewed that give substance to this paper and validity to the literature. All informants were generous with their time and frank with their insights, some on the condition that their comments go unattributed.

My interviews were unscripted rather than based on a formal questionnaire. I tried to draw personal insights from each informant. The very process of interviewing created many questions beyond my initial ones: How does ESL workplace instruction differ from ESL instruction in general? How do you go about needs assessment? What teaching methods do you use? Are pertinent materials readily available? What are the satisfactions and frustrations? Are learners and their companies satisfied? How do you enter the field? What financial compensation can be expected? Such, then are the aspects of ESL workplace instruction that this paper addresses.

Overview

ESL workplace instruction falls into two broad areas—vocational English as a second language (VESL) and professional. VESL classes are made up of hourly workers who comprise part of the workforce in manufacturing industries or service industries such as restaurants, hotels, and hospitals. VESL courses focus on the linguistic skills and functions workers need to perform their jobs.

The teaching of professionals takes place in a more formal business atmosphere than does VESL instruction, and trainer and trainees are professional peers. Instruction focuses on high-level speaking, listening, and literacy skills and on business customs. Courses are goal oriented, targeting particular needs such as accent reduction, effective communication in meetings, oral presentations, workplace idioms and vocabulary, and technical and business writing.

California's Increasing Need for ESL Workplace Instruction

Several factors contribute to an increasing need in California for ESL instruction in the workplace: (a) Califorina's increasing number of foreign-born workers, (b) the escalating level of language skills needed on the job, and (c) U.S. government legislation. An estimated 5.3 million people, 20% of California's population, is foreign born. California is the destination of one in four U.S. immigrants and the influx is projected to continue (Olsen, 1988).

Furthermore, the United States is increasingly becoming an information-based society that requires higher language skills in the workplace. In California new and/or replacement jobs requiring more advanced language skills will climb from the 1982 figure of 35% to 46% by 1995 (Casanova, 1989). Many of these jobs will be filled by foreign-born vocational and professional workers.

In an April 16, 1990 decision that directly impacts these workers, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it is not a violation of federal bias laws to deny a job applicant work because of a foreign accent if that accent would interfere with job performance *(Fragante v. City of Honolulu)*. One informant, who offers classes at a California financial institution, said that the institution routinely administers English assessment tests to incoming employees as a basis for denying employment or restricting job promotion.

Most foreign-born workers cannot financially afford to wait to begin work until they have attained the English language competencies requisite to their jobs. Nor should they. Research indicates that vocational language learning is effective when paired with vocational education (Friedenberg & Bradley, 1984). By logical implication, on-the-job language training in the professional fields should also be effective. With the increase in foreign-born workers and the requirement for more advanced language skills on the job, the need for ESL instruction in the workplace continues to grow. Thus, a viable market for the services of ESL instructors does exist. The balance of this paper addresses in more detail the structure of existing classes, gives practical teaching information, and concludes with recommendations for instructors who wish to teach in the workplace.

Class Structure

Location and Costs

A unique aspect of ESL workplace instruction is its setting, instruction typically taking place in company conference rooms. Such an arrangement is convenient for employees and eliminates overhead costs for dedicated classroom space. In general, the only cost to the employee is time. While in some companies the employee pays a token fee, most companies pay all costs involved, even books, from departmental budgets. Occasionally, government grants may cover some costs. In other cases, employees initially pay tuition but are reimbursed if they have a passing grade or attend regularly.

Scheduling

Typical VESL classes meet once or twice a week for two hours, on employee time, company time, or half and half. In the latter case, a class might be scheduled at the shift change, and the employee would be released from work an hour early. Classes are ongoing, assuming availability of funding. For professionals, courses are short-term, from two to eight weeks, and meet once or twice weekly with occasional weekend seminars scheduled.

Size

The typical workplace class enrollment is 8 to 15 students, fewer than half the number in the average adult education class. Of concern to instructors is the difficulty of organizing classes of learners with comparable English skills and competencies. For example, workers with low-level English reading skills may be grouped with workers with intermediate and advanced reading skills. Since the source of students is limited to a particular worksite rather than to a city or a county, there are simply fewer class groupings possible.

Ethnic Composition

Fewer nationalities may be represented in a workplace class than in other ESL classes. For example, in one adult education class an informant had students from 13 countries, mainly European and Middle Eastern. However, in one informant's VESL class, only Asian ethnic groups were represented: Burmese, Vietnamese, and Chinese. Other informants reported VESL workplace classes that included Cambodians, Laotians, Japanese, Koreans, Philippinos, other Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics. At another company, a class of business professionals was all of the same ethnic background: Korean.

Attendance

Classes are usually voluntary, and employees give priority to demands of work and family. Irregular class attendance by both vocational and professional workers is a concern. Some hourly employees stay for the company-paid class hour then leave during their own time. "Don't expect employees to come in on Saturday," cautioned one informant. Department meetings may be scheduled during class hours while management-level learners wander in and out of class as their work schedules permit. Immediate supervisors can be reluctant to release employees from their duties to attend class.

Learner Needs

Assessment Techniques

VESL needs assessment (West, 1984) involves on-site visitation and extensive observation. Managers and workers are interviewed. Manager/worker and worker/worker interactions are tape recorded or noted. In reality, this is an expensive undertaking often viewed with skepticism by both employer and employees. Informants stated that not all companies were responsive to having an outsider wandering around with a tape recorder and camera. Not all managers were cooperative, and many employees were uneasy about being observed.

Coleman (1988) recommends a two-stage approach to assessing learner needs in large organizations. Stage 1 involves surveying to reveal organizational patterns of language use. Stage 2 involves analyzing the needs of particular target groups. Informants, however, pointed out that the turn-around time for setting up a class is usually too short to allow for thorough preassessment. Also, companies are reluctant to pay for the time involved in needs assessment of any scope. "Build assessment into the course," informants advised. In-class testing and learner interviews were the most commonly cited techniques.

Differing Company and Worker Perceptions

Instructors often found that company and worker perceptions about communicative needs differed. For example, production and assembly companies expressed concern that employees did not understand supervisors and vice versa. However, informants pointed out that after initial training, many employees in routine jobs perform independently and have limited need to converse with their supervisors, a situation also noted by Svendsen and Krebs (1984).

"Their main need is to communicate with each other in English," said one informant. Workers at the same level need to break their personal isolation and talk with one another as they work, during breaks, and during their lunch hour. Learners at one company, representing a variety of ethnic backgrounds, told an informant that they were happy because their co-workers understood them better than before they took ESL instruction.

Instructional Considerations

Class Focus

For both VESL and professional workplace instruction, classes are usually goal oriented and focus on mastering the linguistic skills and functions needed to perform particular jobs. Other possibilities exist, however. A process approach, for example, focuses on methods rather than on end goals, emphasizing developing strategies to activate the learning process (Widdowson, 1981).

Advice to teach the language skills and functions needed in a special field, not the special field itself, comes from Crofts (1981). Crofts recommends that an instructor uninformed in a field should avoid it. Otherwise, the instructor risks presenting misinformation. If simplified rather than authentic subject matter is used, the instructor risks boring well-informed students.

Grosse (1988) reports success using the case study approach in teaching business English, but cautions that using it requires an understanding of business by the instructor. An informant who teaches business people concurs: "You need to know the business world. Read all the time so you can address timely issues during the discussion periods." Overall, informants reported using an eclectic mixture of approaches and techniques to work toward well-defined class goals.

Student-centered Learning

Informants emphasized the need to encourage and enable learners to take responsibility for their own progress. "We have students set their own personal objectives," said one informant. Also, learners are taught independent study habits and are encouraged to find resources other than the instructor so that learning can continue after class. "Self-correction comes first. Then peer correction. Instructor correction is last." However, learner automony must be nurtured; many learners are used to an authoritarian, teacher-centered classroom. Learners may be wary of group work. "It was hard to sell it," said one informant. "At first the students didn't trust that it would work. But eventually they came to accept it. Keep the goals of group work clear and purposeful."

Informants also underscored the importance of a nonthreatening classroom atmosphere. "Adults are afraid to make mistakes in front of their colleagues," stated one. "Don't embarrass a learner by pointing out a mistake. Correct by modeling."

Class Activities

Once learners are used to taking the initiative, self-designated projects are worthwhile learning activities. One group of workers decided to publish its own company newsletter. The newsletter proved an effective medium of self-expression, enabling workers to share their thoughts and feelings with co-workers and management. Also, the newsletter was impressive to management and gave students a sense of positive accomplishment.

Typical activities include discussions, role plays, information gap exercises, and audio or videotaping of student presentations for analysis. Homework if assigned at all is kept to a minimum.

Instructional Materials

Materials are more readily available for VESL than for professional instruction. Informants concur that appropriate texts are few; thus materials preparation is time consuming. An informant who supplements existing materials estimates that it takes about an hour per 2-hour class to organize materials. It takes twice as long for an informant who creates her own lessons entirely. Several write their own materials by choice as well as by need. "That way I present lessons in a fresh way," stated one.

Important design considerations include flexibility and transferability. Instructors need materials that can be adapted to the evolving needs of various classes. The materials might emphasize general language functions or competencies. For example, both the assembly worker and the manager need to know appropriate language for asking for clarification or making a refusal. Also, materials that allow automonous learning would benefit learners who attend class irregularly or have short-term classes. Jones (1990) advocates indexed materials packages, more like files than texts.

For the present, "it . . . seems to be an unavoidable fact of the ESP teacher/course director that he should be materials writer as well" (Robinson, 1980, p. 34). The prevailing attitude of informants is that "it's exhausting to have to write materials and at the same time organize and teach a course."

Summary

Overall, my informants find ESL instruction in the workplace to be a stimulating change of pace from academia. "You really have to like challenge. It's extremely challenging," cautioned one informant who instructs engineers, managers, and scientists. "Life is more relaxed at the college or university."

Compared with instructors in academic institutions and adult education programs, instructors in the workplace enjoy smaller classes, less paperwork, and more independence in arranging schedules. "I love the small classes," said one. Some informants like interacting with busines people who are their professional peers. "But it's a cooler relationship," one commented. "VESL and adult ed students are more dependent on you." A VESL instructor enjoys following student progress over the long haul rather than for just a semester: "It's tremendously rewarding to work with the same people for a long time, to see growth and continue relationships."

On the other hand, potential frustrations include mixed levels of language learners in classes, irregular attendance, and limited management support. Companies focus on results and profits. Commitment may be short term and demanding. "It can be feast or famine," said one informant. "It's extremely competitive. Don't be disappointed if you're not rehired." Several were impatient with business formality and protocol: "It's a nuisance." Overall, however, ESL instruction in the midst of the working world offers an experienced instructor independence, challenge, and variety.

Recommendations for Interested Instructors

Instructors interested in teaching ESL in the workplace might consider the following suggestions:

1. *Network*. Let your professional colleagues, business acquaintances, and friends know of your interest in teaching in business and industry. If they have experience in this area, they will have practical insights to share with you, perhaps even job leads and materials. If your contacts are not involved, they may know those who are. Follow up all leads. Informants referred to me were as helpful as those I knew.

Furthermore, you need not feel you are imposing. Your contact will prove mutually beneficial. My informants were pleased that their insights would be helpful to others. They were stimulated to reflect. Five months after initial interviewing, one commented, "I'm still thinking about something you said." Another regarded our interview as an opportunity for extending her own contacts. "I'm always looking for well-qualified instructors," she said. I gave her my business card and my assurance that I would pass on her need to my colleagues. Follow up your interviews with thank you notes to show your appreciation and to keep open the channels of communication.

2. *Get experience and establish your reputation.* One informant no longer solicits business; she found it to be an unproductive use of her time. "Companies come to me," she stated. "My colleagues refer them. It's extremely important to build up a good reputation among friends and colleagues." Also, one company will refer another company to a consultant with an established reputation. "Word of mouth is most important," advised another.

The prudent advice is to start out by working through an established consulting firm or language school. Once you gain experience and are known, you can more easily branch out on your own if you wish. "You need lots of experience in every area of ESL," was other advice. "This area is not for a beginning teacher."

3. *Know compensation norms.* To establish a fair wage, you need to know the going rates. Though some informants were reluctant to discuss pay, representative hourly rates paid to instructors by consulting firms, employment centers, and private schools were quoted as $35 and up (unspecified), $18, and $15, respectively. Occasionally some preparation time is paid, though it may be at a lesser rate. No benefits are paid. Some consulting firms offer a percentage commission and the option to teach the class for new business leads that prove fruitful. Most firms give assistance with class setup.

You may be weighing the advantages of approaching a company directly with your offer of service as opposed to working through a consulting firm. The financial compensation is greater if you eliminate the middle person; however, hour workload expands. An independent consultant wears three hats, that of business developer and consultant, of materials writer, and of instructor. Charge accordingly. One informant new to direct consulting charged $20 per instruction hour for her extensive services. "Never again," she said.

Suggested hourly fees for an instructor negotiating directly with a company range from $35-$75, depending on variables such as the instructor's experience and expertise, the course length, the number of students, and the company's budget. One instructor suggested teaching in the European workplace, because "the pay is better than in the United States. Language is more important in Europe."

4. *Focus your efforts on professional instruction.* For some Bay Area informants, the professional market is growing faster than the VESL market. One stated that at a large San Jose corporation, 60% of the professionals are foreign born. Of those at that corporation with PhDs, 80% are foreign born. Since the 1985 downturn in the local semiconductor industry and resulting layoffs of production workers, this informant's business has shifted from vocational workers to professionals and has grown 24%.

5. *Use business tactics and terms*. If you approach a company, first research it and make contacts. Use business terms in dealing with the company. Students are called *participants* or *trainees* and teachers are *trainers*. Discuss meeting business needs, not educational or humanitarian goals. Talk results in terms of reduced turnover, increased cost effectiveness, increased productivity, better quality control, improved employee morale, increased company loyalty, maintenance of workplace safety, better understanding of job policies and procedures, and so forth. "Speak businessese and remember the bottom line," is typical advice. Be aware that companies value a trainer's experience with people outside the academic environment, particularly people from other cultures.

6. *Project a professional image*. Maintain a suitable business appearance and deportment. "Dress up. Be sharp. Dress as well as the best dressed person in the class," stated consultants. "Even if teaching blue-jeaned factory workers, you must maintain a business image," said another. "Look confident and professional."

7. *Be aware of company attitude towards instruction*. Though the need for ESL instruction is acknowledged, most companies still must be convinced to bring the instruction into the workplace and to pay the cost. "That's [the employees'] problem" and "I did it on my own, why can't they?" were company representatives' comments. Companies typically seek ESL instruction as a corrective rather than as a preventive measure. Even though companies are satisfied with class results, in lean times ESL instruction is the first item slashed from budgets.

On the other hand, some companies offer English classes as a drawing card to attract workers. Others find it cost effective to upgrade the literacy skills of experienced workers rather than to try and find qualified new workers when job language requirements escalate. For example, the introduction of the computer into the workplace necessitates that employees learn advanced reading and writing skills.

8. *Involve management*. Management cooperation is critical to the overall success of classes and cannot be assumed. It is necessary to foster it. "Collaborate with supervisors. They are key people," said one informant. "Try to get the managers involved. They're the ones who can do the most good," said another. However, frequent supervisor turnover at some companies makes maintaining rapport a challenge.

9. *Adapt teaching theories and methods to meet specific needs*. For example, companies are impatient with costly needs analyses and curricula development. They require that an instructor expedite the

job within the constraints of the bottom line. So you should expect to incorporate needs assessment as an ongoing part of the class.

"Business wants quick results," said one informant. "As an educator I have a problem with that. Good things do take time to mature." However, in the workplace, as elsewhere, sound educational theory may require practical adaptation. As Widdowson (1984) suggests, theory and practice must be partners.

10. *Be pragmatic and encourage learner independence.* Except in the case of a seminar, avoid scheduling weekend classes. Anticipate irregular class attendance. Organize each class to provide a language learning experience that is complete in itself and independent of other class sessions. Encourage learning strategies that are effective outside the classroom. Nurture learner-designated goal setting and activities that foster cross-cultural interaction.

11. *Stay current.* Once involved in ESL workplace instruction, keep abreast of developments. To this end, networking continues to be of value, particularly for "Freeway Flyers," the many part-time instructors who scurry from job to job with little opportunity for interaction with colleagues. Membership in professional organizations such as CATESOL and TESOL offers further networking opportunities and insures that you receive pertinent professional publications. Subscribe or have access to ones such as *English for Specific Purposes*, formerly *The ESP Journal*. Review publishers' catalogues. ■

Footnote

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A Critical Hermeneutic Analysis of Foreign Language Teaching: Implications for Teachers in the People's Republic of China

■ **Interpersonal relationships are established among teachers and students in educational settings. This phenomenon takes on special meaning in a foreign language classroom, particularly for overseas teachers. Learning a new language brings new knowledge and new possibilities into students' lives. Understandings experienced and gained in these classrooms go beyond linguistic comprehension and social activity to the very being of the person. Understanding is not something grasped or possessed. Rather it is a mode of our existence in the world. This dynamic aspect of foreign language teaching is of critical importance when Western teachers work in a country that follows a very different ideology from their own. The students in China bring their own history and worldview to the learning of English. It is the foreign teacher's responsibility to not only help a student learn new concepts and language but also learn how to live out a meaningful life in a country that places expectations on students arising from very different political beliefs.**

During the last few years, a flow of Western values, attitudes and obsessions has penetrated Chinese society. With foreign language teachers, students, business people, and tourists visiting the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people in many cities and in much of the countryside have been exposed to the West's priorities along with the hope for the "good life." Thousands of Chinese studying overseas, when they return or write back home, confirm that, indeed, life in the West is best. Perhaps, of all the people in contact with the Chinese in their homeland, it is the foreign language teacher who has the most influence. The curriculum we use, our demeanor in the classroom, the relationships we develop, and the conversations we engage in all tend to situate Chinese students, to a certain extent, in a foreign tradition from which they examine their own lives. Upon such an examination, Chinese students and faculty members naturally consider the lives they might have had in another country or their own under changed conditions. When Chinese students reflect upon new ideas, they do so from a very different framework—not from the tradition of making up their own minds about the value of a particular way of life led by an individual, such as an American probably would do, but from a tradition that holds family, society, and authority in high regard. When this tradition is disturbed in any way, it can create a volatile situation—most dramatically exemplified in June, 1989 at Tiananmen Square.

There is some truth in the Chinese government's recent charge against foreign language teachers of influencing the intelligentsia with "bourgeois" ideals resulting in "counterrevolutionary" behavior. The communist revolution in China has to do with society and the duty an individual has toward society, not toward himself. It does not have to do with individual rights. In China the emphasis is on society. The role of the individual is different in the United States, where individuals can revolt with significant freedom against ideas and actions. Chinese traditionally have been obedient to leaders and rulers. There are exceptions (mostly in the business arena), but there is generally very low tolerance of individual rights when these rights play center stage. In China today, counterrevolutionary behavior is the worst possible charge one can make against another.

Within such a context in China, the actual role of the teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) moves far beyond the teacher-learner relationship established with students in other types of classrooms. In many classrooms, interpersonal relations are established among the foreign teacher and students, and learning a new language brings new knowledge and new possibilities into students' lives. These understandings experienced and gained by students go beyond the element of linguistic comprehension to the very being of the person. Heidegger (1962) maintains that understanding is not something grasped or possessed but rather a mode of our existence in the world. This dynamic aspect of foreign language teaching rarely receives attention.

In order to set the stage for an interpretive analysis of EFL teaching in China, this article includes an overview of the nature of language from the perspective of hermeneutics and recent research in natural science. In addition, it includes a brief overview of the recent history and traditions that Chinese students bring to their foreign language classrooms. When we pose this background against the realities of the 1980s, we can better see what worlds have been opened up to Chinese students in their experiences with learning a new language and how these new understandings affect their lives.

A Hermeneutic View of the Nature of Language

Traditionally, hermeneutics has been the study of a written text, usually classical or biblical writings. In recent discussions, hermeneutics has included both written documents as texts for study and social action as well as texts for investigation. Initially, the idea that a social action can be a text seems incongruous. However, when we record our social actions, they become fixed in language—to the extent that we tell stories or record history. In many languages (though not in English) the word *history* itself preserves the "rich ambiguity of designating both the course of recounted events and the narrative that we construct" (Ricoeur, 1982, p. 294). Our discussion and/or research of social activity is thus both history and narrative. To capture the dynamic nature of any social activity, including teaching, history needs to be included. There is no line that separates the past from the present. More specifically, our current activities take place within a history and within a tradition. Gadamer's (1976) phrase *always already* acknowledges the intimate relationship between present activities and their past in the very nature of language itself, the medium of all understanding and all tradition (pp.59-68). By fixing our conversations and our research activities in the written word, we open for interpretation, understanding, and application our history, our analyses of everyday problems, and our ideas.

Heidegger (1971) writes that language names the world within which we live. It sets the limits and the horizons for personal and social change. "If it is true that man finds the proper abode of his existence in language—whether he is aware of it or not—then an experience we undergo with language will touch the innermost nexus of our existence" (p. 57). Ricoeur (1982) following the Heideggerian concept of language, writes that understanding is more than a way of knowing something. It is a mode of being in the world. Additionally, Ricoeur, also influenced by Wittgenstein (1953, 1974) and Austin (1962), believes that the meaning of an expression is connected to its usage and that language as a process is intimately connected to human action. Further, speaking language is an activity or form of life.

Gadamer (1976) argues that language "is the reservoir of tradition and the medium in and through which we exist and perceive our world," (p. 29). As mentioned above, he says that we are always already in a tradition, even though in the West we rarely value the past since we often equate progress with distancing ourselves from the past. Actually, posits Gadamer, our effective historical consciousness links us to our past and provides us with an evaluative framework in which we can judge what we want to retain or change in our present. Tradition helps shape who we are and who we can become. That we are grounded in our own tradition means we have our own horizon of understanding. EFL language teachers come to the classroom in China with their own traditions and the question is: How does the horizon of the EFL language teacher fuse, that is, enlarge or become enriched? Gadamer says there occurs a fusion of horizons not when two people somehow blend two different lifeworlds or histories (for example, an American and a Chinese), but when we are open to understanding whereby we risk and test our prejudices. The language we speak is essentially open to understanding different cultures or alien horizons. It is through the fusion of horizons, which are finite but not limited, that we risk and test our prejudices.

Language is the key element in understanding our historical situation. Habermas (1973, 1979, 1984) asserts that language is central in the formation of consciousness and is the primary medium we have for understanding. It has the potential to provide us with a foundation for understanding and critiquing our world.

Thomas McCarthy (1978) notes, ". . . since speech is the distinctive and pervasive medium of life at the human level, the theory of communication is the foundational study for the human sciences; it discloses the universal infrastructure of sociocultural life" (p. 282). We need to incorporate these ideas about the fundamental quality of language in teaching, whether we teach a foreign language or any other subject. However, in teaching a foreign language, the teacher needs to develop the role of learning a language to move beyond merely comprehending a new linguistic code—the technical aspect of communicating in another language—to engaging students in learning in a medium that ultimately calls for understanding. Language lies at the basis of all of our ideas and theories about reality; it is what enables individuals to organize data, their surroundings, and their relationships with others.

Traditionally, teaching a foreign language has been guided by the rationalistic tradition that views language as a tool of expression. This view hides the social and creative aspects of language. We need to understand the dynamics of language and realize that it is the constituting ground of individuals, communities, and societies.

While it could be said that the above statements on language merely reflect an arbitrary philosophical position, it is noteworthy that natural scientists also recognize the sociolinguistic nature of humans. Biologist Maturana (1978) states, for example, "The central feature of human existence is its occurrence in a linguistic cognitive domain. This domain is constitutively social" (p. 44). Maturana and Verela (1980), in their development of a theory of the organization of living systems, base their ideas on Maturana's (1960) earlier research on perception which showed that properties of the nervous system generate phenomena instead of acting as filters mapping reality. The basis of generation is social interaction among individuals linked in a network of social connections.[1] In the process of using and sharing language with others, each individual is actively engaged within that language, as part of a language community, or as Heidegger (1962) asserts, the feature of all language activity (the process of both saying and listening) is the engagement of the person within language—a concept he refers to as the "thrownness of the person with language" (p. 174-177, 203-211).

Another way of looking at this analysis is to say that the world is always organized around fundamental concerns (such as human understanding, prejudices, and interests) that derive from or are expressed through language, and the world depends, for its continued existence, upon these projects which give it being and organization. Within this dynamic system, which is always in the process of being created, meaning is continually created through a mutual interchange involving active listening and speaking. This process, in turn, provokes interpretation. Meaning derives through our engagement in and commitment to the world and our interaction with others.

When we encounter the world, we do so as something which has already been lived in and acted upon. In our own encounter, we act upon it, and the process by which we act on it develops out of our own understanding. This orients us to the world both as it exists and as it has the potential to become.

The Chinese Perspective

Chinese students bring a history to the classroom that is different in several respects from that of the Western teacher. They bring, for example, the idea of a state-dominated country rather than an individual-dominated society. In addition, Chinese in the cities are beginning to buy, or were buying prior to the June, 1989 incident, many products such as refrigerators, televisions, tape players, and designer clothes, which are taken for granted in the West. The economic changes that China itself has undergone have put the ordinary Chinese through many changes, especially the emphasis on entrepreneurism. Now this emphasis is being played down in the effort to bring the people into the party line of developing a communist state. The people now live in fear of what to say, how to act, and what may happen next.

When students are exposed to new ideas, a new language, and an opportunity to evaluate their lives, they are placed in an unsettling situation. The EFL teacher has the responsibility to not only teach a language but to understand where the students are coming from historically and philosophically since one is always embedded in a tradition within a particular framework. The present situation for students in China will make sense only as long as the resources in their own language and in the language they are learning make sense enough to absorb the changes and challenges. When things do not fit into a world view confusion or a sense of powerlessness can take place.

The history, traditions, and sociopolitical milieu of the people in a classroom must be a requisite part of EFL curriculum planning for the teacher working in the PRC or any other country. This knowledge prior to entering the classroom can help a foreign language teacher know more about the students and help establish the classroom community.

Messerschmitt (1987) posits that language is the central feature of understanding and communication which, in turn, are crucial for the development of dialogue and community. Only through language can people understand each other. Thus, foreign teachers need to focus on an expanded concept of language and the role language plays in understanding based on the establishment of interpersonal relationships. Language entails communication which, without understanding, is merely a transfer of information and technique. We forget the critical role that language plays in reconstructing or transmitting a past and a possible future to interlocutors when they step into a conversation.

If we ask language teachers about the role language has in transforming a student's world view and being, or their own, they might answer that this is not what they mean to do and claim that their job is only to teach a new language to students. However as Gadamer (1988) explains, by "learning a foreign language [people] do not alter their relationship to the world, [rather] they extend and enrich it by the world of the foreign language...To have language involves a mode of being . . ." (p. 411). When a person learns a new language, his being changes, he becomes a different person. Most teachers probably do not plan for this to happen. However, it is not what teachers intend to have happen that matters. Rather, it is what actually happens that brings us to realize that language teaching is both a structural undertaking and a philosophical and political phenomenon. Specifically, language teaching is not only a pedagogical activity but the transmission of history and ideas that involves an expanded sense of discourse.

Applying a Critical Hermeneutic Model to Foreign Language Teaching

How do we define discourse? It may be viewed as a spontaneous flow of questions, answers, and discussions. This concept of discourse reflects a structural view of foreign language teaching. Another idea of discourse, drawn from the field of hermeneutics, describes a social act, which displays not only structure and form but, more importantly, new understandings.

Referring to semiological models, Ricoeur brings to light two characterizations of discourse. Semiological models, applied to the theory of the narrative, borrow from the domain of language by extension from units smaller than a sentence to units larger than sentences, such as poems and narratives. In such models, discourse is not placed under the category of writing but under the category of a work which pertains to praxis, or labor. Discourse as work, even more than discourse as writing, enables it to be read under conditions that are always new (Ricoeur, 1982). Discourse as simple conversation is something quite different from discourse as a work that takes hold in structures calling for a description and an explanation that mediate understanding. A parallel to this model in EFL teaching rests in the difference between the technical and sociological aspects of teaching a foreign language on the one hand, and the respective histories and cultures of teacher and students on the other hand. While the same curriculum may be successfully carried out in several cultural settings, what is learned will be new in each case, because of not only the creative process of language but also the traditions and histories of the teacher and students. Understanding the activity of teaching a foreign language involves both the formal and sociological account of a teaching curriculum and the opening up of new ways of thinking for both teachers and students.

In foreign language teaching it is the work of teaching that opens up new worlds for students and teachers. To fully understand the act of teaching a foreign language is to understand how the worlds that are opened up to students and teachers come to be and what role and responsibility each person may play in those worlds whose formal arrangements are initially found in pedagogical activities. In view of the summer of 1989 in China, English language teachers need to understand not only their charge of formally teaching the new language but also the critical role they play in bringing forth new ways of thinking and being. This is especially important to realize when they teach in a country with limited individual rights. Moreover, the role of the EFL language instructor in the lives of students is grounded in the history of those students (as well as the teacher). This makes foreign language teaching a form of teaching with perhaps more implications to consider than other forms of teaching. However, in any analysis of teaching the most important point is that the nature of language itself—as a creative medium of social reality, not merely a tool to represent the world or to transmit information—holds the potential for transforming both teacher and student and for critical reflection upon such transformations. It is important that we note in any discussion that centers on language, social, and individual change that tradition is the stream in which any of these processes take place.

The youth of China perhaps are the most vulnerable to the changes in their country. The dramatic changes in merely a few years' time are mingled with the hope and imagination that traditionally belong to youth in any culture. Their story of recent events and the story told by a foreign language teacher from another country would be two different readings of history. The interpretation of the history is part of the anaysis of teaching. Reflection on our history begins to lay out our prejudices, or preunderstandings, that they may be risked and tested. This may result in a fusion of our horizons.

China's Recent History— The Tradition Students Bring to Class

In 1978 Deng Xiaopeng launched four modernizations in an attempt to bring China into the modern world.[2] Shortly after these modernizations were introduced, I began to visit, lecture, and work in China both in the business and education sectors. Since the early 1980s, I have made over 15 trips into China and have seen major changes in most aspects of Chinese society. One of my trips to China was in July, 1989 shortly after the Tiananmen Square incident.

Throughout the '80s, the south of China changed more quickly than the northern part, but in general most of the people in the cities and many in the countryside changed their lifestyles, their clothing styles, and their dreams. My impressions of China over this last decade have been shaped by hundreds of hours of conversations and interviews with students, professors, university administrators, factory workers, factory managers, business people, government workers spanning various levels, medical professionals, communist party members of various rankings, retired people, employed people (associated with hotels, schools, taxis, trains, street vending, retail stores, wholesale factories, etc.) and unemployed people.

While China declined to include either education or democracy in its modernization drive, it was influenced by an unexpected component, namely, an obsession for material products, products that most notably characterize an industrialized, modern society. Along with the modernization efforts of the Chinese government came a rise in the standard of living, a belief in the possibility of suceeding on one's own, and a radical increase in corruption and moral laxity. China has boasted that its society has been free from the evils of capitalism. This is no longer the case. The communist doctrine that man is morally perfectable has lost credibility in the face of rapid deterioration of China's social values and moral standards.

There is a void in the lives of the Chinese, who believed first that the iron rice bowl (a popular metaphor for guaranteed food and shelter) would never be empty, then that industrialization would be a cure-all for economic ills, and finally that entrepreneurial practices and increased freedom could provide the life they had been promised. While not all, or even a small part, of China can be considered modern, the country has made dramatic steps toward modernization. However, this modernization drive, accompanied by inflation, immorality, corruption, crime, and political polarization, has created a context in which students are highly receptive to ideas and ideals that promote a different life.

Most nations look with shock and disbelief at the events of the summer of 1989 in China. On June 4, 1989, the octogenarian hardliners believed that the image of the nation was at risk and the time had come to show the world that the bottom line for China was not the restructuring of a society but a restoration of the legacy of authoritarian rule. In 72 years, since the beginnning of the Leninist party, no party had relinquished power. As important as centralism is to the Chinese Communist Party, more important is the order needed to prevent a divided country plagued by chaos and dissent. Nobody over 40 in China can forget the disorder brought about by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.

Students, under age 40, having been influenced by Western teachers, media, and ideals, forged ahead with emotional and sentimental platforms and seemingly unruly techniques, not knowing that they pushed too far in a country led by a tradition of authoritarianism expressed today by a collective of men who still know what it means to lose face. Over time, this government facade wears thin, though, and people give up on the government; they act in secret as they can, while in public they act as the government orders. For example, factory workers sell black market goods on the side. Taxi drivers make extra money by working long hours, overcharging foreigners and carrying out questionable activities. Teachers and civil servants, on the other hand, are usually not allowed second jobs and, therefore, receive much less pay for their endeavors than do workers, farmers, or service people. A taxi driver told me he and his coworkers can earn $1500 US a month or more. From my work in universities, I know the average teacher earns less than $30 US a month. This obvious discrepancy in wage-earning power has resulted in many young people either not going on to postsecondary schools or leaving the university to enter the business world. If this trend continues, there will be a great shortage of educated people in China. Now, with the 1989 revolt, not all students will be allowed to return to school. Only those with clean records and successful completion of reeducation courses will be permitted to study. These trends, accompanied by the brain drain to the West, pose a serious threat to the future of China. At the time of this writing, most students in Beijing are not motivated to study since it was through diligent study that young people have a chance of going abroad. Especially in Beijing, there is apathy. In south China it is somewhat more business as usual. Many students in the northern regions are leaving the university, trying to migrate south to engage in small entrepreneurial enterprises.

Today, the West is still welcome in China. While the government voices strong concern with visiting teachers and students, from the United States in particular, they are still inviting English teachers to come to work immediately. They are most eager to welcome back the foreign investors who left. With its capital under government scrutiny, the economy in shreds, and a nation silent in fear, the Party is attempting to convince the outside world that all is business as usual. Tourism is encouraged. "Bourgeois liberalism," namely Western principles of democracy and freedom, is a crime, but the door is open wide to capitalist dollars. It is unclear how the communist leaders will be able to sustain a contradictory policy of purging the country of democratic ideals while pursuing economic reform.

Students living in China face incredible challenges. The EFL teacher faces obligations beyond pedagogy in view of these recent historical events.

Implications for Teacher Education

Bowers (1988), in discussing a teacher's responsibility to students, describes a teacher as one who plays "a unique gatekeeper role that can have a powerful influence on the development of the student's conceptual map (ability to interpret and make one's way through or around the cultural patterns within which everyday experience is organized), self-concept, and life chances within the political-economic system" (p. 97). While the role of the classroom teacher in one's own country is significant, the role of the EFL teacher in a developing country is even more complex because of the additional considerations of the differences in history and the politics of the culture, economy, and society.

Specifically, the role of the foreign language teacher is a critical one in the lives of students not only from a pedagogical point of view but also from an individual and philosophical perspective. The pedagogical aspect of teaching a foreign language is well-documented. However, the interpretive and political implications of teaching a foreign language have not received much attention. While the implications of language use in the classroom from a cultural framework and the sociology of knowledge theory have been well-researched (Bowers, 1984, 1987), we have not yet considered the study of foreign language teaching as a discourse calling for philosophical and political analysis. This lack of academic attention to critical issues of foreign language teaching places additional professional obligations upon the teacher to be sensitive to the necessity of teaching from a critical stance—teaching students how to use and reinterpret their history so that they may be able to "project concretely [their] interest in emancipation" (Ricoeur, 1982, p. 97). Implications of this professional obligation require foreign language teachers to take a different stance toward their work than one involving simply technical or sociological activities.

While those who plan to teach in another country should be educated in foreign language teaching methodologies, they also need to be introduced to the history and culture of the students who will receive their instruction. An overemphasis on the technical aspects of language teaching can give the foreign language teacher a false sense of professsional preparation. In addition to understanding requisite historical and cultural knowledge, teachers also need to know how language, conversations, and communication can represent various forms of authority, present possibilities for critiquing basic assumptions, and create new domains of understanding. With China, as a particular case, it is important to understand the differences in Western and Eastern concepts of power, authority, and self.

As language teaching involves classroom discourse among students and teacher, so it involves creating a work of discourse that entails living a narrative and a history that is grounded in a tradition that the foreign language teacher steps into. EFL teachers need to carry out research, particularly from a collaborative and participatory perspective, to further understand the histories created in the foreign language classroom and their role in such histories. These accounts will help prepare future EFL teachers to better meet the complex and responsible challenges of their profession.

Students are eager to accept new ideas of the West introduced into their framework of thinking and being, but problems arise on several fronts. One is the lack of language available to students to understand and evaluate changes. The hermeneutic task becomes explicit when one is aware of confronting an alien tradition. When students learn ideas and words that do not seem to belong or fit, the teacher then has the opportunity and responsibility to teach about interpretation, understanding, and the appropriation of new meanings. Understanding here means more than the recreation of someone else's meaning. It means engaging students in a critical analysis of their traditions, instilling in them the idea that they have a responsibility for their actions, and helping them project a future. Whether it is classroom drama or political confrontation, grasping experience in a language (Gadamer, 1988) moves far beyond being able to identify new words; it means living in a different world. As the Chinese continue to reflect upon, interpret, and act upon the events of 1989, they move from living in one world to living in a new world, still connected, however, to their past. At the same time, they are rethinking their future.

EFL teachers face different responsibilities depending on the politics of the country they work in. It is important to realize that when new ideas or experiences do not fit into one's existing meaning system one cannot simply teach new words or engage in discourse with the student to create a new world for the learner. Beliefs, traditions, institutions, and current society all play a critical role in how one understands and how one lives out a meaningful life. To teach a student to be critical of one's surroundings (which is often what happens either directly or by comparison of ideals, experiences, or possessions of things) is not the same as teaching truth, progress, goodness, or loyalty. The student is often left with knowing what is not wanted, what is not believed in. How do we leave the student with something to hang onto? We need to teach students how to understand their role in assuming responsibility for sharing norms, establishing a moral character, and being trustworthy. While this role is critical for students in any country, it is particularly vital in countries where governments face a legitimation crisis (Habermas, 1973).

When we look at language from a hermeneutic perspective, we can more easily understand the relationship between language and our existence. The situation in China gives us an opportunity to see how, in this expanded understanding of language, we also have a different responsibility as teachers than if we see language only as a technical and sociological phenomenon. These considerations are important for EFL teachers now going to China as this country struggles with geopolitical, social, and moral challenges in its attempt to become part of the international economic community. ■

Footnotes

[1] Many physicists, biologists, chemists, and neurophysiologists no longer hold the view that the universe is like a machine with interacting parts, nor do they believe that theories are changed by objective criteria. Starting with the book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, written for the general public, T. S. Kuhn began the modern legacy that scientific paradigm shifts are influenced more by social and communal considerations than by cause and effect relationships. Neils Bohr, David Bohm, Ilya Prigogine, Eric Jantsch, Jay Gould, Niles Eldredge, and Lyall Watson, along with Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela, are some of the scientists whose research supports the idea that our positioned views, our history, and our interactions play a far more critical role in understanding ourselves and our world than do predictions, objectivity, and separate entities.

[2] An excellent book documenting the political history of China since 1949 is *The People's Republic of China/A Concise Political History* by Witold Rodzinski.

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The CATESOL Journal

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The Comparative Effectiveness of Word Lists and Video-Graphic Cues on University Level ESL Students' Vocabulary in Context Learning[1]

■ **Using a posttest-only control group design, this study evaluated the role of instruction and compared the effectiveness of two methods of presentation—word lists and video-graphic cues—on the university-level second language students' (N = 64) ability to guess the meaning of unfamiliar lexical items contained in a videotape of an academic lecture. Subjects were randomly assigned to four treatment groups and told they would be tested after viewing the lecture on vocabulary items only. The first experimental group (VIDEO-GRAPHIC) saw a version of the tape on which computer-generated textual cues appeared. These video-graphic cues resembled closed captioning. Vocabulary items appeared on the videotape as the lecturer said the word and remained visible while the speaker gave the contextual clue to the word's meaning. The second experimental group (WORD LIST) saw the same lecture without the visual cues. Both experimental groups received a list of the vocabulary items on which they would be tested after viewing the lecture. These words were listed in the order they would come up during the lecture. The subjects in both experimental groups also received instruction in guessing word meanings from context. The third treatment group (INSTRUCTION) received only this instruction in guessing; they did not see the video-graphic cues nor receive a word list of vocabulary items. The last group (CONTROL) saw the videotape without text and received neither a word list nor instruction in guessing. After viewing the lecture, the subjects were tested on the vocabulary in context items contained in the academic lecture. A one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test (HSD) indicated that the subjects in the video-graphic group scored significantly higher (p·.05) on the vocabulary test than the students in the word list group and that both groups scored significantly higher than the instruction-only and control groups (p·.05).**

Vocabulary, Palmberg (1987) pointed out, is by far the most sizable component in foreign language learning, and all second language learners will, at one time or another, find themselves in a situation where they do not know all of the words. Furthermore, second language learners cannot expect to learn in school more than a fraction of the lexis they will eventually need. Second language learners, Palmberg concluded, must develop ways of acquiring vocabulary for themselves. One strategy that would enable second language learners to acquire new words would be learning how to extract meanings of unfamiliar words from contextual clues.

The context approach to vocabulary learning is not a recent trend in language teaching (see, for example, Seibert, 1930), nor has it been limited to second or foreign language instruction (see Christ & Petrone, 1977; Cunningham, 1987; Johnson & Pearson, 1984; Sternberg, Powell, & Kaye, 1983). Beheydt (1987) stated that in terms of presentation of new vocabulary, from a psychological as well as a linguistic point of view, "undeniably, the first guideline would be that vocabulary must be learned in context" (p. 63). And certain empirical studies have found strong evidence for Beheydt's prescriptive claim about the context approach (Eubanks & Ferguson, 1982; Gipe, 1979; Jenkins, Stein, & Wysocki, 1984; McKeown, 1985; Nagy, Herman, & Anderson, 1985). Other researchers have proposed more qualified support (Cohen & Aphek, 1980; Dempster, 1987; Harris, 1978; Seidenberg, Tanenhaus, & Leiman, 1980). Practitioners too have advocated a learning from context approach to vocabulary instruction in both first and second language classrooms (Cunningham, 1987; Fox, 1983; Lindstromberg, 1985; Mason, 1986; Simpson, Nist, & Kirby, 1987).

One area of language instruction that would offer second language learners the opportunity to utilize contextual clues to develop vocabulary would be listening comprehension. In fact, Palmberg's description of the challenge facing EFL learners could also be used to describe accurately the challenge faced by second language learners in academic situations. Recently, genuine spoken and academic discourse presented in meaningful contexts is being increasingly utilized in listening comprehension instruction (Joiner, 1984; Lebauer, 1988; Porter & Roberts, 1981; Sally, 1985). And the ability of language learners to guess the meanings of unfamiliar words from context clues is a key component of this active approach to listening and language learning (Anderson-Mejias, 1986; Morley, 1983; Nagle & Sanders, 1986; Richards, 1983; Rosenthal, 1987). Additionally, technology, particularly video, has started to play a major role in listening comprehension instruction in second language classrooms (Gillespie, 1985; Javetz, 1986; MacWilliam, 1986; Manning, 1986; Stevens, 1983), precisely because video provides a measure of what students would have to understand in real life. Advocates of video in language teaching note that it provides learners with input, stimulus, and discourse models.

Experimental research supporting video applications for teaching listening comprehension, however, is quite limited. Parry and Meredith (1984) found that college students of Spanish who saw video versions of conversations between native speakers scored significantly higher on measures of listening comprehension than students who heard only the audio version of the dialogues. Durio and Kildow (1979) reported that video may promote greater student confidence in listening comprehension abilities, although the data these researchers presented regarding comprehension and method of presentation (video, audio, or reading of transcripts) were inconclusive. Precisely what is lacking, as Mueller (1980) noted, are studies designed to test the effects of visual aids on specific instructional tasks. The purpose of the present study was to investigate the effects of one development in video technology—computer-generated textual cues—on a specific language learning task, ESL students' ability to guess the meaning of contextualized vocabulary items contained in a videotaped recording of an academic lecture.

The dependent variable in the study, therefore, was university-level second language students' ability to use contextual clues to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words contained in a videotaped presentation of an academic lecture. Subjects were, in fact, engaged in a meaning acquisition process that had as its goal "the discovery of a stable meaning for an unfamiliar word that makes sense in, and illuminates the meaning of, the contexts in which the word appears" (McKeown, 1985, p. 484). The independent variables in the study were the methods of presenting cues to help students guess the meanings of the vocabulary items: (a) computer-generated video-graphic cues, (b) word lists, (c) instruction in guessing, (d) listening only.

The Hypothesis

Second language acquisition research has shown that successful learners utilize all available signals to predict and make guesses about meaning (Brown, 1978; Cohen & Aphek, 1980; Conrad, 1985; McKeown, 1985). Palmberg (1987) found that even students with an elementary knowledge of English made extensive use of different knowledge sources to guess at meaning and that poorer students ignored contextual clues. Furthermore, Dirven (1981), in a paper on designing listening comprehension materials, cited first and second language acquisition research (Brown, 1973; Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Schlesinger, 1977) that demonstrated exposure to language alone does not guarantee language acquisition. Finally, Long (1983) has shown that instruction does indeed make a difference in language learning. It follows then that students who are given instruction in guessing meanings from context and who are given cues to help them attend to contextual signals, should score significantly higher on tests of vocabulary-in-context items than students who do not receive such instruction or signals.

Three hypotheses were tested in the present study.

1. Students who receive video-graphic cues, word lists, and instruction in guessing the meanings of unfamiliar words from context clues will score significantly higher on the test of context-embedded vocabulary items contained in the videotape of an academic lecture than students who receive word lists and instruction only, students who receive instruction alone, and students who only see the presentation and are subsequently tested on the vocabulary-in-context items contained in the lecture.

2. Students who receive word lists and instruction in guessing the meanings of unfamiliar words from context clues will score significantly higher on the test of context-embedded vocabulary items contained in the videotape of an academic lecture than students who receive instruction alone and students who only see the presentation and are subsequently tested on the vocabulary-in-context items contained in the lecture.

3. Students who receive instruction in guessing the meanings of unfamiliar words from context clues will score significantly higher on the test of context-embedded vocabulary items contained in the videotape of an academic lecture than students who only see the presentation and are subsequently tested on the context-embedded vocabulary items contained in the lecture.

Method

Subjects

With the cooperation of the Office of the Undergraduate Dean, letters were sent to all lower division second language speakers at California State University, Bakersfield with CSU English Placement Test (EPT) scores ranging from 120–141 (N = 272) requesting their participation in the study. Such an EPT score would place a student into a sequence of developmental coursework for English.

The subjects in the study were 64 matriculated lower division undergraduates who were nonnative speakers of English (NNS) at CSUB. The sample, which represented 23.5% of the identified population, included both resident (N = 32) and international (N = 32) NNS. In addition to an EPT score, the international students self-reported TOEFL scores ranged from 497–600. The subjects came from 21 different countries and spoke 21 different native languages. The resident students were predominantly Hispanic, but immigrant Asian and Southeast Asians were also represented in the population

(Mexico 14, El Salvador 4, Costa Rica 1, Philippines 3, Laos 4, Cambodia 3, Taiwan 2, Korea 1). The international students came from the following nations: Indonesia 4, Malaysia 2, Taiwan 4, Philippines 4, Japan 2, Nepal 1, Bangladesh 1, Pakistan 1, India 2, Iran 1, Ethiopia 1, France 4, Norway 4, Denmark 1, Germany 1. Subjects were randomly placed into the study's four groups.

Measurement Instruments

EPT scores provided a measure of assurance that the resident and international subjects were well matched in terms of their overall language proficiency. As a further check of the subjects' vocabulary levels, the vocabulary portions (Vocabulary, k = 30; Word Parts, k = 30) of the Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test (SDRT) were also administered to one intact ESL class (N = 14) and to the local second language speakers in two intact remedial English classes (N = 19). Test scores indicated the two groups of subjects did not apparently differ in regard to their vocabularies. Mean scores and grade level equivalents (GLE) for the two second language groups on the vocabulary portions of the SDRT are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.
L2 Means and Grade Level Equivalents for SDRT

Group	Vocab/GLE	Word Parts/GLE	Combined/GLE
International	20.5/7.9	22.9/12.5	43.4/ 9.5
Resident	22.1/8.5	22.9/12.5	45.0/10.2

A portion of a videotape of an academic lecture in Philosophy (approximately 20 minutes in length) was obtained from the University's Audiovisual Center by the researcher. To ensure that valid vocabulary-in-context items were used in the study, a system for classification of context clues (Hughes & Chinn, 1986) was utilized to identify in the lecture 54 vocabulary items which contained contextual clues to guessing their meaning.

These 54 context-embedded vocabulary words were given to 18 native English speakers in an intact freshman English class. The first language students had EPT test scores ranging from 145-156—scores which would exempt a student from developmental English coursework—as well as higher mean SDRT scores and GLEs than the second language students (Vocab 27.2/ 12.8; WP 25.4/ post high school;

Comb 52.6/ post high school). The students were asked to generate a meaning for each of the 54 vocabulary-in-context items identified in the lecture and the item facility (IF) (see Brown, 1988); that is, the percentage of students who answered each item correctly was then calculated for each of the words.

The assumption was that if an item was relatively difficult for the students in the freshman English class, who had substantially higher EPT and SDRT scores than the second language students in the present study, the item would be even more difficult for the second language subjects. This increased the likelihood that the meanings of words in the study were guessed from contextual clues and were not words previously known by the second language subjects. Consequently, any word with an IF greater than .67 for the freshman class was discarded. As a result, 22 items were eliminated from the vocabulary test. Two other items were deleted because they appeared within 10 seconds of another context-embedded vocabulary word in the lecture. This process resulted in a 30-item test. The average item facility for the freshman English students on the vocabulary test was .41. The internal consistency reliability of the vocabulary test developed for the study as determined by Spearman-Brown split-half formula calculations was .860.

Trampe (1983) noted that in many studies of vocabulary a specification of the criterion of learning achievement is not included. At issue is what it means to say a word is known. Trampe claims the minimal case for specification of vocabulary learning achievement is "meaning," a definition of learning that would exclude both grammatical knowledge and other potential lexical uses of a particular vocabulary item. Follwing the procedure of McDaniel and Pressley (1984) and Brown (1978), any answer to the vocabulary questions which indicated understanding of the meaning of the word, as it was presented in context, was judged acceptable and counted as correct in the present study, whether or not the response given by the subject was exactly the same as the wording of the contextual clue given in the lecture. McDaniel and Pressley found that when more productive criteria were used to determine whether a word in context had been learned—for instance the ability to use the word in a sentence—only subjects who already knew the word in question were able to do so.

Design and Procedure

The design applied in this study was the posttest-only control group design. This design was selected because it controls for many sources of invalidity and because random assignment of subjects to groups was possible.

Prior to the administration of the study, the MINDSET text-generating computer graphics program was used to place the vocabulary items to be tested onto the video-graphic version of the videotaped lecture. The text generated on the video resembled closed captioning; that is, each of the vocabulary items to be tested appeared on the screen as the lecturer said that word. The word remained on the screen while the lecturer gave the contextual clue. The generated text did not include words in the context clue. Only the individual vocabulary item appeared on the screen. The reason for excluding the text of the context clue was to ensure, as far as possible, that listening, and not reading skill, was being tested.

During the study, the first experimental group (VIDEOGRAPHIC) saw a videotape of an academic lecture on which computer-generated textual cues appeared. The second experimental group (WORD LIST) saw the same lecture without the textual clues. Both groups received instruction in guessing word meanings from context, and each received a list of the vocabulary words that would appear on the video. A third group (INSTRUCTION) received instruction in guessing meaning from context but did not see the textual clues nor receive a word list of vocabulary items. The last group (CONTROL) saw the videotape without text and received neither a word list nor instruction in guessing word meanings from context before being tested. All subjects were told that they would be tested after viewing the lecture on vocabulary items only. A level of $p < .05$ was set for statistical significance in the study.

Results

Mean group scores, standard deviations, and standard error of means for the vocabulary test were computed. These descriptive statistics for the study are presented in Table 2.

Table 2.
Means, Standard Deviations, and Standard Error of Means for Groups on the Vocabulary Test

	Vocabulary Test			
Group	Size	Mean	Std Dev	SEM
Video-graphic	16	21.37	4.50	1.12
Word list	16	16.12	4.73	1.18
Instruction	16	11.18	2.50	.63
Control	16	9.18	3.63	.91

Note. k = 30

A simple analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then performed. This analysis showed an overall significant difference among the groups' means on the test (see Table 3).

Table 3.
Results of One-Way ANOVA

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	3	1425.56	475.18	30.58*	$< .05$
Within groups	60	932.38	15.54		
Total	63	2357.94			

Since the overall effect from the ANOVA for the test was statistically significant, Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test (HSD), a post hoc test, was used to identify all pairs that differed significantly on the test. In the study, a difference of 3.68 was found to be a significant difference between two means, according to the Honestly Significant Difference Test. Mean differences between the groups are presented in Table 4.

Table 4.
Significant Mean Differences Between Groups on the Vocabulary Test Using Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference Test

	Word List	Instruct	Control
Video-graph	5.25*	10.19*	12.19*
Word List		4.94*	6.94*
Instruct			2.00

Note: Significant differences are marked with an asterisk

$HSD = 3.68$
$*p < .05$

The results of the study support the first two research hypotheses. The subjects who received video-graphic cues, word lists, and instruction scored significantly higher on the vocabulary test than students who received only word lists and instruction and students who received instruction alone. The word list group also scored significantly higher on the test than the control group and the group that only received instruction in guessing. The scores for the instruction-only group did not reach a level of statistical significance. However, it should be noted that one of the limitations of the study may be the restricted period of time allowed for instruction (30 minutes).

Discussion

A possible explanation for the significant effects of the two treatments is that the two prompting techniques selectively (and quite effectively) cued student attention to contextual clues and modified students' orientation during listening. The video-graphic cues in particular caused students to focus on the contextual clues to unfamiliar word meanings in the lecture. In fact, the mean score for students in the video-graphic group was more than double the mean score of students in the control group.

The present study is believed to be important for two principal reasons. First, the experiment utilized an authentic academic lecture. The material in the study is, therefore, entirely consistent with an active model of listening and comprehension. It contains (a) a natural delivery of material, (b) genuine communication intended for a real purpose, (c) authentic spoken discourse (not a recording of written material), (d) content appropriate for the audience, and (e) no over-attention to language form.

Second, the subjects in the study, ESL students, in particular underprepared ESL students, may or may not generally see academic lectures as a chance to learn language as well as content. Helping ESL students realize that goal—an important component of second language teaching in an academic setting—entails finding, as Palmberg pointed out, effective ways to teach students how to improve their vocabularies on their own. And although claims about the potential of technology, especially video technology, by its advocates in ESL are common, too few studies have examined specific technological applications in language teaching and learning in an empirical way.

The results of the study indicate that, in fact, under conditions where the students are given a specific learning task and the expectancy of immediate testing of learning outcomes, technology can play an important role in vocabulary teaching and learning for university-level ESL students in academic settings. And, in the absence of access to technology, focused listening tasks, such as those provided by the use of word lists, can likewise be effective for teaching students how to make guesses about the meaning of contextualized vocabulary items.

Weener (1974) found that task anticipation and instrumental learning activities, such as note taking, can influence the relationship between learning tasks and learning outcomes. Further research is needed to investigate the effects of technological applications on specific language learning tasks when condition variables such as those noted by Weener are factored into the analysis. ■

Footnotes

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The CATESOL Journal

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Extensive Reading through Sustained Silent Reading: Developing Comprehension in Adult Learners

This article discusses an adjunct Sustained Silent Reading Program (SSR) in which getting satisfaction from reading and developing a better attitude toward reading are the goals. When doing SSR, students self-select books from a collection and read them. They also write journal entries, prepare oral and written book reports, and talk about books that they are reading. They receive recognition for the books they finish. While it is the student's task to read and read a lot, it is the ESL program's task to provide a variety of interesting books that students can understand.

Teachers know that many of their students need to become better readers. To solve this problem, they offer various reading activities that guide students through reading textbooks. A supplementary approach is Sustained Silent Reading (SSR), which offers students much needed reading practice.

Through SSR students read silently during class or lab. SSR differs from extensive reading in that extensive reading is done at home. In this paper, I will first explain why regular reading lessons or classes often do not sufficiently develop students' reading comprehension processes. Then, I will discuss research on extensive reading and SSR. Third, I will present guidelines for an adjunct SSR program for secondary-, postsecondary-, and adult-level ESL students.

Goals of a Reading Class

In reading class students are introduced to effective top-down and bottom-up reading processes or strategies. Top-down processes involve students making predictions about the meaning of a passage by using their knowledge about the subject and about the organization of a text and by selectively reading the text. Students do not need to concentrate on every word, phrase, and sentence to make sense of a text (Goodman, 1967; Smith, 1978). Eskey (1986) has remarked, "Among second language teachers interested in reading, the top-down model has already achieved something like official status as *the* model" (p. 12).

In contrast, bottom-up processes involve interpreting every letter, word, and grammar construction appearing in text. Teachers using oral reading in class ask students to activate many of their bottom-up processing skills. Teachers who have students analyze every new word and new grammar structure in a passage also emphasize this kind of processing. While Goodman (1967) has emphasized the limitations of teaching bottom-up processing, Eskey and Grabe (1988) note that ESL students need to learn to integrate both ways to process text.

Classroom activities almost always activate either bottom-up or top-down processing. It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe the many effective ways to help students develop good reading strategies. Examples of activities and additional theoretical background pertaining to students' reading comprehension can be found in recent books (Carrell, Devine, & Eskey, 1988; Devine, Carrell, & Eskey, 1987; Dubin, Eskey, & Grabe, 1986; and Irwin, 1986). Many of these classroom activities can incorporate pair and group work as described by Long and Porter (1985).

Classroom activities can facilitate students' reading acquisition (and language acquisition) only if the reading material is appropriate. To identify suitable materials, we can consider three questions: (a) Is the reading interesting; (b) is it as authentic as possible; and (c) are its key points or storyline organized in a way that helps readers make sense of the passage? Krashen has reminded us that when students are interested and involved in what they are reading, their affective filter is lower (Krashen, 1982 cited in Krashen, 1985). Aside from the level of interest of the text, we also have to consider whether to use simplified or authentic texts. Yorio (1985) has suggested that ESL readers need texts "as authentic as the proficiency level of the learner will permit" (p. 164). Sometimes having a predictable pattern of organization or story structure and having good illustrations will make it possible for students to understand text that is more difficult than their usual reading material (Hill & Thomas, 1988).

While reading class activities and materials introduce ESL students to effective reading strategies, students may not get enough reading practice. Often in reading class, time is taken up by prereading and postreading, and vocabulary activities. If some of the numerous comprehension questions appearing in textbooks are discussed, even less time remains for reading. The result is that students rarely read very much for or during a reading class. Williams (1986) summarizes his concern about this situation: "A learner will not become a proficient reader simply by attending a reading course or working through a reading textbook" (p. 44).

Two other weaknesses of most reading classes are the difficulty of the readings and the pacing of class activities. Despite the fact that students may vary in reading ability in a class, they all read the same texts, which may be too hard or too easy for some of them. Also, the pace of a reading class—how much time is spent on each text—may be too fast or too slow for some students. A slow pace can result in a lot of waiting time and less time spent on reading practice.

Extensive Reading

To overcome the limitations of a traditional reading class, teachers introduce extensive reading. Extensive reading is done on students' own time usually without any preview or follow-up work on concepts, grammar, or vocabulary. In practice, extensive reading programs have almost always relied on ESL/EFL graded readers, reading kits, such as Science Research Associates (SRA) reading labs (Parker, 1978), or excerpts from unsimplified textbooks. A common recommendation is to assign at least 1 hour of extensive reading for each hour of in-class close reading of text (Williams, 1986). However, many students do not have the skills or the motivation to read this much on their own at the beginning of a program.

TESL instructors have rarely investigated the effectiveness of extensive reading programs. Robb and Susser's (1988) extensive reading research involved having a class of Japanese university freshman English majors read SRA cards in class five times a week. SRA cards consist of an illustration, a short simplified text, and questions. On average students completed 40 SRA cards during the year. In addition, students read a minimum of 500 pages at home from a class library of ESL readers and adolescent literature. Robb and Susser found that the class using their extensive reading approach improved more on postreading tests than their control group which covered reading skills exercises in a well-known ESL reading textbook both in class and for homework.

Laufer-Dvorkin (1981) studied two classes of Israeli university students enrolled in EFL reading. Laufer-Dvorkin concluded that the extensive approach, in which students read 7- to 10-page excerpts from academic textbooks for each class, was less effective than the intensive approach, in which students closely read one- to three-page excerpts from academic texts for each class. Laufer-Dvorkin's research suggests that authentic materials that are too long and difficult for students to understand are unsuitable for extensive reading.

Several researchers have described book collections for extensive reading. Stoller (1986) suggests that ESL programs have a lending library of ESL readers that are grouped by level of difficulty. Students select at least one book to read each week and at least 13 for a semester. While Stoller's lending library is housed in a university reading lab, another ESL teacher has worked with the community library to develop a collection of about 300 paperback ESL readers and a publicity campaign to "attract nonnative speakers to the library" (Shanefield, 1986, p. 1). These books, which were housed apart from the general fiction collection, were divided into three levels of difficulty. Shanefield's lending system provided data on how often each book was borrowed.

Bamford (1984) has created a similar lending library of ESL readers at the American School of Business in Tokyo. Based on students' reactions to books in this collection, he rated readers from numerous publishers on a 4-point scale from extremely popular to "often received negatively" (p. 238). Bamford cited Nuttall's (1982) and his own suggestions for displaying the colorful covers of ESL/EFL graded readers to attract readers (p. 258).[1]

Hill and Thomas (1988) give an analysis and assessment of 12 United Kingdom publishers' ESL/EFL graded readers. Their assessment is based on "twelve years of…use of readers" (p. 44) in Uganda and Malaysia. They discuss a reading program, in which 200 Malaysian schools participated, which included nine levels of class reader collections and a larger library collection of nine levels of readers. When Hill and Thomas examined 12 ESL/EFL series of readers, they focused on physical features, text, and subject matter. They considered each series overall in terms of its readability, interest, and suitable audience. This overall evaluation included a ranking of the 12 series. The series with the highest overall scores were as follows: Heinemann Guided Readers, Longman New Method Supplementary Readers, Hutchinson Bulls-Eye, and Longman Structural Readers. But Hill and Thomas stressed that each series had some excellent books and that the best collection consisted of books from a variety of publishers. Hill and Thomas relied on trial and error and overall readability levels to place readers into levels. Their elementary-level books (their Level G) were based on a word list of about 300 entries and consisted of about 16 pages. Their intermediate-level books (Level E) were based on a word list of about 800 entries and consisted of about 48 pages. Their advanced-level books (Level A) were based on a word list of about 2200 entries and consisted of about 96 pages (p. 50). While Hill and Thomas's nine readability levels may be a helpful framework for selecting and grouping books to send out to their participating EFL schools, it may not be necessary to have as many levels in all collections since students can select books by first reading a few pages.

Limitations

All of these extensive reading approaches involve students reading outside of class. While the kind of reading materials varies, use of graded ESL/EFL readers is most common. Most researchers of extensive reading stress developing book collections made up of interesting

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books with attractive covers. But researchers of extensive reading rarely offer strategies that help students select books, motivate students to read, or integrate reading with speaking. Proponents of a Whole Language approach suggest that such integration is very important (Goodman, 1986). There is also no discussion of teachers monitoring the kind and amount of homework they assign so that students have time for extensive reading.

These concerns are important since students often tell us they do not have time to read. When they do read, many of them read slowly. For students who have the motivation and the time to regularly do pleasure reading on their own, an extensive reading program works; for students who are reluctant or inexperienced readers of English, an SSR program gives them more reading practice because they do some reading in school.

Sustained Silent Reading

While SSR is similar to extensive reading because it gives students reading practice, it also differs. SSR, introduced in the United States in the 1960s, has most widely been used with elementary school native English-speaking children who do pleasure reading in school. Children doing SSR read materials that they select and supply on their own. SSR does not take up very much school time since SSR sessions range from 30 minutes once a week to 10 to 30 minutes each school day (Krashen, 1985). Further, during the designated period, the teacher reads, too, so that children have a role model. This approach usually involves no class lending library, no record keeping, and no cost to the school district.[2]

When SSR is introduced to an ESL class, however, certain changes may be in order. If students cannot find suitable books because there is no SSR book collection, and if they are only given 10 minutes, they may not read enough to get hooked on a story. Therefore, some modifications are necessary if SSR is to be effective with ESL students. (These modifications are discussed in the section entitled, "Setting up an Adjunct SSR Program.")

SSR is based on the premise (Fader, 1976; Krashen, 1985; Smith, 1978; Williams, 1986) that students learn to read by reading materials that interest them and that this exposure to a lot of reading helps them acquire effective top-down processing strategies. Eskey and Grabe (1988) suggest that extensive reading is the only way students can build their bottom-up as well as their top-down processing skills. They point out that exercises cannot substitute for practice (p. 228). I make the same claim about SSR. Furthermore, SSR is supported by researchers who have examined ways to apply schema theory in ESL reading programs (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1988).

During the last 20 years, considerable research has been done on native speakers' exposure to SSR, much of which has been summarized by Krashen (1985) and Wiesendanger and Bierlem (1984), yet there is still no conclusive evidence that SSR improves students' reading ability. But Krashen suggestsd that "ten out of twelve studies [on SSR] can be interpreted as indicating that SSR is as good or better than regular programs for increasing language skills..." (Krashen, 1985, p. 93). Krashen notes that many studies are based on just a few months of exposure to SSR. Wiesendanger and Birlem (1984) offer additional explanations for the inconclusive findings. They note that sometimes participating teachers are not convinced that SSR is worthwhile, so in-service training may be needed for SSR to be effective.

Other researchers of ESL or EFL students' improvement in reading support SSR. Elley and Mangubhai (1983) found that elementary school students in Fiji given SSR of picture books improved more in language skills after a year than the control group. Based on their findings, the authors recommended having at least 150 well-chosen picture books. They found that simplified books were not necessary.

Hafiz and Tudor (1989) examined the effect of SSR (they called it extensive reading) on 16 Pakistani 10- to 11-year-old children in England. They found that "receptive and productive language capacities—especially in the area of accuracy of expression—can be substantively improved through simple pleasure reading" (p. 689). In their study, the SSR group met 1 hour daily after school for 12 weeks to read ESL/EFL readers. The group read from a collection of 104 available ESL/EFL readers provided by the researcher. The SSR group was made up of volunteers who had "very positive parental support for the project" (p. 7) which helped to maintain students' attendance in the program. Two control groups had no supplementary SSR. Hafiz and Tudor suggested that their study supported Krashen's Input Hypothesis (Krashen & Terrell, 1983) since students' regular SSR provided an "acquisition-oriented form of learning" (Hafiz & Tudor, p. 4).

Lipp (1988b) found no significant improvement on commercial reading (Nelson Reading Test) for intermediate students doing 8 weeks of adjunct SSR when contrasting them with a control group of ESL students spending the same amount of time with reading drills (SRA cards). However, the data also showed that doing reading drills could not be shown to be more effective than SSR, so we cannot reject SSR. Other researchers have already noted that at least 6 months of exposure to SSR may be needed before students show significant improvement on reading comprehension tests (Wiesendanger & Birlem, 1984).

Although research evidence on the effectiveness of SSR ranges from inconclusive to supporting, researchers have found an advantage of SSR: improvement in attitudes toward reading. Aranha (1985) found attitude improvement in Asian Indian children who were introduced to SSR, and Sadoski (1980) found attitude improvement in American high school students who were doing SSR in English.

Setting Up an Adjunct SSR Program

While SSR seems effortless, I have found that it takes careful planning and monitoring. While SSR can be implemented in an ESL class with a classroom teacher setting up a class lending library, I will discuss implementing it in a reading lab in which a lab coordinator structures the program, selects the reading materials, and supervises the staff. The amount of time that students spend in a lab can vary. At the American English Institute at California State University, Fresno intermediate-level students have three 50-minute lab classes a week for 12 weeks each semester. Twice a week of SSR lab may be sufficient for advanced students who are able to read on their own time. In this section I will discuss the physical setup and the staffing of an SSR program. I will also offer sugestions for lab activities and for selecting and building an SSR collection and strategies for motivating students.

Before discussing these topics, let me offer some suggestions which are specific to integrating SSR into an ESL class in contrast to an English language arts class for native speakers. First, this modified SSR approach for ESL integrates reading and writing. This integration may help students in their content area classes. In addition, unlike SSR for native speakers, this program provides most of the reading materials, and lab staff talk about the materials to build students' interest. The collection of books is not limited to graded ESL/EFL readers and the lab monitors do not always read during the SSR period.

While the SSR activities that are described make up at least 80% of students' reading lab activities, the lab offers other materials as well. Supplementary lab materials include *Timed Readings* (Jamestown Publishers), speed reading exercises, SRA Power Builder cards (but students are asked to complete only the comprehension questions so that they get more reading practice), and read-along tapes that accompany a few written texts. In addition, teachers and students are encouraged to bring in and talk about newspaper and magazine articles that interest them.

The Physical Set Up

Having a room with comfortable seating and attractive displays of books and other reading materials is preferable for SSR. But SSR can be done in a regular classroom: Reading materials are carried in a box to the class.

Staffing

An SSR lab can be staffed with lab monitors who are graduate students. They need to be trained as to why SSR is important, how SSR differs from regular reading class activities, how SSR can be introduced to students, and what monitors can do to facilitate and motivate students' SSR. Monitors need to be given summaries of many of the books in the collection. SSR is more successful when it is offered by ESL students' reading teachers.

Introducing SSR to Students

The introduction of SSR to students should include the following:

(a) discussing why reading in English is important;

(b) countering possible objections of students to SSR;

(c) giving book talks (brief descriptions of selected books); and

(d) having students select books to read.

It is necessary to introduce students to the importance of reading through a brief discussion. To counter possible objections to SSR, teachers need to mention research which suggests that pleasure reading can lead to improvement in reading comprehension, vocabulary, grammatical development, and writing style (Krashen, 1985) and that they will not necessarily be aware of this linguistic growth.

Another part of the SSR orientation—the book talks—is effective when the presenter is familiar with many books in the collection. To prepare for book talks, it is best to read some of the books or at least to read brief reviews or summaries of them. When giving a book talk, the instructor should put out at least twice as many books as there are students in class, talk about 10 of them in some detail, and briefly describe about 10 additional ones. During a book talk, the instructor should hold up a book, write the title on the board, and tell students about the book. Use of gestures, body movement, the chalk board, and some props make the talks clearer and interesting. When presenting each book, the teacher must try to help students understand key words in the text. When listening to book talks, students write down the titles of any books they want to read. See Appendix A for a description of a sample book talk.

After the book talks, students need an opportunity to look at the books more closely. They can look inside books to see if they can make sense of the ones they are most interested in. By the end of the period, students should turn in a list of three books they want to read. The lab monitor selects one of the three books for each student. This way everyone can begin with a book that interests him or her. Students check out books during the next SSR period.

Integrating SSR with Journal and Summary Writing

During the next SSR period, students are given lab folders which include journal entry pages and their reading graph (see Appendix B). They also receive a written and oral book report worksheet which can be very similar to the one suggested by Stoller (p. 66). Students read and are encouraged to use a dictionary as little as possible.

During the last 5 to 10 minutes of each period, they write journal entries about their reading. Their journal entries consist of very brief summaries and comments about their reading. Students are encouraged to look in the book while writing their journal entries but some may not want to. At the end of the period, students record the number of pages they read on their journal page and on their reading graph, and they respond to questions about the book: Was it interesting? Was it hard to understand? These activities—reading, writing journal entries, evaluating the book, and keeping track of progress—continue throughout the semester. Students are encouraged to read their books at home and enter the number of pages they read on their own on their reading graphs. Lab monitors check students' folders at least once a week.

In the second or third week, students are introduced to the oral and written report worksheets. Students are asked to write several drafts of a summary about one book during each semester. After students write first drafts of a summary, the lab monitor has a conference with them and helps them revise summaries for content. Appendix C shows two drafts of one student's summary. In addition, students are encouraged to make a short oral presentation about a book they liked. Before students give oral presentations, they complete an oral presentation worksheet.

Motivating Students

To increase students' motivation, the instructor can give students achievement ribbons as soon as they finish their first book. In addition, once a week stickers, which can be attached to their ribbons or their reading graphs, can be awarded to students for each additional book they have completed. When these awards are given out, the recipients can be recognized in class. After students have completed at least three books, each class can also come up with a list of favorite books which is then exchanged with another class. But the most important source of motivation is having a big enough collection of well-liked books. If a student gets hooked on a book, he or she will tell friends about it.

The lab staff meets regularly to come up with additional activities that result in students talking about their reading in small groups; this kind of sharing helps maintain students' interest in SSR.

Building and Managing an SSR Collection

To build a collection, instructors should have students complete a reading interest survey (see Appendix D). The compiled data can be used to select books (Lipp, 1988a). If waiting for class questionnaire results delays book orders too much, the instructor can consult the results of a study of the reading interests of more than 200 university-bound foreign students. In this study, the following genres of books received the highest ratings: world problems, sports, travel to other countries, mystery, adventure, academic subjects, and historical novels. The books much liked by a smaller group of students were science fiction, travel in the United States, romance, famous people, and cars and mechanics (Lipp & Wheeler, 1989). This study shows that having a variety of genres of fiction and nonfiction books is important.

To build a collection of books for intermediate-level students, an instructor can select from the following kinds of books: (a) paperback graded readers specifically written for ESL/EFL students (mostly fiction is available), (b) high-interest, low-reading-level books written for American students reading below grade level, and (c) children's literature (including a few carefully chosen picture books). For a few students, unsimplified adolescent and adult fiction books are suitable, but for most intermediate-level students they are too difficult.

Intermediate-level students appreciate illustrated books that are under 150 pages in length. These guidelines about book length are consistent with ESL students' self-reported preferred book lengths. A study of intensive English program students found that the largest number of low-intermediate students preferred books with fewer than 50 pages in length (Lipp & Wheeler, 1989). Almost all of these students preferred illustrated books.

An instructor can use book lists such as the California State Department of Education's *Recommended Readings in Literature K-8* (1986) and Brown's (1988) *A World of Books: An Annotated Reading List for ESL/EFL Students* to locate titles. However, Brown's book includes very few books that are under 100 pages, so it is more helpful when selecting books for advanced students. Children's literature publishers' catalogs like Scholastic's are useful for locating good, unsimplified books. Appendix E provides an annotated list of books that are favorites of low- to high-intermediate ESL students.

The list does not include many books with pictures because of their high price. The picture books that work best are about adult characters and are illustrated in a way that is not insulting to most adults. Picture books about folk tales are additional sources of illustrated, unsimplified books (Lipp, 1989).

When primarily assembling a collection of books to lend to students, a teacher should allow at least two titles per student, but four (or more) books per student is best (Nuttall, 1982). Almost all SSR and extensive reading program designers divide their book collection by level so that students can more readily find suitable books. For students with TOEFL scores under 500, Bamford (1984) recommends six classifications of books. Hill and Thomas (1988) suggest nine groupings. We use three categories: low or basic, consisting of illustrated books under 50 pages; intermediate, consisting of books 50 to 130 pages usually with illustrations in each chapter; and advanced, consisting of books 100 to 230 pages, many of which are without illustrations and are unsimplified. Intermediate-level students usually select books in the first two categories.

Besides assembling a book collection, dividing it into levels, and setting up borrowing procedures, the instructor also needs to weed out books that remain unread, reorder books that are missing or worn out, and order new titles. Some funds and administrative time are needed to maintain an SSR collection.

The SSR program described in this paper has been classroom tested with intermediate university-bound intensive English program students for several years. A similar program can be offered to adult school students and to limited-English-proficient school children. However, these students' reading interests should be identified first so that the book collection is adjusted to reflect readers' interests. With inexperienced or reluctant readers, the amount of time devoted to each SSR period and the frequency of SSR periods can start small and gradually increase. Thus, SSR can help all ESL students become better readers. ■

Appendix A

A Sample Book Talk

A New Life, by Roy Sorrells, is an adventure story. A young couple, who are about your age, are ice skating in the mountains when it begins to snow. The young man wants to return home because he is worried that his car will be damaged if they get stuck in a snow storm. As they are leaving, they notice a trail of blood. (Stop to make sure that everyone understands *trail* and *blood.*)

They follow the drops of blood and find a man who is hurt. He tells them that he had a motorcycle accident and tried to walk to get help but was too weak. He explains that his neighbor, who lives across the lake from where they are, is about to have a baby, so he went to get a doctor.

The young couple discusses what they will do. The man worries about his car, but his girlfriend wants to help the hurt man's neighbor because she is a nursing student and knows how to deliver a baby. What do you think they should do? (Ask for a few opinions.)

They go to the lake, which they think about crossing. But they don't know if the ice will be thick enough to hold their weight.

Read the book to find out what happens to the couple, the hurt man and his neighbor. (In previous semesters, some students identified this book as their favorite.)

Appendix B

Sample Journal Page

Date: ______________ Pages read: ______________

Write a few sentences about the story. Also, tell if you like the story and if it reminds you of an personal experiences.

The book that I am reading is . . .

__ too hard __ a little hard __ about right __ a little easy __ too easy

The book that I am reading is . . .

__ boring __ not very intersting __ OK __ interesting __very interesting

Appendix C

Sample Student Drafts of a Summary of Peril on the Road *by Judith A. Green*

1st Draft

They, Jeff and Rita, were getting married and setting out on their big trip. They were going to go to California from New York by motorcycle in two weeks. During their trip, they had a lot of problems, for instance, they lost their way, they couldn't go into some restaurants for Mop or their dog Mop dead and so on. But they enjoyed their trip and had a good memory. I think they would have been living together in peace.

Note. The lab monitor noted that the key characters were identified and the main events—traveling westward—were clear. She also pointed out that this summary discussed the different places where Jeff and Rita went, but it did not discuss why the book was a mystery.)

Revision

Jeff and Rita were getting married and setting out on their big trip. They were going to go to California from New York by a motorcycle in two weeks. During their trip, they had a lot of problems. For example, they couldn't go into some restaurant for their dog, or especially they were followed by two robber because two robber misunderstood them as police. So they were almost killed by them. But their dog helped them…

Note. The lab monitor asked the writer to add a personal reaction to the summary.

Appendix D

Sample Reading Interest Inventory

Name: ____________ Native Language: ____________ Country: ________

Level: ________ Date: ______ Age: _____ Sex: _ Male _ Female

Status: _ New _ Returning

1. Of the following subjects, which ones would you like to read about for pleasure.

Mark your choices with an (X).

_ adventure
_ historical novels
_ spy
_ mystery
_ science-fiction
_ western
_ romance
_ classics: famous titles
_ career stories/occupations
_ problems of teenagers
_ nature stories
_ health and fitness
_ fashion
_ food
_ children's literature
_ celebrities (actors, pop singers)
_ famous people: biographies and autobiographies
_ sports
_ animals
_ academic subjects Which one? ____________
_ travel in the U.S.
_ travel in other countries
_ world problems (hunger, energy, population growth)
_ current events (the news)
_ religion
_ electronics
_ cars and mechanics
_ scientific studies
_ business

2. Of the subjects that you chose above, put a second (X) next to the *three* subjects that interest you the most.

Appendix E

Graded ESL Readers

Alexander, L. G. (1989). *K's First Case.* New York: Longman.
K, a young detective, solves a murder mystery.

Burton, S. H. (1979). *Eight Ghost Stories.* New York: Longman.
These short ghost stories take place in England.

Burnett, Frances Hodgson. (1975). *The Secret Garden.* (simplified). New York: Longman.
Mary Lennox, sent to live on her uncle's estate in England, discovers a garden, makes new friends, and adjusts to her new home.

Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan. (1980). *The Speckled Band* (simplified). St. Paul: EMC Corporation.
Helen is about to get married, but she is terrified because she has heard a low whistle in her bedroom at night. It is the same sound that her sister heard before she mysteriously died just before her wedding.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Hitch, Norma S. (1988). *Passport to America: California Discovery.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Michael hears about a gold mine from Nancy. Nancy's roommate's brother is trying to explore it, but some other people are determined to keep everyone away from it.

Milne, John. (1975). *Road to Nowhere.* London: Heinemann.

In this adventure, a young Moslem living in a traditional village wants to marry a wealthy villager's daughter. The government wants to build a road which some people oppose because they don't want their village to change.

High-Interest and Low-Reading-Level Books

Bradley, Steve. (1985). *The Sure Thing.* Belmont, CA: Pitman (Distributed by Fearon).

A young woman jockey will ride on the fastest race horse, Whirlwind. A gambler tries to bribe her to hold Whirlwind back when racing; her boyfriend wants her to accept the bribe.

Green, Judith A. (1981). *The Secret of Room 401.* Providence, RI: Jamestown Publishers. (Also good is *Peril on the Road* by the same author and publisher. Refer to Appendix C for a student summary. These books include exercises which we ask students to ignore.)

Rick Tardif is awake in his hospital room when he notices that every night someone raises and lowers his window shade. Rick and another patient keep watch over the hospital parking lot to figure out the meaning of the signal.

Smith, Shannon M. (1984). *Hobo Bridges.* Castro Valley, CA: Quercus Corporation.

Hobo Bridges comes across a dead man and picks up a note and a gun that are next to the man. Later he realizes that his fingerprints are now on the gun, so he knows he must find the real murderer. He thinks the note may help him.

Sorrels, Roy. (1982). *A New Life.* New York: Sundownbooks (New Readers Press/Laubach).

Children's Literature (Books with themes adults can relate to)

Blume, Judy. (1980). *Superfudge.* New York: Dell.

Peter, a 12-year-old and his brother, Fudge, a 4-year-old have to adjust to having a baby sister and to moving to a new city. This book includes many funny episodes about the lives of the Hatchers, a traditional family.

Buck, Pearl. (1986). *The Big Wave.* New York: Harper Trophy.

This story takes place in rural Japan where Kino and his friend Jiya, both boys, hear about the big wave. Later in the story the disaster strikes, and Kino learns to accept the consequences.

Cleary, Beverly. (1983). *Dear Mr. Henshaw.* New York: Dell.

Through Leigh's letters to a children's book writer and later through Leigh's journal entries, readers learn about a family that is adjusting to divorce and about Leigh's school life.

MacLachlan, Patricia. (1985). *Sarah, Plain and Tall.* New York: Harper Trophy.

A rural family needs someone to fill their dead mother's place. After the father puts an ad in a paper, the children wonder who will come to live with them.

Dr. Seuss. (1986). *You're Only Old Once: A Book for Obsolete Children*. New York: Random House.

A humorous picture book about an old man who has to visit several medical specialists.

White, E. B. (1980). *Charlotte's Web*. New York: Harper Trophy.

A young pig is saved from being butchered by the magical skills of a gray spider, Charlotte, and by Fern, the farmer's daughter.

Snyder, Dianne. (1988). *The Boy of the Three-Year Nap*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

This picture book is about a poor lazy boy who devises a plan that lets him marry his wealthy neighbor's daughter. It is based on a traditional Japanese folktale.

Footnotes

[1] Anyone planning to purchase ESL/EFL readers can avoid purchasing books that later go unread by referring to Bamford's graded reader evaluations. Of course, his article does not evaluate unsimplified books or books developed for native speakers who are reluctant readers.

[2] When SSR is introduced in an ESL class certain changes may be in order. If students can't find suitable books because there is no SSR book collection, and if they are only given 10 minutes, they may not read enough to get hooked on a story. Therefore, some modifications are necessary if SSR is to be effective. These modifications are discussed in the section entitled, "Setting Up an Adjunct SSR Program."

[3] The author wishes to thank Lisa Heberlein for ideas which led to the development of the reading graph in Appendix B.

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The Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

Writing Performance: A Class Act

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Most people will not become great chefs but are, nonetheless, capable of learning basic cooking skills through books, observation, and practice. Likewise, most people will not become great writers but are capable of learning basic writing skills. Writing texts may be more difficult to follow than cookbooks, but they do provide sample essays completed by students or professional writers along with instructions on how to produce a similar essay of one's own. They often include explanations and sample results of techniques used in the process of writing essays (e.g., clustering, outlining, editing). Thus, students of writing are exposed to models of completed essays and output from writing process techniques accompanied by explanations and instructions on how to write. Then, they get to practice.

But how about observing the living process of writing? How about learning from a writer writing, as we might learn from a cook cooking?

Because I enjoy learning by watching and mimicking as well as by reading, I have been exploring ways in which I can model the writing process in my classroom in the context of the lesson. I am the writer-in-residence in my classroom. Since the process of my completing a piece of writing is a long one and it is not practical for students to sit and observe me from start to finish, I select parts of the process which are easily illustrated in class. Some examples are included below.

To model prewriting, I have the students give me a topic on which to brainstorm on the blackboard or overhead projector, eventually coming up with a thesis. Taking a thesis, I brainstorm on the contents of my composition, narrowing down my main points and organizing by numbering the points or by clustering. Beginning with a few main points, I list ideas for supporting details. I can do the same type of exercise using freewriting, underlining key words, and looping back to freewrite on these ideas, thereby limiting a topic. Such exercises take about 20 minutes and are followed by the students' doing the same as a class, in groups, or individually as appropriate.

To model revision and editing, I copy and distribute different stages of a piece of my writing which we go through as a class to better understand the choices a writer must make during revision. I also solicit feedback from the students either in groups or individually, on comment sheets. When writing their own compositions, they each must do three drafts and share their work in small groups for both written and oral feedback. My sharing my work provides a framework for them to share theirs with their classmates, and the class ultimately produces a booklet of our selected writings.

I also share excerpts from my journal. Sharing my journal strengthens the bond between my students and me, thereby building trust. This is necessary if I expect students to expose themselves on paper. After all, I read their journals and require them to share with neighbors in class. Sharing my journal also lets them see my ruminations on writing as well as seeds of ideas for some of my written pieces. They, in turn, are asked to write about their writing process and experiences and to collect ideas for compositions from their journal entries, which include personal notes, responses to readings, thoughts on writing, and comments on the class.

Most importantly, I write in class when students do and then read my work aloud, often revising as I go along. This is very effectively done if I put my writing on the overhead. Students' writing can also be put on the overhead, and once they get used to the idea of writing and then reading aloud, most of them enjoy it. An added benefit of my active participation in the writing class is that the class is more enjoyable for me—I get to write and get feedback more often. I get to share the responsibility of evaluating writing, I get to know my students better—and so I'm more animated and enthusiastic about the class. This has a positive effect on the students' attitude about writing. We become a community of writers.

Presenting ourselves to our students as models of what we are teaching them to do or be is nothing new. In that respect, the teacher-student relationship in the writing class is like the master-apprentice relationship in the skills trades. However, this analogy is not a perfect one since we see our students for only a limited number of hours per week, and they generally have aspirations outside of the field of writing. Still, I have found that my approaching the task of teaching composition to ESL students at the community college as if my students were novice writers apprenticed to me, their *maestro* (*teacher*,in Italian), has enlivened the writing class and improved my teaching and their learning. And that's the bottom line. ■

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Journals Revisited: Student-Centered Materials for Teaching Writing

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In his text, *Designing Tasks for the Communicative Classroom*, David Nunan (1989) points out that "One particular aspect of humanistic education which has attracted a good deal of interest in recent years has been the incorporation of learner-centered principles into the language classroom" (p. 94). While seeking ways to make their classes both more communicative and more learner-centered, teachers at San Francisco State University have recently been using student journals and a responsive teacher's journal letter in their ESL composition classes. Spack and Sadow (December 1983), in an article in the *TESOL Quarterly*, recommend such a practice, "in which the teacher and students exchange journals which have a common general focus of ESL writing class issues and individual reactions relevant to them" (p. 579-580). Accordingly, the authors have found that journal entries can be a source of excellent, student-generated, classroom materials for teaching literary analysis, rhetorical form, and grammar.

In a composition class that is approximately equivalent to a college freshman composition course, student journal entries are part of the course materials, along with the text *Literary Contexts for ESL Writers: Connecting Form and Meaning* (Gajdusek & van Dommelen, 1988). The goal of the course is to enable students to write interesting compositions in which they make and support valid points in response to short pieces of authentic literature. We assist students in writing appropriate introductions and conclusions but do not instruct them directly in specific rhetorical forms as in classes in which the rhetorical form is the basis for the composition assignments. In addition, we hold students responsible for accuracy in using particular grammatical structures that we review with each literary passage. By using student journal entries to achieve each of these purposes, we find that the class becomes much more student centered than if students do all the preparation for their writing assignments from their textbooks.

At the beginning of the course, we explain to the students our expectations with regard to the journals. We point out that working journals are a means of sharing interesting and new ideas with others and that students will be writing their journals to share with not only their teacher, but also their classmates. Spack and Sadow (1983) state that "The sharing of selected journal entries with the group by means of the teachers' journals extends and enriches the interaction and leads to a more dynamic group awareness and exchange of ideas" (p. 580) We, therefore, tell our students that we will quote excerpts from their journals in our journal letters; however, we always permit them to note at the end of their journal entries if they do not wish to be quoted and then are careful to respect their requests. (As it turns out, they do this only on very rare occasions.) Also, as Spack and Sadow recommend, we edit quoted excerpts for grammar, except occasionally for the particular grammar point we are reviewing. We usually ask a student's permission to use a particular passage to work on and have never met with any resistance or embarrassment since the students are well aware, from peer reading each others' writing assignments, that most of their classmates make similar errors. In fact, regardless of the subsequent class discussion which never focuses on the writer himself or herself, students are generally pleased and proud to have their ideas included in the teacher's weekly journal letter.

Process of Producing Journal Letters

Here is how our student journal entries, in conjunction with the teacher's journal letter, become an integral part of our composition course materials. First, we decide which rhetorical and grammatical structures are most important for our students to review in the time available. Then we select short pieces of literature with themes that we believe our students would be interested in responding to. For this article, we use as an example "Appointment in Samarra," a short story showing the interplay of fate and free will, by Somerset Maugham (see Appendix).

Having decided on a particular passage, we carefully select topics for the journal entries in order to elicit the information and structures that students will need to use in their writing assignment on that passage. Literary points that students can explore might include the author's point of view, the theme, the characters, and their relationships to one another. At the same time, we also take into consideration rhetorical forms, such as summarizing, describing, and comparing/contrasting, as well as any targeted grammatical structures that the writing assignment may call for. For "Appointment in Samarra," in addition to points for literary analysis, we chose summarizing as the rhetorical focus and reported speech as the grammar point. Some sample journal topics include:

1. Which do you believe in, fate or free will? Give an example from your own experience to support your belief.
2. What is the author's attitude toward fate and free will?
3. Why do you think the master wasn't afraid of death?
4. Explain the irony in "Appointment in Samarra."

After the students have read the passage and become familiar with the vocabulary, we ask them to select two topics from the list for their weekly journal entries, which they write as homework. We advise them that we will evaluate their journal entries on the basis of innovative, clearly expressed and supported ideas, rather than on grammatical accuracy. When we receive the journal entries, we respond with written comments to each one and, at the same time, select those entries with content relevant to the literary, rhetorical, or grammatical features we have targeted. Then we write a letter to the class as a whole, addressed "Dear Students," in which we respond generally to the students' journal entries and introduce the selected excerpts. We edit these excerpts in a similar way to that suggested by Spack and Sadow (1983); that is, we use ellipsis for omitted words and brackets for added words, and we correct spelling errors. Occasionally, with the student's permission, we may use writing that can be improved either rhetorically or grammatically. Then we duplicate the letter and hand it out to the students.

We usually start our class discussion of the excerpts quoted in the letter with the interpretation of ideas in the literary passsage and move on to further exploration of related ideas. Then, we turn our attention to rhetorical form and its relationship to the current student writing assignment. Finally, we go over pieces of discourse in order to review targeted grammatical structures.

As an example, we include here a student journal entry written in response to the second topic above and then show how we have used it to teach the various points that we have mentioned.

> The story, "Appointment in Samarra," describes a merchant who sent his servant to market to buy provisions. When the servant was in the market-place, he saw Death. The servant was scared because [he thought that] Death had made a threatening gesture at him. He went back to his master immediately and asked him could he borrow his horse. As soon as he got the horse, he fled to Samarra. After he left, the merchant went down to the market-place and saw Death still there. He asked Death why she had made a threatening gesture at his servant, and Death replied that it was not a threatening gesture. She was surprised to see the servant in Bagdad because she had an appointment with the servant that night in Samarra.

> I think the writer believed in fate because he expressed this idea in the story. The servant thought that he would not see Death if he went to Samarra but he actually went to the place where he would die. After he left Bagdad, the servant might have thought that he would not die; however, fate was leading him to meet Death. Thus, we can infer that the writer believed in fate and that one can never escape from it.

In this instance, we began our class with a discussion of the student's comments about Maugham's apparent belief in fate, which served as a starting point for examining the roles of the master and servant, and more generally, people's attitudes toward fate and free will. The students then talked about the differing attitudes of the master and servant toward fate and free will. (Why wasn't the master afraid of Death? What was the significance of the designations *Master* and *servant*?) Discussion naturally moved to the roles that students perceived fate and free will play in their various cultures and their own lives. As students participated in the discussion, they expanded on all these ideas and, consequently, became more interested in and enthusiastic about incorporating them into their writing assignments.

From the rhetorical point of view, the first paragraph of the student excerpt provides a good example of a summary; however, it does not begin with an introductory sentence that states the main idea of the passage. Therefore, we asked students to consider what the reader's expectations might be upon reading the present beginning sentence and how we might better prepare readers to understand what the passage is about. They quickly suggested that it should begin with a sentence that stated the main idea of the passage—the idea they had, in fact, just been discussing. The students then wrote several versions of the first two sentences on the blackboard in order to express the main idea as concisely as possible and, at the same time, to establish a connection between the sentences. The easiest way for them to make this transition turned out to be by repeating the word *story*. Here is what they came up with:

> In the story, "Appointment in Samarra," the author implies that everyone has a predetermined destiny and that there is nothing a person can do to change it. The story begins when a servant was sent by his master to buy merchandise at a market place in Bagdad.

Since the writing assignment for "Appointment in Samarra" calls for a summary of the passage, the students need to make use of reported speech; therefore, we reviewed the relevant rules at this point. In this instance, we used the reported speech sentences in the above summary as examples. We asked the students to find examples of reported speech and write them on the board, at the same time indicating problems they could see. Their examples follow:

reported yes/no question: *asked him could he borrow his horse*

reported *wh*-question: *asked Death why she had made a threatening gesture*

reported statement: *replied that it was not a threatening gesture (incorrect tense)*

We then asked the students if it was accurate to write, *The servant asked him could he borrow his horse*, and, if not, why not. They were able to remind one another that they needed to use the signal words *if* or *whether* to report yes/no questions, and that they had to use statement word order. We also discussed the use of the past perfect tense in reported questions, and students pointed out that, in formal writing, it is usually appropriate to report a question or statement originally expressed in the past tense in the past perfect so that the time references are clear. The story uses the past tense to describe Death's actions: *She looked at me and made a threatening gesture*. Following the rule they had just applied, students could see that it was appropriate to use the past perfect in the reported statement, as well as the reported question. Finally, we applied this same rule to the sentence which follows in the student excerpt, *She was surprised to see the servant in Bagdad*, changing *was* to *had been*. From these examples, students were able to see the value of applying grammar rules contextually rather than dealing with them in unrelated sentences and, at the same time, more motivated to learn the rules since, without this knowledge, they might have been unable to write their papers accurately.

Our way of using the above student excerpt served to prepare the students for their related writing assignment and, we believe, definitely contributed to the quality of the papers we eventually received. Of course, for this discussion we chose examples from our student's journal entry to cover the area we considered important for our particular assignment, but other equally valid points could have been selected depending upon the learners' needs.

This procedure for using students' writing can help them learn a variety of points involved in writing compositions and can be adapted to almost any level. Using the students' own writing as a source of class materials increases students' sense that their ideas are important and worthy of publication and comment, heightens their interest and involvement in learning, and thus contributes to a more student-centered class environment. ■

Appendix

Appointment in Samarra

W. Somerset Maugham

Death speaks: There was a merchant in Bagdad who sent his servant to buy provisions and in a little while the servant came back, white and trembling, and said, Master, just now when I was in the market place I was jostled by a woman in the crowd and when I turned I saw it was Death that jostled me. She looked at me and made a threatening gesture, now lend me your horse, and I will ride away from this city and avoid my fate. I will go to Samarra and there Death will not find me. The merchant lent him his horse, and the servant mounted it, and he dug his spurs in its flanks and as fast as the horse could gallop he went. Then the merchant went down to the market place and he saw me standing in the crowd and he came to me and said, Why did you make a threatening gesture to my servant when you saw him this morning? That was not a threatening gesture, I said; it was only a start of surprise. I was astonished to see him in Bagdad, for I had an appointment with him tonight in Samarra.

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The CATESOL Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

The Spoken English Proficiency of International Graduates from California MATESL Programs

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The master's degree is generally acknowledged to be the "industry standard" in the field of Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL). The English proficiency of all ESL teachers with an MA in TESL is thus generally presumed to be high in all four skills: reading, writing, listening comprehension, and speaking. However, the spoken English proficiency of a recent international graduate from a California master's in TESL program was recently called into question when she was denied employment at a California community college because her spoken English proficiency was too low. While this is as yet an isolated situation, it is one that is likely to become more common in the near future. This case is important because it points out a potential weakness in the graduation standards of our MATESL programs.

Survey of MATESL Programs

In December, 1989, as CATESOL College/University Level chair, I sent a survey concerning the issue of spoken English proficiency to all 18 MATESL programs in California and Nevada. The part objective, part open-ended questionnaire asked for demographic data concerning the average number of domestic and international students for the 1988-89 academic year, the program's admission and graduation requirements, and opinions and solutions concerning the issue of spoken English proficiency. Every program responded, two-thirds of the respondents being directors or coordinators of the MATESL programs, and all but one of the remainder professors in the MATESL program.

The survey revealed that the number of international students in MATESL programs is increasing and that concern for the spoken English proficiency of the nonnative speakers of English is growing in proportion to the number of international students in these programs. Thirty percent of the programs—invariably those that had higher numbers of international students—considered it to be an increasing or a major problem. The remaining 70% thought that it was only a minor problem because (a) most students were already fluent, (b) the MATESL program itself provided sufficient opportunity to improve spoken proficiency, and (c) most international MATESL graduates return to their native countries.

Some of the programs seem to have solved or at least reduced the problem by increasing their admission standards for international students. Eighty percent (15) of the programs require a TOEFL score for admission. Of these, 1 requires a TOEFL score of 500, 10 require a score of 550, 3 require a score of 600, and 1 has just raised its minimum admission score from 550 to 570. Those requiring a 600 score unanimously agreed that spoken proficiency was either not a problem or at most a minor one. However, these all have a relatively small percentage of international students, and, despite the potential solution that the 600 TOEFL admission score suggests, it would probably not be acceptable to programs with a high proportion of international students as it might reduce enrollment. None of the programs required a Test of Spoken English (TSE) score and only 2 of the 19 programs surveyed use an oral interview in the admission process.

In responding to the notion of increasing the spoken proficiency requirement for graduation, many of the respondents thought that it would reduce the enrollment of international students or that it might lead to a bottleneck of students who had completed everything but the spoken proficiency requirement. One pointed out that it might be discriminatory to make international students take a test that native speakers were not required to take. Another suggested that a two-fold program might be the answer: (a) an MATESL for native speakers of English and (b) a TESL certificate for people returning to their home countries.

Finally, the survey asked the participants to respond to four proposed solutions. The responses, from the most positive to the least positive, were: (a) a required score of 250 on the TSE for graduation, (b) passing a departmental oral examination, (c) passing a high-level course in spoken proficiency, and (d) achieving a Foreign Service Institute (FSI) rating of *3+* or higher.

Issues Raised at the CATESOL College/University Rap Session

Responses to the Survey Results

The results described above were presented at the CATESOL College/University Level Rap Session held in Los Angeles in March, 1990. Some of the participants at this session agreed that many foreign students were indeed already fluent but that this was not the case for all. They also agreed that the fluency of some of the students did indeed improve in the course of their studies. However, some participants stated that the MA program was not the place to improve spoken English proficiency because a prospective international student should have developed spoken proficiency prior to entering such a program. These divergent views illustrate the conflict that is bound to arise between the desire to increase the size of a program and the desire to increase (or maintain) admission and graduation standards. Although many international MATESL students do return to teach in their home countries, it was pointed out that the MA degree contains no limitation to its use, no statement that says, "Valid only outside the U.S." An MATESL must be honored wherever the bearer applies for work. In light of this, the proposal to introduce two tracks, a MATESL for those with advanced spoken proficiency and a TESL certificate for international students returning to their native countries seemed an attractive idea.

The proposed solutions preferred by the questionnaire respondents did not generate ready agreement by the session participants. The TSE was criticized as being a poor indicator of spoken proficiency because the testee has to speak into a tape recorder without engaging in a realistic conversational exchange. A high-level course in spoken proficiency was found interesting, but some wondered if there was sufficient funding for such a course. Finally, the FSI rating of *3+* or higher, which the questionnaire respondents found the least practicable (probably because the majority were not aware of what it entailed), was favored by many of the session participants, especially when it was presented as a rating that could be independent of the MA degree and not necessarily a requirement for graduation. In other words, a potential employer could ask an applicant not only for an MATESL but also for an official FSI rating. This would remove the problem of discrimination in the MATESL programs and would allow the employer the option of setting spoken proficiency standards.

Analogy to the Problems of International Teaching Assistants

Because of the similarity between the oral proficiency required of MATESL graduates and that required of international teaching assistants (ITAs), in the second half of the College/University Level Rap Session, Janet Goodwin (UCLA) presented her work on the assessment of the oral proficiency of ITAs. Her work is a response to native-speaker student complaints about the lack of intelligibility of their nonnative-English-speaking instructors, complaints that led to California Assembly Resolution 41, Chapter 103 (1987), which requires teaching assistants at the University of California "to demonstrate competence in oral communication." Since international MATESL graduates and ITAs share similar needs for improved oral communication skills, the procedure for assessing ITAs at UCLA shows promise for international MATESL graduates as well.

In response to Resolution 41, UCLA introduced an oral proficiency test for nonnative-English-speaking TAs in which four separate tasks are evaluated in seven subskill areas. The tasks include (a) reading aloud, (b) giving a spontaneous 1-minute presentation, (c) giving a prepared presentation, and (d) simulating office hours with informal discussion. Although not all are appropriate for every task, the seven subskill areas include (a) pronunciation, (b) speech flow, (c) grammar, (d) vocabulary, (e) organization, (f) listening comprehension, and (g) question handling. A rating scale of from 1 to 4 points allows an assessment in each of the relevant areas. The test is administered by trained raters.

A Possible Assessment Instrument

The UCLA oral proficiency test generated considerable interest among the session participants. After a lively discussion, it was agreed that an adaptation of UCLA's spoken proficiency profile might be implemented. For example, a prospective MATESL graduate, whether native or nonnative, could be required to give an ESL lesson before a video camera. The detailed aspects of this lesson (e.g., the amount of spontaneous vs. prepared material, performance in a studio vs. before a live class, multiple "takes" vs. taped at one time) would have to be worked out, but the videotape could be evaluated using something like UCLA's speaking performance scale. A minimum standard could be established for graduation from a MATESL program, and a student who failed to pass would be directed to a class devoted to improving spoken proficiency at the graduate level and required to generate a new tape.

The advantages of such a solution to the spoken proficiency of international MATESL graduates would be that all students would have to generate a videotape, not just international students. This would remove the problem of discrimination. Furthermore, the videotape could serve as the basis for study and improvement in the graduate spoken proficiency course. Ultimately, a personal copy of the videotape might be given to each student for use in applying for a job. If this were to be implemented, a qualifying videotape might even come to be an accepted feature of application for an ESL position in California and Nevada, which might well become models for the entire country. ■

The CATESOL Journal   CATESOL EXCHANGE

ESL in the California State University: Who Are We? And Where Will We Go?

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In 1988 California State University (CSU) established the CSU Institute for Teaching and Learning, designed to assist faculty in teaching within their disciplines. A major activity of the Institute is a yearly conference, organized by the Institute's Dean Helen Roberts, to develop a systemwide research and development agenda for teaching and learning in selected disciplines. For the spring, 1990 conference, the Institute identified economics, English as a second language, foreign languages, and sociology as the four disciplines of focus. The Institute funded two coordinators for each discipline to work throughout the semester developing the conference program. Patricia Nichols, SJSU, and Ann Johns, SDSU, were coordinators for ESL. In addition, the Institute sponsored one representative from each discipline from each campus. Many campuses funded additional representatives. Thus, the conference in April-May brought together 38 ESL faculty, who met on the Queen Mary in Long Beach for two days in intensive discussion on the nature of their discipline within the CSU system, on what they plan to achieve for their discipline (and particularly their students), and on how they plan to go about it. I attended the conference as a representative of CATESOL.

This was a unique opportunity for ESL professionals to get together. But it was also a unique opportunity for CSU ESL professionals to talk to CSU administrators and faculty from other disciplines—for, as Patricia Nichols noted in her closing remarks to all conference participants, because of the increasing numbers of ESL students in California, teachers in other disciplines will not be able to achieve their goals unless ESL professionals are able to do their job well.

In general sessions it became clear that we needed to determine how we in ESL see ourselves as a discipline. We asked questions such as: Who are our clientele? What are their needs in the CSU? To answer these questions, we struggled over possible differences between ESL/EFL learners; over differences between recently arrived immigrants and English-dominant bilingual students; over differing needs among the Asian student population (especially over the issue of "the model minority"). Our thinking was expanded by the presentations given by Hideko Bannai (USC) and Ray Lou (SJSU) from the CSU Asian Pacific Education Advisory Committee and by Maria R. Montano-Harmon (CSU, Fullerton). Bannai and Lou helped us see our Asian students as coming from a variety of cultural backgrounds and previous educational experiences and as individuals with individual needs that cannot be addressed if we conceptualize *Asian* as a culturally monolithic group. Montano-Harmon raised the knotty issue of identifying Latino students, of differentiating between "true" ESL students and the speakers of a nonstandard dialect of English. Informal discussions and group discussions worked around these issues until we unanimously voted a resolution that clarified our clientele and their needs both for our own understanding and for dissemination to those outside the field. Since this resolution clarifies a problem all ESL professionals have to grapple with, I report it in full here, in the hope that it may be useful to others trying to clarify who and what they teach.

> *Whereas in the CSU there is a plethora of nomenclature for our clientele and our focus of instruction,*
>
> *Be it resolved that the CSU define our focus of instruction as teaching English for academic purposes (EAP) and our clientele as 1) Non-English dominant bilingual and/or bicultural students, and 2) English-dominant bilingual and/or bicultural students.*
>
> *For CSU purposes*, academic *is defined as* promoting language and communication skills for success at the university and beyond.

Participants agreed that English-dominant bilingual/bicultural students, while exhibiting different problems from those of non-English dominant students (traditional ESL students), were better served by instructors trained in language and ESL methodology.

After brainstorming on the major issues for ESL in the CSU, participants worked in four groups that focussed on: curriculum organization and content; interaction of ESL students with academic English; testing and evaluation; and teaching and learning strategies. Each group tried to clarify the issues and then develop a research agenda that would help answer the many still unanswered questions about the teaching and learning of ESL in the CSU. The group discussing curriculum was most concerned about the reality in many composition classes—the "nightmare" class that has ESL students, bidialectal students, and native-English speaking students with poor academic skills. This group called for an examination of classroom teachers who are successful in these nightmare classes, suggesting videotaping lessons for distribution throughout the state. The group wanted a video bank that would also include successful EAP models such as adjunct, writing-across-the-curriculum, content-based, and theme-based curricula. They also suggested pilot projects of models not yet a reality in practice, such as providing grammatical and rhetorical instruction for ESL students through separate classes. This group also called for a clear characterization of what ESL writing is acceptable for graduation from the CSU—what exactly does *writing with an accent* mean in an academic setting and in the workplace?

The group that focused on the interaction of ESL students with academic English suggested analyzing lectures for their linguistic structure, investigating how well ESL students comprehend the organizing devices used in lectures, and examining how ESL students' performance in content areas can be enhanced through instruction in such organizing devices.

The third group, which focused on testing and evaluation, was especially concerned about the use of tests normed on English speakers as screening tests for ESL students. Since all participants agreed that appropriate placement of students is dependent on effective screening and testing of students and that tests were a major impediment for ESL students, resolutions on testing practices were also passed. These resolutions recognize the ineffectiveness of the current CSU English Placement Test (EPT) for ESL students, call for appropriate systemwide testing of ESL students, and support local testing until such a systemwide test is in place. This group also suggested research into testing and placement of ESL and bilingual/bicultural students.

The fourth group's focus was on successful teaching and learning strategies and so developed a research agenda that would investigate successful and unsuccessful EAP students. The research would examine a number of student variables, such as L1 and L2 literacy experiences and educational background and would target students in business, engineering, computer science, and general education, all areas with a high proportion of ESL and bilingual/bicultural students. Their research proposal also included investigating successful instructors in content areas to determine what strategies and techniques are most successful with language minority students. The results from these research projects could then be used to develop effective faculty development for all CSU faculty since all faculty have language minority students in their classes.

Although the Institute conference is now over and all participants are back on their home campuses, facing nightmare classes and often a lack of recognition, our work from the conference is not over. We have research projects to try to get funding for, projects we can undertake, and a re-education of colleagues we must begin. Because we recognize how important it is to interact with other ESL professionals in order to keep alive professionally and intellectually, we passed another resolution to establish a CSU English for Academic Purposes Professional Association. Through a CSU association, we can focus on issues peculiar to our system. By meeting together and continuing the conversations begun on the Queen Mary, we plan to improve the instruction of our bilingual/bicultural students. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Coherence in Writing: Research and Pedagogical Perspectives

Eds. Ulla Connor and Ann M. Johns. Washington, DC:
TESOL. 1990. Pp. vi + 263.

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Since the mid-1970s and early treatments of cohesion such as Halliday and Hasan's (1976) seminal work *Cohesion in English*, there has been an increasing interest in coherence: in understanding, defining, explaining, and teaching it. The book *Coherence in Writing: Research and Pedagogical Perspectives* edited by Ulla Connor and Ann M. Johns makes a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on the complex subject of discourse coherence.

Connor and Johns, widely published and well-respected researchers in reading, writing, and coherence, have organized the 12 articles in the volume into four sections: "Theoretical Overview," "Coherence Models," "Studies of Student Writing," and "Pedagogical Approaches." Several of the articles were first presented at a 1986 TESOL colloquium titled "Coherence: Theory and Practice," but unfortunately the editors do not identify which these are. At least two others appear to have been written specifically for the volume (Enkvist and Johns) while one article (Lautamatti) was published previously. The volume has an international flavor because of the content of the articles and the mix of authors, many well-known in the fields of language research and teaching. This seems most appropriate for a TESOL publication.

The editors have written a brief introduction that gives some general comments about the study of coherence and a brief description of each article. At the end of each chapter, there are four or five discussion questions and four or five extension activities. The single list of references at the end of the book is an excellent resource, and a biographical sketch of each of the contributors is a plus for the volume.

The first section contains theoretical articles by Enkvist and Lautamatti. Both articles stress the interaction of reader and text—a theme throughout the volume. Enkvist's article—"Seven Problems in the Study of Coherence and Interpretability"—discusses problems that "bedevil the study of discourse" and textual coherence (p.1). He argues "that coherence is a concept with a crucial hermeneutic ingredient" (p. 26). It cannot adequately be explained by intra- and intersentential links, syntax, or semantics. He goes on to argue that a process model that is sensitive to context and situation must be developed if textual coherence is to be modelled. In "Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse" Lautamatti draws the distinction between propositional coherence and interactional coherence, discussing how these two relate to different types of discourse, discourse topic, and cognitive frames. The theoretical concepts and questions raised by Enkvist and Lautamatti provide a gestalt of coherence studies for the remaining articles, all of which deal with particular aspects of coherence from various perspectives.

The second section, "Coherence Models," contains four articles. In "Pragmatic Word Order in English Composition," Bardovi-Harlig presents a model concerned with the sequencing of given-new information within sentences (Firbas, 1979, 1982) and the pragmatic value of various types of syntactic structures (for example, preposed adverbials, *there)* insertion, passive *WH*-clefts, and topicalization). Harris in "The Use of 'Organizing Sentences' in the Structure of Paragraphs in Science Textbooks" presents a model of coherence concerned with the function of opening sentences in paragraphs. In the third chapter, "Inductive, Deductive, Quasi-Inductive: Expository Writing in Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Thai," Hinds models a regionally preferred (Asian) rhetorical pattern for expository prose. This is an organizational pattern that Hinds argues English-speaking readers classify as neither inductive nor deductive. Thus, the readers view the essay as incoherent. This article is the only one dealing with contrastive rhetoric. I wish more such articles had been included. In "Toward Understanding Coherence: A Response Proposition Taxonomy", the final chapter in this section, McCagg presents a semantic model of coherence that extends the propositional analysis technique often used in prose comprehension studies (see, for example, Connor, 1984; Meyer, 1975) so that "coherence-building inferences may be investigated more satisfactorily" (p. 113).

Of these four articles, McCagg's is the least accessible to readers unfamiliar with discourse studies and techniques. Whereas he presents his argument clearly and makes a strong case, I fear one could not use his taxonomy to analyze a summary without more reading and some guidance. To his credit, however, he does refer readers to more detailed discussions of the technique.

The third section—"Studies of Student Writing"—contains three articles, two of which analyze the writing of Swedish EFL students. Wikborg in "Types of Coherence Breaks in Swedish Student Writing: Misleading Paragraph Division" reports the results of a study which focuses on the second most common type of coherence break found in the data: misleading paragraph division (confusing physical paragraphs). Evensen, in "Pointers to Superstructure in Student Writing," draws a distinction between local and global coherence, develops a taxonomy for rhetorical pointers to superstructure, and applies that taxonomy to narratives of 11th grade EFL students in Sweden. The final article in this section, Jacobs' "Building Hierarchy: Learning the Language of the Science Domain, Ages 10-13," reports on a study of how children use language to construct a discourse hierarchy appropriate for academic work.

Jacobs' article is especially interesting as it is the only one in the volume to deal with development of cognitive skills and acquisition of academic language. A question not addressed by Jacobs is what role one's language use at home and one's home environment have on acquisition of classroom language (see, for example, Heath, 1983). Surely, a child's first language (personal language) use influences the process of learning the language of school.

The final section—"Pedagogical Approaches"—consists of three articles that focus on practical application of coherence models. Swales, in "Nonnative Speaker Graduate Engineering Students and Their Introductions: Global Coherence and Local Management," presents a process model for teaching research paper introductions. In "Coherence as a Cultural Phenomenon: Employing Ethnographic Principles in the Academic Milieu" Johns suggests "that coherence requires pragmatic competence in a target discourse community" (p. 225). She describes an instructional method, the academic journalog (the learning log), in which students become participant-observers in order to increase their pragmatic competence and understanding of this unfamiliar academic culture and how they fit into it. The last chapter in this section and the volume—"Improving Coherence by Using Computer-Assisted Instruction" by Cerniglia, Medsker, and Connor—describes the development and use of the computer-assisted instructional program STAR (Studying Topical Analysis to Revise) to help students improve coherence. All three articles offer sound advice for classroom practices and stand complete in themselves; that is, readers would not have to do further reading to understand the theoretical bases or concepts presented.

The purpose of the book, as implied in the title and stated in the Introduction by Connor and Johns is not simply to present theory and research findings, but rather "to present important coherence models and to suggest how insights from coherence theory and research can be introduced to the classroom" (p. 2). Closely related to its purpose is the intended audience of the book: "students, teachers, and researchers in the fields of ESL reading and writing" (p. 5). The book is true to its purpose and has much to offer. The reader, however, must have a basic knowledge of linguistics to profit from the articles, and certain aspects of the book are designed for upper division or graduate students interested in becoming second language teachers.

Only two articles can be classified as purely theoretical (Enkvist's and Lautamatti's), yet all have a theoretical basis. By the same token, most of the articles have implications for teaching and research, some explained in detail and others only implied. For example, the focus of the article by Cerniglia, Medsker, and Connor is discussion of a computer program designed to help students improve coherence in their writing; however, the instructional program is based on topical structure analysis (Lautamatti, 1987) which is based on the theory of functional sentence perspective (Danes, 1974; Firbas, 1982). The authors provide a clear presentation of the theoretical base. On the other hand, the article by Bardovi-Harlig focuses on a model of coherence also based on the theory of functional sentence perspective—the pragmatic value of word order in sentences. Despite this focus, Bardovi-Harlig offers some of the best and most detailed examples of classroom exercises to teach discourse coherence found in this volume. Hinds in his discussion of a common rhetorical pattern found in Asian languages, what he terms "quasi-inductive," does not suggest any ESL classroom applications, yet some come to mind. For example, prediction exercises with ESL students given an introductory paragraph and then predicting what follows could be used in teaching ESL reading writing. Harris suggests a similar activity to improve the reading comprehension skills of students in the sciences.

Several articles suggest taxonomies or typologies for use in research. Here I list only a few: McCagg's taxonomy for studying prose comprehension and summary writing abilities of students; Harris' typology for "organizing sentences" in science textbooks; and Evensen's taxonomy for rhetorical pointers to superstructures. Yet, other chapters are suggestive of research studies. I find especially intriguing Swales' contention that if ESL students can manage global coherence with some skill, even if they overuse global coherence signposts, then their difficulties on the local level may not overly distract or confuse the reader and may perhaps be overlooked. Is this true for other types of writing besides research papers in engineering? Is there a minimum proficiency level with which one must manage local coherence for this to be true?

The inclusion of discussion questions and extension exercises suggests that the editors envision the volume being used as a textbook. This seems appropriate. Typically, the extension exercises differ from the discusison questions in that they ask readers (probably students) to do something related to a concept presented in the chapter. For example, one activity after the chapter by Enkvist is "...Review what Enkvist says about metamessages of writing and analyze the last piece of mail you received for metamessages in it" (p. 28). An extension exercise may also ask the reader to develop an ESL lesson to teach a particular point or concept presented in the article. In addition, the editors use both the discussion questions and the extension exercises to refer to important literature in the fields of first and second language reading and writing and to draw connections between articles in the volume. For example, after the chapter by Evensen one question is "Compare Evensen's superstructure pointer taxonomy to Halliday and Hasan's (1976) taxonomy of cohesion..." After the chapter by Lautamatti, readers are asked to compare her "cognitive frame" with "schemata (see Tannen's work [1979]) in first language research framework and Carrell's (1985) work in the second language context" (p. 40).

The questions and exercises at the end of the chapters also make explicit the complementary nature of the articles in the volume. I give one example: "Compare the Wikborg discussion with the chapter by Harris on organizing sentences." If this volume were used as a textbook, instructors would need to present background information and in some cases students would need to read some of the literature cited in the articles or in the questions and tasks at the end of the chapters before reading and discussing the article and applying the concepts presented. The number and diversity of questions and exercises allow instructors to choose the most appropriate ones for their students and are suggestive of the type of activities and discussions possible. Even seasoned teachers and resarchers will find the questions and exercises thought-provoking, certainly not distracting. The references to related first and second language research are especially useful to readers not well-versed in studies of coherence.

In the introductions and in all the chapters, the complexity and difficulty of defining and pinning down what constitutes coherence is evident. Its complexity necessitates viewing, studying, and teaching coherence from diverse perspectives. Connor and Johns were wise in their choices of purpose, title, and articles. This volume helps demystify the concept of coherence and should spark interest in studying and teaching it. It is, however, unfortunate that these proceedings from a 1986 colloquium did not appear earlier than spring, 1990. TESOL is to be applauded for publishing this volume but admonished for not doing so in a more timely fashion. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Roles of Teachers and Learners

Tony Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xi + 164.

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R*oles of Teachers and Learners* is a volume in *Language Teaching:* A Scheme for Teacher Education, a series edited by C. N. Candlin and H. G. Widdowson. Like the other volumes in this series, it is divided into three sections. Section one, "Teaching and Learning as Social Activities," grounds the text in the theoretical issues relevant to the topic of teacher and learner roles and thus focuses on explanation. Section two, "Teacher and Learner Roles in the Classroom," demonstrates how the theoretical principles relate to classroom activities, and section three, "Investigating Teacher and Learner Roles," encourages the reader to combine actual teaching practice and action research in the classroom, based on the tasks of section two. Again, like all the other volumes in the series, the book combines text and task, with the goal of engaging "...the reader in a principled enquiry into ideas and practices" (p. xi).

Section one begins by asking "What is a role?" and then proceeds to explain what people do, how they talk, and what is expected of them, using the role of pilot to illustrate the various points. Readers are then asked to engage in a task in which they begin to develop for themselves the nature of teacher and learner roles, based on the previous discussion of a pilot's role. Thus, readers are asked to "Make a list of all the people with whom a teacher and a learner may have contact in the establishment where you work. Make a second list of the people outside the school itself who influence the behavior of teachers and learners" (p. 7). From these lists, readers draw networks of interaction and their hierarchies, thus discovering for themselves the most direct influences on the behavior of teachers and learners. This focus on doing and discovering permeates the book. Even the explication of theory in section one is reinforced by activities that guide readers to understanding. At no time are readers passive; they are active participants in a learning discovery process. This makes the use of the term *reader* somewhat of a misnomer when talking about the audience of this textbook. Clearly, a passive reader will not learn from this book. The reader must become an actively engaged doer. However, for convenience and lack of a more descriptive term, I will continue to refer to the actively engaged doer as reader.

The remainder of section one deals with the factors that influence teacher and learner roles. Wright, taking the position that teacher and learner roles are socially constructed, examines important issues such as power, duties and obligations, values, attitudes, personality, motivation, and group processes. This section covers a wide range of theory from a wide range of disciplines, including second language acquisition and social psychology. The author examines, for example, Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1968), integrative versus instrumental motivation, small group communication patterns, and ways teachers manage knowledge. At times the relationship between the concept and the disciplinary history from which it comes is overlooked or at least treated superficially. For example, in the discussion of integrative versus instrumental motivation the author states rather baldly, "Major studies have found that people are either integratively or instrumentally motivated towards learning a foreign language" (p. 30). The only reference given for the reader to be able to explore further is Giles and Byrne (1982), "...who cast doubt on the instrumental/integrative distinction but still acknowledge the importance of positive attitudes towards the L2 community as well as the instrumental aspect of motivation" (p. 31). While this lack of constant reference to other sources makes for a very readable text, most students in a teacher education program will need a teacher to work with them through some of the concepts and research findings.

Section two, "Teacher and Learner Roles in the Classroom" demonstrates how both roles are played out in the classroom and how they are portrayed in ESL materials. The section is divided between teacher roles (titled "Teaching Tasks and Teaching Strategies") and learner roles (titled "Language Learning Tasks and Activities"). Teacher roles includes "Teaching Style" (3.1), "Instructional Tasks and Learning Activities" (3.2), and "Instructional Materials and Resources" (3.3). "Teaching Style" takes up many of the issues raised in section one, such as motivation, organization of groups, and attitudes and beliefs. Many of the tasks present a quotation from a published text in ESL teacher education and then ask the reader to evaluate the excerpt by responding to statements such as "The teacher's most important task is to impart knowledge. The author assumes that teachers have full authority and power in the classroom" (Task 27, p. 52). One valuable task in this section (Task 35) asks readers to examine two lesson plans taken from teacher education textbooks, determine which teacher has a tendency towards transmission and which has a tendency towards interpretation. Readers must support their decision with evidence from the lesson plans.

The second way in which teacher roles are played out in the classroom is through instructional tasks and strategies, the choice of which is, of course, somewhat determined by teaching styles; however, it is also affected by materials, subject matter, and outside influences such as prescriptions of school administraators (p. 69). After presenting a number of instructional modes (lecture, elicitation, evaluation, and lockstep), the author invites readers to examine the appropriacy of these modes for teaching particular language skills, such as grammar and pronunciation (Task 37, p. 71). Although Wright does not make value judgments concerning these instructional modes as he presents them, in the following section, he shows his own preferred instructional mode. In "An Alternative: Inquiry-Centred Learning," Wright states that the modes previously outlined

> ...are favoured by the transmission teacher. An alternative is inquiry-centred learning...The teacher is primarily a facilitator, setting up tasks and providing the instructional materials...In inquiry-centred learning the process of learning is seen to be as important as the content of learning. (p. 72)

This view also perceives learners as contributors, not blank slates, who bring with them a wealth of cultural and linguistic resources, a range of cognitive abilities, and varied ideas and beliefs. It is just such inquiry-centred learning that Wright himself is implementing in the organization of this textbook. This alternative view of instruction is one being advocated in a number of different areas of ESL pedagogy: the emphasis on the process of composition, as opposed to the finished product (see, for example, Raimes, 1987); the learner-centred curriculum (see, for example, Nunan, 1988); and the Whole Language Approach (see, for example, Goodman, 1986).

The book next undertakes an evaluation of materials and resources, an extremely valuable enterprise for both prospective teachers and practicing teachers. The text, through its tasks, invites the reader to reassess the place of materials in language learning. The tasks and explanations include excerpts from many well-known ESL textbooks. One section focuses on the type of knowledge the textbook excerpt equates with language study. Wright includes a complete range of types, from the view that language study is the study of structures, to the view that language is problem solving. Although only textbooks are dealt with in detail, one task (44) asks readers what alternative media such as the language laboratory, video, and so forth, contribute to the language learning process.

Section two then moves the focus to the learner ("Language Learning Tasks and Activities"). By focusing equally on learners, readers are asked to reexamine any preconceived notions they might have about the passive nature of learning in contrast to the active nature of teaching. For Wright, classroom language learning is a cooperative endeavor, one in which the learner can also have control. Thus, in Task 47, readers are asked to examine two activities in terms of the following questions:

> Can the learner decide what the topic or subject matter is?
> Can the learner do the activity at his/her own pace?
> Can the learner stop the activity at any time?
> Is the activity open-ended in terms of its outcomes? (p. 105)

This section also investigates classroom climate and communication patterns. The next section on the topic of learner classroom roles examines the individual learner: his/her personality, stages of personal and cognitive development, and learning styles and strategies. As in other parts of section two, actual ESL materials are used as illustration and source materials for tasks. Each section concludes with a valuable summary of the section.

Section three, "Investigating Teacher and Learner Roles," invites readers to examine actual classrooms and experiment with different materials, tasks, and strategies to create different roles. Many of the tasks, unfortunately, work best if the reader is an already practicing teacher. While some do include observation, they focus on colleagues' observing each other's classes, working through the task, and then determining a course of action to alter any patterns that might be changed. Others ask the reader to evaluate his/her own experimentation with different strategies or materials. Task 59, for example, asks the reader "To set up new modes of classroom organization and to evaluate their effects on learner roles" (p. 59). These activities provide wonderful opportunities for teachers, both new and experienced, to examine their teaching practices in the light of what they have learned about teacher and learner roles. However, in teacher education programs, we may have to alter our traditional teaching practice if we are to gain the full benefit of the ideas in this book. Indeed, I think it is time we reexamined our own practice of assigning student teachers to classes for observation and teaching practice. Richards and Crookes in a 1988 *TESOL Quarterly* article surveyed institutions offering MAs in TESL and found that not all even include a teaching practicum in their program. They called for the inclusion of a practicum, in all programs, and one that included *supervised* teaching practice. Wright, in this text, goes still further, implicitly calling for inquiry-centred teacher education programs, ones in which prospective teachers can explore, investigate, experiment, and thereby learn about the roles of teaching and learning.

I have successfully used this text in an ESL teaching practicum. However, I have had to adapt many of the tasks in section three to fit the more traditional model of observation and teaching practice, where students work with a practicing ESL teacher, but must take guidance and instruction from that teacher since we are imposing

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on that teacher and relying on his/her goodwill. I believe it is time our practice teaching was less ad hoc. I would suggest that we teacher educators need to collaborate more with colleagues teaching ESL so that they might work through tasks such as in Wright's book with our students as partners. I also suggest that teacher educators should work through many of these tasks in their own classrooms, and thereby open to inspection the roles of teachers and learners in graduate programs. In these ways, we shall all learn and become more effective teachers and learners. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

BOOK BYTES

NATALIE KUHLMAN
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Hughes, Arthur. *Testing for Language Teachers.* Cambridge. 1989.

This new reference is probably most useful for testing adult ESL students, although it has application to children K-12 as well. It begins by discussing *backwash*—"The effect of testing on teaching and learning" (p. 1). Several cases are examined in which testing can be both beneficial (e.g., when tests correct bad teaching), and detrimental (e.g., when tests are unrealiable and inaccurate). Ultimately, Hughes suggests, testing should be looked at as problem solving, and the book itself is intended to make the readers solvers of testing problems. In chapter 3, the author briefly presents different types of tests (e.g., proficiency, achievement, and diagnostic), and different ways of testing (norm)referenced, discrete point, subjective, objective, and communicative). This is followed in chapter 4 with a discussion of validity and in chapter 5 with reliabililty. Other chapters focus on testing techniques. For example, chapter 8 briefly examines cloze and multiple choice. The actual administration of tests is discussed in chapter 14. The basic language skills (writing, oral ability, reading and listening, grammar and vocabulary) are covered in that order in chapters 9-13. Each chapter includes activities and further reading. These chapters are generally organized into sections—"Specifying What the Candidate Should Be Able To Do," and "Setting the Tasks," which includes appropriate selection of materials and scoring. Hughes' book offers an up-to-date look at testing in general (as Madsen did in his *Techniques in Testing,)* (Oxford, 1983), this time from a British perspective. Its adult focus is emphasized by discussion of the ACTFL, TOEFL, and Cambridge Proficiency examinations, as opposed to such K-12 language assessment instruments used in California as the Language Assessment Scales, Bilingual Syntax Measure, Idea Proficiency Test, and so forth. It is more theoretical than Madsen's very practical book but still offers many activities.—NK

Maley, Alan and Alan Duff. *The Inward Ear: Poetry in the Language Classroom.* Cambridge. 1989.

With core curricula throughout California public schools now focusing on literature, this new resource book should be valuable for classroom teachers of all levels (K-adult). It provides ideas about how to write and discuss poetry from the low-intermediate to advanced learner. Four chapters, which contain a variety of examples, focus on helping the ESL student understand poetry. These include "Preparing for the Poem" (chapter 1); "Working into the Poem" (chapter 2); "Working Out from the Poem" (chapter 3); and "Speaking Poetry" (chapter 4). Three more focus on the writing of poetry using modes (chapter 5), words (chapter 6) and random association (chapter 7).—NK

Williams, James and Grace Capizzi Snipper. *Literacy and Bilingualism*. Longman. 1990.

This resource book for classroom teachers and teacher trainers developed out of the expertise of its authors in rhetoric and psycholinguistics (Williams), and sociolinguistics and language planning (Snipper). While the title emphasizes literacy, which is the central core of bilingual education, the book actually looks at the acquisition of all language skills in a bilingual environment. The first two chapters focus specifically on what literacy is, defining it from a functional, cultural, and critical perspective, and then examining traditional views of reading and writing (chapter 2). Chapters 3 and 4 focus on bilingualism, the process of acquisition and the programs which have developed to teach nonnative English speakers in the United States (e.g., maintenance, transitional, immersion). Chapter 5 focuses on topics covered in Hakuta's *Mirror of Language* (Basic Books, 1985), particularly studies on bilingualism and intelligence. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 speak to teaching methodologies in ESL, reading, and writing. The book concludes with a discussion of who is teaching literacy, including teachers and paraprofessionals. This book stands as a good introduction to the field of bilingualism and bilingual education from a literacy viewpoint.—NK

Curtain, Helena Anderson and Carol Ann Pesola. *Languages and Children—Making the Match*. Addison Wesley. 1988.

The proposed Foreign Language Framework for California includes a requirement to teach foreign language to *all* children beginning in kindergarten and continuing through the 12th grade. If this should be implemented Curtain and Pesola's book will become very important. This reference book discusses the importance of beginning foreign language instruction in the elementary school. Step by step it works the teacher through how this can be accomplished, beginnning in chapter 2 with an historical perspective which includes early bilingual programs in the United States using German, French, and Spanish. Chapters 3 and 4 present practical matters: how to choose a program model and how to plan budgets, staffing, and other needs. The remainder of the book focuses on the curriculum itself: how to use what we know from research including the immersion experiences both here and in Canada as a starting point. Another important aspect of the book is presented in chapter 7, which focuses on content-based instruction. Many recent K-12 ESL curricula have used content-based instruction as the core of their programs. It is refreshing to see it applied now to second language instruction as well. Learning with authentic materials, key to the whole language approach to learning, is embedded in this method. Other chapters focus on day-to-day planning, evaluation, and even how to obtain materials and other resources. Finally, this excellent resource looks at the preparation of teachers. Without training programs, the best curriculum won't work. It is hoped that this book will be just the first to have specific application for California as we promote the acquisition of more than one language by all students.—NK

Nunan, David. *Designing Tasks for the Communicative Classroom.* Cambridge. 1989.

As with all of David Nunan's books, there is a focus here on the teacher as researcher. Throughout this resource book there are ideas for investigating—in this case, tasks in the classroom. Nunan provides several definitions of what a task is, concluding with his own definition: "a piece of classroom work which involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form." Further, tasks are generated through the interaction of goals, input, activities, teacher's role, learner's role and the settings in which they occur. Nunan then proceeds to analyze the concept and use of task from a variety of perspectives. Chapter 2 analyzes language skills (including the nature of listening, speaking, reading, and writing and their implication for task design). Chapter 3 focuses on the goals, input, activities derived from the input, and the roles teachers and learners will fulfill as task components. Roles are specifically addressed in chapter 4 (see the review of Tony Wright's book in this issue of the *The CATESOL Journal* for a complete discussion of roles). Chapter 5 focuses on grading tasks, again using input factors, learner factors, and activity factors. The sequencing of tasks and how they are integrated into the curriculum is the subject of chapter 6. Included here are a variety of situations, such as content-based instruction. The final chapter focuses on the teacher development component of task usage with suggestions for in-service workshops.—NK

Cooper, Marilyn M. and Michael Holzman. *Writing as Social Action.* Heineman. 1989.

Although *Writing as Social Action* was intended for first-language writing teachers and researchers, it is equally relevant for ESL professionals interested in writing, covering as it does both college composition (primarily in the chapters by Cooper) and adult basic literacy (primarily in the chapters by Holzman). Eight of the fifteen chapters have appeared elsewhere. But the 15 chapters present a unified view of writing and literacy, a view informed by the work of Vygotsky, Freire, and numerous linguists working with social and functional models (for example, Halliday). Both authors take the view that writing is social; that is, writing is not an individual, isolated activity with writers taking inspiration from within, as it is so often portrayed in writing texts and theory. "What we do mean by social is that writing is located in the social world and, thus, is fundamentally structured by the shape of that environment" (p. x). Just as importantly, Cooper and Holzman claim writing is action—a way of acting in the world and on the world. Cooper and Holzman are themselves good writers, engaging the reader by balancing theory, pedagogy, and anecdote and above all, by demonstrating deep concern for the struggling writer, the oppressed, and the marginalized nonliterate.—DM

Kelly, Katheleen Ann. *Reading to Write: A Practical Rhetoric.* St. Martin's Press. 1990.

The instructor's manual that accompanies *Reading to Write* begins with a quote by Patricia Bizzell: "If basic writers need academic cultural literacy in order to achieve full participation in the academic community, then a full way must be found to give students access to this knowledge while at the same time encouraging some critical distance from it" (p. 1). The text itself is a rhetoric designed to communicate the conventions of academic writing while demanding that students write, write, and write some more (and read, read, and read some more). It begins with journal keeping and moves quickly to strategies for reading and writing and issues of audience and purpose, concluding with editing and applied writing (modes) and techniques for writing essay exams. Both in her own writing and the abundance of selections from other writers, Kelly is sensitive to her audience, choosing examples that reflect a spectrum of cultures and writing in a style that is accessible without ever being condescending. If you are teaching advanced ESL students or a class where students who speak more than one language are mixed with monolingual peers, then *Reading to Write* is a text to consider.—RC

Spack, Ruth. *Guidelines: A Cross-Cultural Reading/Writing Text.* St. Martin's Press. 1990.

If you view the development of writing as parallel to the cognitive development of the individual, moving from the inward-directed concern for self to outward concern with the world, then you will appreciate *Guidelines.* It is organized around four core writing assignments beginning with "Writing From Experience," and moving to "Writing From Readings," which includes "Relating Reading to Experience" and "Analyzing an Argumentative Essay." It concludes with "Writing From Outside Sources: Researching a Controversy." The text is recursive so that processes introduced early in the text (prewriting activities and peer response) are returned to periodically during the course. This text teaches all aspects of the writing process and includes readings and activities for responding to readings. Essays, written by both professionals and student writers, reflect a diversity of cultures and the point of view of both genders. Helpful guidelines which give the text its title, occur throughout on such topics as peer revision, interviewing, and proofreading. Although not specifically an ESL text, *Guidelines* will seve well advanced ESL students not completely at home with academic rhetorical styles, college study skills, and English grammar.—RC

Smoke, Trudy. *A Writer's Worlds: Explorations Through Reading*. St. Martin's Press. 1990.

Smoke's objective in *A Writer's Worlds* is to introduce students to "the types of reading and writing [they] will encounter in the academic world" (p. xxviii). Readings, organized thematically, are challenging although they average only five pages in length. Most units contain literary pieces as well as essays and selections from academic texts. Journalistic writing is notably absent and the language is complex and often figurative. For students who are ready to deal with such language, however, *A Writer's Worlds* will make an exciting introduction to the many worlds of people who write in English, from Eudora Welty's South to Bruce Chatwin's Outback and Ursula Le Guin's realm of anthropological fantasy. Culture is taken in its most inclusive sense, and students of all cultures are asked to reexamine their beliefs in the light of what they read. Themes include memory, language, family, society, and fantasy. A journal topic asks students to consider their own experience before reading. After reading, students repond to questions which send them back into the readings for deeper analysis. Finally, the text offers students topics for writing and suggestions for revising essays of their own. Compact in size, *A Writer's Worlds* is, nevertheless, a rich and evocative collection of readings for advanced ESL students.—RC ■

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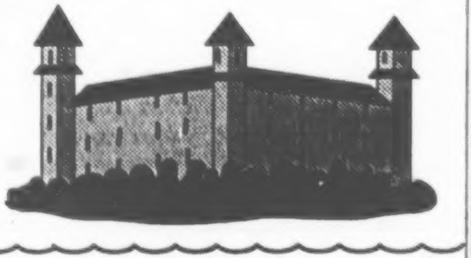

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The CATESOL Journal

Editors' Note

The 1991 issue of *The CATESOL Journal* brings together research, experience, and methodology in a variety of different educational settings and for a variety of purposes.

The teaching of writing, especially at the college level, remains a major interest of both journal contributors and their readers. Kuhlman discusses a method for identifying writing development in bilingual children, while Lucas reports on research on journal writing in a college-level class, showing that individual experience with writing is as, if not more, influential on writing than is cultural background. The reviews (Ching, Shih, Murray, and Kuhlman) take up the theme of writing, including the importance of grammar in writing instruction. We also offer excerpts from an annotated bibliography of ESL writing research (Schecter and Harklau).

A second theme is the issue of providing ESL students with access to college-level classes. Gearhart examines the problems students face trying to decipher unedited informational material on community college campuses, and provides solutions, such as adapting written materials. Rodriguez discusses another important issue facing both ESL instructors and ESL students on community college campuses—how equivalent are their community college writing classes to those required in four-year colleges? Rodriguez also provides solutions, including a rigorously designed and integrated series of composition classes.

Three other contributions focus on the learner. Devenney reports a successful program for teaching American culture and values to a group of Hungarian ESL teachers, while Miller discusses the barriers that impede the success of Mexican-American children in our public schools. Phillips reports research on the relationship between learners' strategies and their language proficiency. The review by Messerschmitt continues this theme by looking at a text on language aptitude. And, finally, we once again offer a report (Brinton and Snow) on the California State University English for Academic Purposes Association because we feel that many of the issues addressed in the report are those faced by all ESL professionals.

As editors, we welcome the opportunity to provide the CATESOL membership with such a fine collection of interesting information. And, we encourage members to continue contributing their research, ideas, and practices to the journal.

Dorothy Messerschmitt and Denise Murray
Editors

The CATESOL Journal

TAMARA LUCAS
ARC Associates

Individual Variation in Students' Engagement in Classroom Personal Journal Writing

■ Teachers of students from sociocultural backgrounds different from their own must, on the one hand, recognize sociocultural influences on their students and, on the other, remember that students are also individuals. This article examines the role of individual differences in the journal writing of adult ESL students. The study was conducted in an extended education ESL writing class team-taught for two 10-week semesters at a large urban university. The primary writing activity of the class was personal journal writing requiring description and examination of the writers' past experiences. Case studies were conducted of nine students from six countries. Data for the study consisted of student questionnaires, fieldnotes, and audiotapes of classroom observations, teacher and student interviews, and teacher and student journal writing. After describing the conventions of the genre and the backgrounds of the nine subjects and summarizing students' responses to the journal writing, the article focuses on influences on those responses. The findings illuminate the roles of past writing experiences, personality, and cultural background in influencing students' responses to classroom writing.

The rainbow and the patchwork quilt have come to be seen as more appropriate metaphors for the pluralistic population that constitutes the United States than the melting pot of earlier years. Just as that outmoded metaphor does not describe the people of different colors and traditions that inhabit the U.S., it also does not capture the students with individual needs and experiences who inhabit classrooms. Students of the same age from the same country may have had very different educational and life experiences; one may have attended school regularly until she emigrated to the U.S. with her family, while another may have never learned to read and write in his first language before he was sent to the U.S. alone to avoid being forced into military service. Such individual differences among students challenge teachers and educational researchers alike. Teachers are required to teach to groups of students, often very large groups of them, which means that they have very little time and energy to determine each student's learning style and needs, much less to orchestrate their teaching so that it is synchronous with them. Too often, the most well-intended lesson does not engage the majority of students in a class. Like dancers of different eras, teachers and students struggle to get in step with each other.

Researchers in the field of second language acquisition also struggle with the role of individual differences in language learning. Though they generally recognize that individual differences play some role in language acquisition (see Ellis, 1986, for a review of the literature), they disagree about the importance of individual factors and find it difficult to identify and classify them. Researchers examining second language acquisition among adolescent and adult learners in classrooms tend to agree that individual variation plays a major role, while those studying child second language acquisition in naturalistic settings downplay the role of individual differences (see Fillmore, 1979, for a discussion of this phenomenon).

Several factors influencing individual variation in second language learning have been examined. Age is the most frequently cited such factor (e.g., see Hatch, 1983; McLaughlin, 1987; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978). The effect of age on second language learning appears to be more complex and multidimensional than what is captured by the truism that younger people learn a second language more easily than older ones. Cognitive and affective factors interact with age to mediate its effects in various ways (see Ellis, 1986). Other individual factors associated with language acquisition include personality (e.g., Dulay et al., 1982; Schumann, 1978; Strong, 1983), aptitude (e.g., Gardner, 1980), motivation for learning the language (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), attitudes toward the second language and its culture (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), and learning styles (e.g., Hansen & Stansfield, 1981; Naiman, Frohlich, Stern, & Todesco, 1978). Desire for social integration, communication needs, attitude, and education have been considered together as components of the general "propensity" by which a person is induced to "apply his [sic] language faculty to acquiring a language" (Klein, 1986, p.35).

In a longitudinal study of children learning English as a second language, Fillmore (1979, 1983) could not ignore individual differences among her subjects although she had not set out to examine them. She found differences among the children in language learning styles and social styles and found that these interacted with situational variables in different ways.

> The individual differences found in the learning of a second language by the five children in this [part of the] study had to do with the nature of the task, the sets of strategies they needed to apply in dealing with it, and the way certain personal characteristics such as language habits, motivations, social needs and

> habitual approaches to problems affected the way they attacked it. They differed greatly in such characteristics, and in the course of the study year, it became quite apparent that it was the interaction of all these factors that produced the observed differences in the rate at which they learned the new language. (1979, p.220)

Despite the research that has been conducted in these areas, more questions than answers remain regarding definitions and identification of individual factors and their influences on second language learning. As the dates of many of these citations suggest, interest in the influence of individual differences on language learning among applied linguists has waned in recent years. Besides encountering difficulties in identifying them and in separating one factor from another, researchers have also been frustrated by the unlikelihood of designing effective interventions to influence individual factors.

Little attention has been focused at any time on the role of individual differences in literacy learning among first or second language learners, though it has been taken into account by some writers (e.g., Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983; Hudelson, 1986). The examinations of highly individual case studies of native English speaking student writers (e.g., Calkins, 1979, 1980; Emig, 1971; Graves, 1981; Perl,1979), undertaken as the paradigm was shifting to a process-oriented view of writing, tended to focus on elements of subjects' writing processes that could be generalized to other writers—that is, that could contribute to a description of "the writing process"—and could be incorporated into the writing classroom. Studies of students learning to write in English as a second language which were modeled on studies of native speakers likewise concentrated on identifying elements of students' writing processes that could be generalized rather than on individual variation (e.g., Zamel, 1982). Similarly, research on classroom journal writing (e.g., Fulwiler, 1987; Peyton, 1990; Peyton, Staton, Richardson, & Wolfram, 1990; Staton, Shuy, Peyton, & Reed, 1988) has focused on making generalizations about the writing and the writers, even though journal writing lends itself to greater individual variations than many other classroom genres.

One particular manifestation of individual differences which has received some attention recently is the influence of previous knowledge and experience on learning. Specialists in both first and second language learning (Carrell, 1983, 1984; Goodman, Brooks Smith, Meridith, & Goodman, 1987; Heath, 1983; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Langer, 1984; Langer & Applebee, 1986; Michaels, 1981) argue that learners perform better and learn more quickly and successfully when they have some knowledge of and experience with what they are learning. Langer's (1984) findings, for example, "suggest a strong and consistent relationship between topic-specific background knowledge and the quality of student writing" and indicate that "different kinds of knowledge predict success in different writing tasks" (p. 41). A student who did not watch the coverage of the 1988 summer Olympics and has never heard of anabolic steroids, for example, would have a great deal of difficulty writing a coherent and convincing essay expressing his or her opinion about the use of such substances in sports and about the justice of stripping Canadian athlete Ben Johnson of his gold medal—though I observed a class in which just such students were asked to write an essay on these issues.

The argument that prior knowledge is crucial to learning and that individual differences affect language learning suggest the need for individualized instruction. But the realities of class size, time limitations, and the human inclination to impose order upon chaos by classifying things and people mitigate against our consistently treating our students as individuals. It is much easier to group them together according to ethnic, economic, and linguistic groups than to respond to each as an individual. Similarly, the necessity to have students in the same class cover the same material makes it difficult to allow much individual variation in the content of and approaches to school learning. Thus, for these and other practical reasons as well as reasons related to the theory and practice of research as discussed above, the role of individual variation in language learning is not well understood.

Methods

An ESL writing class in which classroom personal journal writing was the primary ongoing writing activity provided me with the opportunity to examine the role of individual differences, including previous experiences, in literacy learning. Because none of the students had had experience with classroom personal journal writing before, I was able to examine how they learned and adapted to a classroom genre about which they had few preconceived notions. On the other hand, each of them had knowledge about life, themselves, school, and writing and had had experiences that influenced their learning of the genre. I found that the nine students whom I studied in depth adapted to the genre in different ways and that a variety of factors influenced those ways of adapting. Because I examined only one genre—and not the most important academic genre, at that—the generalizability of the findings to other genres is uncertain. However, many ESL teachers do assign journal writing. The study's outcomes provide them with food for thought regarding the influence that students' background experiences and personalities may have on the ease or difficulty they encounter in writing classroom journals.

The study was conducted during two consecutive sessions (spring and fall 1987) of an extended education English as a second language writing class, called Writing for Fluency, which was team-taught by two teachers one evening a week for 10 weeks, each session at a large urban university (for more detailed descriptions of the course, see Vanett & Jurich, 1990a, 1990b). Most of the writing, on topics assigned or suggested by the teachers, required the students to describe and examine their past experiences from various perspectives. Each week, the teachers also wrote a journal entry on the same topics and distributed them to the students for several reasons, including establishing rapport with the students by sharing their thoughts and feelings with them, understanding more fully what it was like to do the assignments, and providing examples of the writing of native English speakers. The teachers had designed the class to focus on personal journal writing because they had found over years of teaching that many ESL students wrote more fluent, well-developed pieces about personal topics than about academic ones and because they believed that, by writing about themselves, students would become engaged in communicating through writing rather than in simply completing assignments. They believed that writing would, therefore, become a more meaningful and less threatening activity for them.

TABLE 1
Students' Backgrounds

Student	Native Country/ Language	Age	Visa Status	Years In U.S.	Education	Native Language Writing Experience (besides school)	Writing Experience in English
Sita	Thailand/ Thai	38	permanent resident	9	Thailand, BA, Mass Commun.	stories, news articles, journal	some school, journal
Sunee	Thailand/ Thai	27	student	6	State U., Senior in Economics	some letters	school, some letters
Keiko	Japan/ Japanese	36	student	4	State U., Senior in International Communication	freelance for magazine, editor of magazine	school, newspaper article
Kimiko	Japan/ Japanese	25	student	3.5	State U., Senior in Art History	personal letters, letters to editor	letters, school, journal
Kaoru	Japan/ Japanese	25	student	1	Japan, BA, Sociology; State U., in MA/ TEFL program	journal, poems, letters	school
Irene	Vietnam/ Vietnamese & Chinese	25	citizen	5.5	State U., Junior in Computer Science	poems, essays, stories, letters	school, memos at work
Elizabeth	Philippines/ Tagalog	29	permanent resident	6	Philippines, BS, Chemical Engineering	letters to mother	diary, letters, school
Raquel	Puerto Rico/ Spanish	27	citizen	2	Puerto Rico, BA Elementary Ed	journal, notes, letters, poems	letters, school
Alicia	El Salvador/ Spanish	26	permanent resident	7	some courses at Community College	letters, some poems some at work	letters at work, some school

The subjects for the study consisted of nine students from six different countries, who served as subjects for case studies. Three of the students were enrolled in the spring course and six in the fall course. The students, all females, were selected on the basis of their interest in participating in the study. Table 1 presents information about their backgrounds and experiences. Student names are pseudonyms.

As Table 1 indicates, the students, adults ranging in age from 25 to 38, were from six different native countries and spoke five native languages. Four were students who planned to return to their native countries and five were citizens or permanent residents who planned to remain in the U.S. The lengths of time they had been in the U.S. varied considerably—from 1 year for one of the Japanese students to 9 years for a woman who had immigrated here from Thailand. All were relatively well-educated. The least educated and therefore least experienced with educational contexts was Alicia, from El Salvador, who had graduated from high school and taken a few courses at the local community college. The ranges of experiences they had had with writing also varied. Five (Sita, Kimiko, Kaoru, Irene, and Raquel) had had extensive experience with self-motivated personal and imaginative writing (as defined by Applebee, 1984, pp. 14-16)—journals, poems, and stories—and they spoke in interviews of the joy and fulfillment of writing. The other four students had written primarily out of obligation at school, at work, or to family and were more likely to describe writing as a chore than as a pleasure.

The purpose of the study was to examine the teaching and learning of a particular written genre (classroom personal journal writing) within the context of the Writing for Fluency class. I did not set out with preconceived notions about what I would find. I simply wanted "to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning for those involved" (Merriam, 1988, p. xii). I therefore allowed relevant factors to emerge from the data as much as possible rather than going into the study with categories already determined. The data for the study consisted of (a) a questionnaire distributed at the beginning of each semester; (b) fieldnotes, audiotapes, and course materials collected during observations of all 20 class meetings; (c) interviews with teachers and students; and (d) the journals written by both teachers and students.

The questionnaires elicited information about students' cultural and educational backgrounds, language use, current living situations, and writing and reading experiences. The fieldnotes and audiotapes of class sessions captured the events of the classes as they unfolded and gave me a record of exactly what was said and done when by teachers and students regarding specific pieces of writing and specific classroom activities. The classroom materials provided a record of the written input the students received just as the audiotapes recorded the oral input. These two sets of data captured what was taught through classroom activities and assignments.

The primary sources of data for the study, however, were the interviews and journals. Each of the nine students and the four teachers was interviewed three times—at the beginning, middle, and end of the course. The student and teacher interviews are included in Appendix A. The interviews were open-ended, allowing for as much flexibility in responses as possible. Numerous prompts, including periods of silence, were used to urge respondents to answer each question as fully as possible. The students were asked to describe their attitudes and feelings about the class, the teachers, and their writing. By interviewing them, I was able to gain an understanding of some of the influences on their individual approaches to and completion of the writing tasks. I uncovered some of their thoughts and feelings, some of the personal knowledge and information that they drew upon as they attempted to make sense of classroom personal journal writing in ways that were satisfying to them and to the teachers. The teachers were asked to describe the class goals, the kind of writing assigned, and their impressions of the students and their writing. From interviews with them, I learned why they designed the class as they did, what they hoped to accomplish with the activities and writing assignnments, and what their perspectives were of the case study students and their writing. The interview responses provided me with rich data for describing some of the complexities below the surface of the teaching and learning situation from the perspectives of the learners as well as the teachers.

TABLE 2

Number of Journal Entries Written by Students*

Student	Number of Journal Entries
Sita	11
Sunee	14
Keiko	19
Kimiko	11
Kaoru	11
Irene	19
Elizabeth	7
Raquel	15
Alicia	8

**Some students may have written a few journal entrees that they did not submit for inclusion in the research. In most cases, however, the number above represents the number of journal entries written during the class.*

The other key source of data was the journals. I collected all of the journals that the students and the teachers wrote for the class (with the exception of a few pieces that students wrote but did not want to share with me). Altogether, the teachers wrote 39 journal entries (three wrote 10 and the fourth wrote nine). The number of entries written by the students varied considerably, as Table 2 indicates.

The students were required to hand in one journal each week and were supposed to write two others each week that they did not hand in.

Though the teachers did not overtly use or refer to their journals as models for the students' writing, they were seen as such by most of the case study students, five of whom used the word *model* explicitly in discussing the teachers' journals in interviews. Eight of the nine students reported that they looked forward to receiving the teachers' journals and that they always read them. One of them said she wished she could write like the teachers. Thus, the teachers' journals were one means through which the conventions of the journal writing were presented to the students (see Appendix B for examples of two of the teachers' journals). The students' journals provided the written evidence of what they were learning with regard to the genre of classroom personal journal writing.

Data Analysis

Since the purpose of the study was to examine the teaching and learning of the personal journal writing genre within the context of the Writing for Fluency class, my goals in analyzing the data described above were to determine (a) what was being taught—that is, the characteristics of the genre that were being presented to the students as conventions that they should follow in their writing, (b) to what extent the students were learning what was being taught—that is, what conventions they were following in their journals, and (c) why they were and were not learning and following the conventions.

I determined the characteristics of the writing the students were being asked to engage in by analyzing the teachers' oral instructions for in-class and at-home writing, written assignment sheets, the teachers' written responses to the journal entries, classroom materials, such as an excerpt from a piece by Lillian Hellman, and the journals written by the teachers and distributed to the students. To determine the extent to which the students were following the conventions of the genre, I examined the students' journals. To gain as much insight as possible into why they were and were not following the conventions, I analyzed their interview responses.

I focused on three elements in my analysis of journal entries and other prose texts presented as models—organizational features, linguistic features, and content—in an attempt to determine genre conventions, following Ferguson's (1986) definition of genre as:

> A unit of discourse conventionalized in a given community at a certain time, having an internal sequential structure and a set of features of form, content, and use that distinguish it from others in the repertoire of the community. (p. 208)

In analyzing organizational features, I drew upon Labov and Waletsky's (1967) approach to describing the *overall structure* of oral narratives. In analyzing linguistic features, I drew upon their analysis of the *basic framework* of narratives (p. 20), using the clause as the unit of analysis, as they did. I focused on those features which, taken together and considered for an entire piece, constituted a description of the transitivity within the piece—that is, the extent to which actions occur and affect people and things and who the participants are and what their roles are within the actions (see Halliday, 1981). Within each clause, I identified and counted participants (i.e., nouns and pronouns), their semantic case roles, verbs, verb types, and verb tenses (see Fillmore, 1970; Halliday, 1967, 1970, 1981; Kennedy, 1982; Traugott & Pratt, 1980). I approached the analysis of content, the third feature of the writing I examined, with "the general pre-theoretical notion of [content] as 'what is being talked [i.e., written] about'" (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 71), following my intuitions as an experienced reader and writing teacher as well as considering specific features of the writing such as vocabulary, verb tenses, and verb types (see Staton et al., 1988, for a similar approach to discussing content in journal writing). I also examined the data (teachers' journals and other prose texts as well as instructions, assignment sheets, and teachers' responses to student journals) to describe functions (Ferguson's *uses*), focusing primarily on vocabulary. Finally, I added audience to Ferguson's list of defining features of genre, drawing from the work of Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod, and Rosen (1975) and Applebee (1981). In analyzing audience in the journals, I considered who read the journals and how they responded as well as what students said in interviews about responders and responses.

Using these analytic approaches, I was able to describe particular functions, content, audience, and organizational and linguistic forms of the writing as it was presented to the students. Table 3 presents a summary of these features.

The combination of representational and reflective *functions* is one of the features of the genre. That is, writers describe events, people, objects, and issues in their lives, and they also reflect on the influences on them and importance to them of those events, people, objects, and issues. In this way, the genre is very similar to personal journals written outside the classroom. The *content* is focused on the personal experiences and feelings of the writers. The *audience* for the genre (the teacher and occasionally other students) responds primarily to the content rather than to the form of the writing and does not

TABLE 3

Features of Classroom Personal Journal Writing

Functions
- *Representational* – description of events, people, issues, objects in the writer's life.
- *Reflective* – discussion of the influence and importance of events, people, issues, and objects in the writer's life.

Content
- Personal experiences, ideas, and feelings of the writer.

Audience
- The audience responds to the content of the writing only, not to form or correctness, responding primarily as an interested reader rather than as an evaluator or teacher.

Organizational form
- *Beginning* – identification of time, place, person, and theme.
- *Middle* – thematically unified description of event, person, issue, or object accompanied by some reflection on its significance for the writer.
- *End* – concluding reflection on the significance of the event, person, issue, or object described in the middle.

Linguistic form
- First-person singular predominates.
- The writer expresses his or her thoughts, feelings and attributes through three primary syntactic structures:
  - — first person subject + stative verb + adjective (noun)
    Examples: *I was scared.* / *I was a shy child.*
  - — first person subject + mental verb + clause/phrase
    Example: *I assume that I missed my mother's attention to me.*
  - — questions
    Example: *How could I do what was expected of me?*

correct the entries, reacting as an interested reader rather than a teacher or evaluator. Though more and more classroom genres involve similar respondent(s), the predominant audience for school writing continues to be the teacher-as-evaluator (see Britton et al., 1975, and Applebee, 1981, 1984). The element of *organizational form* that most distinguishes the genre is the fact that reflection on the meaning or significance of the event, person, object, or issue discussed in the middle typically occurs at the ends of entries. Finally, several *linguistic features* characterize the genre: in particular, the predominance of the first-person participant and the expression of the writer's thoughts, feelings, and attributes (i.e., reflection) through certain syntactic structures (listed in Table 3).

Student journals were also analyzed using these procedures so that I could determine whether and to what extent they were following in their writing the conventions that were presented to them in the class. Two student journals written in response to the same assignment show how these conventions were realized in student writing. The assignment (see Appendix C) asked the students to choose an important time in their lives, a time when something significant was happening to them, and to write about it in detail using a list of questions as guidelines. The two journals presented below, reproduced without editing, were written in response to that assignment. The emphases have been added to illustrate the different types of reflection the two writers engaged in.

Sita, Journal #2 – 3/12/85

The tradgedies happended just about 3 months after I returned from 6 months in Thailand. I got a oversea phone call from one of my brother-in-law on Thursday evening in June 1984. **I knew** *exactly what he would tell me when I answered the phone. My dad passed away! The funeral would held on the following Saturday. Even though I had only one night to decide that I should fly half world for the funeral or not, a few hours to buy air ticket and pack my suit case, I went anyway.*

All my relatives were surprised to see me showed up because they didn't expect me to go back home since I've just left Bangkok 3 months ago.

It wasn't only I lost my dad, but for the 2 weeks I was there my second older sister had a blood clod in her brain which caused the left side of her body paralized! In addition to that one of my close friends had personnel problem that she considered taking her own life!

I felt overwhelm *by tredgedies that* **I was so valnerable** *as if I were in all that experiences myself.* **I felt so helpless, miserable, and old.**

When I arrived to Bangkok **I was already psysically and mentally tried** *and I wasn't able to gain my strength back even after 3 months that I returned back to San Francisco.*

Each time that I looked at myself in the mirror, **I saw a sad and tried face which over shadow by misery.** *I didn't just look old,* **I also felt old.** *The tradgedies hit me so hard at the same time from three different ways. Therefore the impact was almost too difficult and painful to bear.*

As I gradually recuperated, **I went through the deep contemplations.** *I have changed so much now than last year. Because of this traumatic experiences, the tremendous force* **made me to become a mature person.**

Alicia, Journal #3 – 10/14/84

When I was 8 years old, **I liked** *to be in shows that the school use to give for Mother's Day and Independence Day, I used to recite and dance* **I enjoyed** *doing that very much, all the kits in the school and their parents liked the way that I acted. At the time I was living in one of San Salvador's Town, a beutiful town, My parents liked too. The only thing that my Father did not like was all the make up that I did have to wear to look pretty. I* **remember** *one time a friend from school polished my nails when I got home my father saw them, he got so angry that he made me to take the polish off. I never did* *that again. At the time my preorities were my books earn the best grades, tried to be one of the best students on class, goal that I always achieved, my religious commitment was attended to church every Sunday with my parents at that time I belonged to Girl Scouts, my favorite clothes was to wear mini skirts, my favorite music oh* **I loved to listen** *rock and roll, my hobbies swim and read stories and my favorite food it always been seafood*

These two students obviously responded to the same assignment with very different approaches even though they had received the same instructions and preparation in the class. Although both students wrote primarily in first person singular about personal experiences, Sita reflected more on her feelings and thoughts and on the significance of events throughout her piece as well as at the end, while Alicia simply made a series of statements about things she used to like to do. Sita's piece also represents a thematically unified description of one event, while Alicia lists numerous events connected only in that they had occurred in her life. Contrasts like these emerged in the journal writing of the nine writers, allowing me to distinguish different ways of adapting to the writing conventions.

Ways of Adapting to the Genre Conventions

In fact, analyses of their journals and interview responses indicate that the students adapted quite differently to this type of writing (see Lucas 1990, for a more thorough discussion). One student (Sita) embraced the genre. She expressed no difficulty in adapting to it and followed the conventions to a greater extent in her writing than did the other eight students. Five students struggled in different ways with the fact that they had an audience beyond themselves for this very personal writing, but all ultimately adopted the conventions at different times and in different ways. Three (Raquel, Keiko, and Kimiko) struggled with the fact that the writing encouraged them to disclose their personal experiences and feelings to an outside audience. A fourth student (Kaoru) found it difficult to write about personal experiences and feelings to an audience other than herself, not because of the self-disclosure involved but because of the need to describe and explain her experiences and feelings more clearly than she would do for herself. The fifth student (Irene) reported no difficulty with the writing, but in her writing she did not follow most of the personal, reflective conventions until her seventh journal, the assignment for which elicited an entry about her escape from Vietnam by boat as a teenager. Two students (Sunee and Alicia) developed their own agenda for the writing, following some of the conventions but not following most of those involving highly personal content and reflection. Of these two, Alicia reported having difficulty with the personal nature of the writing, and Sunee did not. Finally, one student (Elizabeth) tried to adopt the conventions of the genre but

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then opted out of the class entirely after 6 of the 10 classes because the writing was too "personal." It is clear that some of these students engaged in the self-reflection elicted by journal writing more easily than others. This consideration of how they adapted leaves us still with the question, Why did they respond so differently to the writing? What might have led to such different realizations of the assignments? The answers must lie in who the students were and the experiences and expectations they brought to the class and to the assignments.

Influences on Ways of Adapting

In an ideal world, all students would embrace the conventions of a genre that could help them improve their confidence, fluency, and skill in writing (which the teachers believed engagement with this genre would do). But I am sure that it does not surprise teachers to see that these nine students did not all do so. Just as Fillmore's (1979, 1983) subjects responded in different ways to being asked to learn English, my subjects responded in different ways to being asked to engage in (and therefore to learn) classroom personal journal writing. Student questionnaires, in-depth interviews with the students, and the content of the journals themselves revealed a variety of influences on their ways of responding. I will discuss those influences which emerged as most salient from my analyses, focusing only on those students for whom each influence appeared strongest.

Past Writing Experience

Past writing experience—both amounts and types of experience—seemed to play a major role in students' adaptations to the genre. Raquel and Kaoru had kept personal journals for approximately fifteen years each. Raquel described her journal as her "closest companion" and Kaoru spoke of her journal as similarly important in her life. For them and for Kimiko and Sita, who had also kept journals for shorter periods of time, their journals were places to explore their feelings and reactions rather than just to record events. Though Irene had never kept a journal or diary, she had used writing for personal, expressive purposes (see Britton, 1970) in poems, stories, and personal essays that she had written in high school.

In contrast, Alicia and Sunee had had less experience and more limited ranges of experience than the other students writing in any genres in their native languages or in English. Besides a few poems that Alicia had been inspired to write as a young girl, the only personal writing either of them had done was letters. Alicia also had had the least education, having completed high school and taken only a few classes at a community college. Their more limited experiences with writing meant that the genre was very unfamiliar to them, which allowed them to adapt it to their own styles and purposes, ignoring certain features, perhaps more easily than others who had more clearly defined conceptions of what was involved in journal writing. The fact that Alicia had not had extensive experience with university-level writing classes also gave her fewer preconceptions of what the teachers might "want" from her in her writing than someone like Elizabeth, for example, who appeared to see dropping out of the class as her only alternative to giving the teachers what they wanted.

Those students who had had experience writing in a genre and for functions similar to those of classroom personal journal writing adapted more easily and more completely to what was expected of them—that is, they followed more of the genre conventions more quickly—than those students who had never done personal, reflective writing. A comparison of pieces written by Raquel and Sunee about parents who had died illustrates these differences.

Raquel, Journal #4 – 10/7/85

When I was 21 years of age the most important person in my life, died.

My mother, my sister and I lived in a nice town in my country. Our life was like the life of many working families: my mother worked to support the family and my sister and I studied to be proffesional and to support my mother in her old age. My parents were divorced since I was ten years old. My father never took out the responsabilities I think that as father he should take. Thus, all the family burden leaned over my mother's shoulders. She spent almost all her life working and working hard to give a good education to her two daughters.

When my mother was going to see the fruit of her efforts in terms of our education, she got a cerebral stroke that put her in 5 days of comma. We were not expecting this hit in our lives. Those days were the worse days in my life. My mother was the most important person in my life. She was the meaning of my existence and I was losing that in those days of agony. The feelings I experimented with in those days were unknown for me. I was rebeled with every thing, especially with God. I didn't understand why that was happening to us. She was too young to die. I was totally unable to stop the death and that made me feel angry when I saw my own weakness in front of the death. Even the doctors couldn't do anything.

After five days, my mother died. The following days and months were months of completely loneliness, sadness, and emptiness. Her absence was evident in every moment of my life.

As the time went by, I got envolved in different activities. The death of my mother left another taste in my life. I started to see the life from another perspective, from the perspective of somebody who had suffered the lose of the beloved one. After that I could understand the suffering of different people because I was sensitive to this. I was alert of when [?] was happening around me and started to rebel against all kind of injustice, oppresion and suffering.

Sunee, Journal #4 – 10/7

My father used to play an important role in my life. My family has five children. Everyone in the family loves him eventhough he had pass away a couple of years ago.

He was a handsome man and had a loud voice. He had brown skin and a bit bald. He was about 5 feet 10 inches. Because of his character, everyone in the family afraid of him. He supported us to have good education and to save our lifes. He worked hard and took full responsibility of his family. When he was alive, he always taught us to respect to other people, honest to other people, be worked hard, and be a responsible person.

We were not close to him when we were little because he left home for work early in the morning and came home late at night. We were closer to him when we grown up because at that time he had a business at home. He always in a good mood when the business was well, otherwise, he was a serious person. He smoked and drank heavily when he was young. He stopped smoking and drinking when he was fifty-five years old because of his health. No one could stop him before that time. He suffered a lot when he was sick in the hospital for four months until he died. Everyone in my family still respect him because he was our father and he was the one we always love.

Raquel's journal is both representational and reflective. She writes predominantly in first person singular, expresses her feelings through the syntactic structures characteristic of the genre (e.g., *I didn't understand, I saw my own weakness, I started to see the life from another perspective*), and ends the piece by reflecting on the effects on her life of the events she described in the body of the piece. Sunee, on the other hand, includes little reflection or expression of feelings in her piece and never uses first person singular. Though the content is certainly personal, Sunee's piece is much less expressive of her own experiences and reactions than is Raquel's.

Since the teachers did not try to force students to be more reflective or disclosing than they wanted to be, Sunee's piece was just as acceptable to the teachers as was Raquel's. However, Raquel's conformed more completely to the conventions of the writing which were presented in the class. It may be common sense that students will perform better on a task with which they have had some experience, but if we think about what we expect our students to do in our classes and the little that we usually know or learn about their past writing experiences, we can see that this common sense is not always applied. That is, we do not always base our expectations of our students on their past writing experiences.

Personality: Self revelation and reflection

Along with other second language acquisition researchers, I have focused on the personality traits that "intuitively strike [me] as important" within the context of my research (Ellis, 1986, p.120): self-revelation and reflection. In this case, the ways these students approached classroom personal journal writing was consonant with the degree of self-revelation they engaged in in everyday interactions with me and others in the class and in their pasts as they revealed them to me in interviews. These personality traits, like others, are difficult to measure or to isolate, but the contrast between Sita, on the one hand, and Alicia and Sunee, on the other, illustrates them clearly. In interviews, Sita very comfortably and with little elicitation discussed personal events in her life and her feelings about them and about people. She also asked me questions about myself, departing from the strict interviewer-interviewee relationship that we ostensibly had with each other. After the class ended, she went on to graduate school in counseling psychology, planning to be a counselor. One of Sita's journals shows her willingness to engage in the personal, reflective nature of the writing—a letter to her mother, who had died many years before, in which she expressed some very difficult and complex feelings of guilt and sadness and worry that she had let her mother down. Though somewhat less revealing, her piece about the three tragedies that befell her (Journal #2) also reflects her willingness to engage in personal, reflective communication.

Alicia also told me about some personal events in her life, but she was much less likely to reveal her feelings about them than was Sita. In interviews, she described her father's disappearance from their farm in El Salvador a few years before, her difficult decision to leave her family and El Salvador to come to the U.S. with her husband, and her parents' fights when she was young. But she very explicitly indicated that she did not want to reflect on past events if they made her sad. In her last interview, she said:

> [In the class], I wrote about my life on the farm, about living with beautiful nature things. Those were the happiest times of my life. I remember unhappy things, but I wouldn't want to write because it's like living it again. . . . I get upset and cry when I write about bad things. I don't learn anything. I just get upset and start crying.

The entry by Alicia which we saw above mirrors her desire to remember only happy events and to minimize sad ones.

Sunee was even less forthcoming than Alicia. In fact, I learned almost nothing about her life or her feelings in interviews or through reading her journals. In marked contrast to Sita, Sunee seemed to view the interviews only as situations in which I asked questions for which I wanted short, simple, to-the-point answers. She rarely, if ever, elaborated on an answer or expressed her feelings. Again, the journal in which she described her father (Journal #4) mirrors this lack of revelation and personal reflection.

Cultural Background

The last influence to be considered here is culture—that is, the set of values, customs, and beliefs learned by growing up within ethnic, religious, and social groups. For these students, the influence of cultural background was mediated by individual differences such as personal experience. That is to say, the findings illustrate the fact that cultural background is not a monolithic force influencing everyone in similar ways. The most telling example of the mediation of cultural influences by individual differences is the contrast between Sita, who embraced the genre to a greater extent than any other student, and Sunee, who followed only a limited number of the personal, reflective conventions which distinguish this genre from others. We have already seen journals written by these two women which illustrate their very different approaches to the journal writing. They had similar sociocultural backgrounds: both were adult Thai women, were raised and schooled in Thailand through secondary school, Sita even through the university, and were from economic backgrounds which were neither impoverished nor extremely wealthy. We might, therefore, expect them to respond to the writing similarly. But we would be wrong.

Their approaches to the journal writing appeared to be greatly influenced by individual factors such as experience with and attitudes toward writing, especially the use of writing as a mode of reflection, and personality, particularly the degree of revelation and reflection in which they engaged. Sita was also more integrated into American society and culture (she lived with an American man) and was a permanent resident in the U.S., which made her more "Americanized" than Sunee, a foreign student planning to return to Thailand. Sita felt that such personality traits as self-disclosure and reflection were accepted and valued in the U.S. Thus, her adaptation to the personal, reflective journal writing was facilitated by the ways in which certain aspects of her personality interacted with her experience of U.S. culture. All of these factors—writing experience, personality, degree of integration into American culture—and others interacted to produce differences in the ways in which Sita and Sunee approached the journal writing.

The influence of cultural background was more evident in the responses of the three Japanese women in the study. Kaoru, Kimiko, and Keiko all struggled with the audience for the writing and ultimately adapted to the conventions. All mentioned differences in attitudes toward self-disclosure in Japanese and American cultures, and all were somewhat reluctant at first to engage in the self-reflection of the genre. Nevertheless, individual differences mediated the influence of cultural background for these students just as they did for Sita and Sunee. Kaoru's extensive experience with personal, reflective writing in her own personal journal made the adaptation easier for her than for the other two. Kimiko, too, had done some personal writing, which Keiko had not and, overall, she produced a higher proportion of pieces that followed the personal, reflective conventions of the genre. Keiko, who wrote more journals than any other student besides Irene, engaged in those conventions selectively. That is, some of her entries involve very little personal reflection; she wrote several entries about such impersonal subjects as the effects of television, the content of a symposium she had attended, and the expense of living in a city. On the other hand, she also wrote about being molested as a child, feeling rejected when her younger sister was born, and being left by a boyfriend. She acknowledged that she had difficulty being open in her life and in her writing, attributing that difficulty to Japanese cultural values which, she said, make Japanese people uncomfortable with disclosure. She reported that it was more difficult for her to express her feelings and to disclose in Japanese than in English because "there are too many ways to be polite in Japanese." The fact that Kimiko and Kaoru overcame their initial problems with disclosure more easily than Keiko and that both said they found it easier to express their feelings in Japanese than in English may be related to both culture and age: Keiko grew up in a less open Japan than did Kimiko and Kaoru, who were 11 years younger than she was.

These comparisons illustrate the complex interplay between cultural background and individual differences in students' responses to classroom tasks, in particular their willingness to engage in a type of classroom writing. The distinction between the two is not easily drawn: culture constitutes the context within which individual experiences occur and unique ways of perceiving and conceiving the world develop.

Conclusion and Implications

I have discussed three influences on nine ESL students' ways of adapting to a particular written genre—one involving personal content and reflection—in a university context. These influences were: past writing experiences; degrees of self-revelation and reflection they engaged in in their writing, in interviews, and in classroom interactions; and cultural background. Certainly not an exhaustive list, these are simply major influences I discerned from conducting research on these nine students. From an analysis of these students' experiences, I have concluded, as many educators and researchers are telling us, that what the students brought to the tasks of learning and participating in a written genre influenced the outcomes of their engagement with those tasks. In other words, the extents to which they did what was expected of them were influenced by a variety of factors outside the control of the teachers and, for that matter, of the students themselves.

Though I have discussed these influences separately, they cannot really be isolated. They work together, interacting in different ways and affecting learners' behavior in different ways. They are elements of what Erickson (1986) has called "meaning perspectives." For example, Raquel's and Kaoru's extensive experiences writing personal, reflective journals in their own native languages led them to see the journal writing in the class differently from other students and to adapt to it more easily than some of those students. The fact that Elizabeth, Keiko, Alicia, and Sunee had not engaged in much self-disclosure or reflection in their lives or in writing made the genre more difficult for them than for others. Kaoru, Kimiko, and Keiko experienced a conflict between the feelings about self-disclosure they had acquired growing up in Japanese culture and those of their American teachers, and each resolved it in her own way. The students in my study were making sense of the journal writing in different ways, ways that were not always evident from a consideration of their behavior alone.

What does all of this mean for the classroom? First of all, these findings corroborate a fact that teachers already know and struggle with regularly: each student is an individual unlike any other. As difficult as it is, we must be cautious in our reliance on cultural values and customs to explain students' behavior and learning. We must be vigilant to avoid making generalizations, to ourselves and to others, about "Asian students" or "Middle Eastern students" or "Mexican students." Assuming that Sita and Sunee would respond to journal writing similarly because they are both Thai women, for example, would have been a gross miscalculation. Cultural background certainly plays a role, but individual perceptions, experiences, knowledge, values—by themselves and as they interact with cultural background—have a powerful influence as well. In order to help students who are having difficulty with tasks we set for them, we need to consider not only the cultures that they come from, but also the experiences, knowledge, and values that they have brought to the tasks. While a knowledge of different cultural values can make teachers aware of the influence of culture on individuals, cultural stereotyping can blind us to the myriad of relevant individual experiences and perceptions that influence students' learning.

> Teachers need to be able to use knowledge of culture judiciously in order not to stereotype students but to serve them better; this means using cultural knowledge in conjunction with other types of information related to the content and skills to be taught and individual students' preferences and personalities to promote learning. (McGroarty, 1986, p. 305)

A second conclusion for the classroom that grows directly out of the first is that past writing experience seems to have been one of the most important influences for these students. This suggests that when we are teaching writing, we need to know the kinds and amounts of writing experiences our students have had and their attitudes toward those experiences. We should not rely on our assumptions about their experiences; we should ask students about them, perhaps in questionnaires or in individual conferences at the beginning of a course. This knowledge will help us predict who will have the most difficulty fulfilling our expectations of the kind of writing we want our students to produce so that we can provide appropriate assistance to those students.

Third, these findings indicate that students respond in different ways to being asked to engage in a particular genre and that they may have difficulty learning not only the formal features of a second language or dialect but also the conventions of the discourse genres of a culture or subculture different from their own. Most of the students in the study followed most of the conventions in many of their journals, but they struggled in different ways with being asked to produce personal, reflective writing for an audience. If we ask our students to do personal journal writing, we need to give some thought to how they may respond to the personal reflection required in journal writing. We may, in fact, need to adjust our expectations of how easy journal writing will be for them and of the extent to which they will be willing to reflect on personal issues. Similar struggles may also occur in more traditional classes where students are expected to learn to write academic essays. Since essay writing plays such an important gatekeeping role in our academic system, we need to examine influences on students' engagement with and learning of that genre.

Finally, these findings suggest that extralinguistic factors are crucial to learning, even for ESL students (see California State Department of Education, 1986, for a volume devoted to the role of such factors in schooling). Because our profession has been guided for so long by trends and theories in linguistics, we have a tendency to assume that language is the only or most relevant ingredient in the teaching and learning of ESL, whether the focus is on written or oral skills. Neither researchers nor teachers can ignore such factors as experience, attitudes, perceptions, and even idiosyncracies if they want to understand students deeply and teach them effectively. ■

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Appendix A

Student Interviews

Student Interview #1

1. Tell me about why you are taking this course.
2. Tell me about the role of writing in your life.
   Follow-up and probing questions:
   a. What kinds of writing have you done in school in your native language? In English?
   b. What kinds of writing have you done outside school in your native language? In English?
   c. What kinds of writing do you now do in your native language? In English?
   d. What kinds of writing do you think you will do in the future in your native language? In English?
3. Tell me about how you feel when you write (a) in English and (b) in your native language for school? For yourself? For work?
4. How do you feel about the class so far?
5. How do you feel about the assignments so far?
6. a. Have you ever done personal writing? What kind(s)?
   b. Have you ever written a diary or journal? In what language? How did you feel about it?
7. Is there anything else about your writing that you would like to tell me?

Student Interview #2

1. How do you feel about the class now?
   Follow-up and probing questions:
   a. What do you like about it?
   b. What don't you like about it?
   c. How are your feelings about it different now than they were at the beginning?
2. How do you feel about the teachers?
3. How do you feel about the teachers' journals?
4. How do you feel about the teachers' comments on your journals?
5. How do you feel about your writing now? Do you feel any differently than you did at the beginning of the course?
6. How do you feel about the writing you're doing for the class?
   Follow-up and probing questions:
   a. Do you see any benefits of the writing? What are they?
   b. What do you find difficult about the writing? Easy?
   c. What do you like about it? What don't you like about it?
7. Tell me about (specific pieces you've written).
   Follow-up and probing questions:
   a. How did/do you feel about them?
   b. Did writing about the subjects affect your thinking about them?
   c. Which one stands out in your mind the most? Why?
   d. Which do you like the best? The least? Why?
8. How do you feel about the journal topics assigned?
9. a. How do you decide which topics to write about?
   b. How do you decide which to hand in for the teacher to read?
10. a. How do you feel about the teachers' journals?
    b. Which ones stand out in your mind?
    c. Do you think they influence you or your writing? If so, how?
11. a. How do you feel about the teachers' comments on your journals?
    b. Do they influence your writing? If so, how?

Student Interview #3

1. How do you feel about writing now? Have your feelings changed while taking the course?
2. How do you feel about the class now that it is (almost) over?
3. a. Has this class been different from other English classes you have taken? How?
   b. From other English writing classes? How?
4. How would you describe the roles the teachers have played in the course?

   Follow-up and probing questions:

   a. What kinds of things have they done in the class?
   b. How have you felt about them and what they've done?
5. What has been the most important aspect of the course to you?
6. a. Do you perceive any changes in yourself in the last 10 weeks? What are they?
   b. Any changes in yourself as a writer?
   c. Do you think the changes are related to the class? How?
7. When you sit down to write something now, do you do anything differently than you did before you took the class? If so, what?
8. How would you describe the kind of writing you've done in the class?
9. Had you ever done this kind of writing before? In what language? In what situation(s)?
10. How do you feel about this kind of writing now? Has your attitude toward this kind of writing changed since the beginning of the course?
11. Do you see any benefits of this kind of writing? What are they?
12. Do you see benefits of other types of writing? What types? What benefits?
13. What was the most important piece of writing you did for the class? Why? Least important? Why?
14. What other pieces that you wrote stand out in your mind? Why?
15. Tell me about (specific other pieces you wrote).
16. Will you continue with this kind of writing on your own? Why or why not?

Teacher Interviews

Teacher Interview #1

1. What are your goals for the class?
2. How would you describe the kind of writing the students are doing in their journals?
3. How would you describe the writing you are doing in your journals?
   Follow-up and probing questions:
   a. Describe the content.
   b. Describe the organization.
   c. Describe the purpose.
4. Which students are writing the kind of writing you expected them to?
5. What are your impressions of (the case study students)?
6. What are your impressions of the class so far?

Teacher Interview #2

1. How would you describe the population of the class? Tell me anything that seems important to you.
2. What is your impression of why the students are taking the class?
3. Describe how you see your role in the class.
4. Describe what has happened in the class so far.
5. What are your impressions of the class now?
6. What are your impressions of (the case study students)?

Teacher Interview #3

1. What are your general impressions of the class now that it is over?
2. What were your successes? Disappointments?
3. Will you do anything differently if you teach the class again?
4. How would you describe your role in the class this semester?
5. What was the most important aspect of the 10 weeks for you?
6. What are your impressions of (the case study students) now that the class is over?

Appendix B

Two Teachers' Journals

Teacher's Journal #1

I find sitting down to write difficult. Last week, I waited until the very last moment. I felt I had a good start, but if I had revised it several times or thought about it longer, it would have been more cohesive. So, here I am explaining to myself and apologizing to you about my last entry. But, because it wasn't good, I feel I need to do that much better this time. We'll see about that . . .

I have several objects which have meaning in my life. I have a medal my grandmother gave me, a pair of diamond earrings my exhusband gave me and my calendar book. Other objects come into mind now. Because I moved in July, I have a fairly good idea of old "favorites." But, once again it comes down to choosing. The calendar is something that is everyday and practical. It's not inspirational. The earrings would make an interesting story—better than the medal from my gandmother. So, it is the earrings.

Where should I start? I have to go back seven years, more or less. It was the Christmas before my husband and I separated. We had had a stormy August and September with a lot of fights. Actually, we didn't fight alot. So, there were a lot of unspoken feelings, anger, frustration, distress. It was the lack of communication that made the two months uneven and upsetting. So, at Christmas, I was not feeling very close to him or very jolly. That was difficult for me because I was (am) a great believer in the spirit of Christmas and do my best to make it a warm caring time. But, our problems and a fight on Christmas Eve made me feel at the bottom of it all. As I sat next to his parents' Christmas tree while everyone tore into their gifts, I felt distant, depressed. The last gift passed out was to me. I had failed to notice all evening that I hadn't received a "big" gift from my husband. So, I found a very large box in my hands. I fussed with it, hating to open it in front of the whole family and make all the appropriate comments "How lovely! Just right! Thank you, Mark. I love you." I thought it would all stick in my throat. Finally, everyone made me open it. Inside, I found a tiny note saying follow this string. (I had failed to see the string coming out of the box because of all the wrapping paper and general confusion.) The string led me to a small box on the tree. I opened it slowly to find a pair of diamond earrings. I lost my breath and was overwhelmed. I sat, for one of the few times, dumbfounded. You see I had mentioned several years before that I wanted a pair of diamonds knowing then that we were too poor to get them. Mark had kept that thought and found this pair in May. He had been paying for them little by little, through all our fights or nonfights, so that he could give them to me on

Christmas. All the planning, all the secrecy, showed me he cared, yet I knew then that all the planning, all the secrecy, was not enough. Though he had done everything just the way I liked it, with all the surprise, with all the magic, with all the love, I knew that we wouldn't last much longer.

Now, you may ask, how could earrings which came with such sadness be favorites of mine? Well, I see those earrings representing care, planning, hard work and secrecy. They remind me of what love can do, of how important planning, hard work and care are in a relationship and for an individual. They also remind me that secrecy and surprises are not always pleasant. What I had kept hidden, my feelings, and what Mark had kept hidden, the gift, hurt the relationship because it was too late.

So, I wear the earrings whenever I must face a difficult situation. I wear them to give me confidence and to remind me how to act. If I have to go to a meeting I don't like or a party I would rather not go to, I wear the earrings. Then I know to act what is in my heart with care. I've never told Mark any of this even though we have remained friends. He doesn't know what his earrings have grown to mean to me.

Teacher's Journal #2

I came to California eight years ago after living in Washington, DC for several years. Prior to that, I'd spent my childhood in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. When I lived on the east coast, California seemed as far away as Mars, and most of what I heard about this state was pretty negative. It has a very anti-intellectual reputation back east and people often see the "lifestyle" out here as quite indulgent—hot tubs, jogging, drugs, health food. In any case, I don't really want to write about how easterners view the west, but when I came here, because of my surroundings, I had a fairly cynical picture about what I might find. Eight years later, I know I made the right decision, for despite all of my preconceived notions about the west coast, I loved San Francisco immediately. I was dazzled by the hilly streets, the colorful Victorians, the friendly and diverse people I met so easily, the bay, the ocean . . . it was all wonderful and breathtakingly beautiful. I'd arrived in June and was able to enjoy the summer since I was living off my savings. Not having to work allowed me to explore the city and travel up and down the coast. When September rolled around, though I was thoroughly enjoying myself, my money was running low and I had to find a job. I did a lot of temporary office work, restaurant work and other odd jobs as I waited for the fall to approach and signal the change of seasons and perhaps a change in my work situation. Yet, all the resumes I sent out, the interviews I went on and the contacts that everyone told me I should be making came to naught. Without a glimmer of autumn, October came and went as did November and December. Everyday, the sky was a kind of cornflower blue, no clouds, no fog, just warm air and less smog than we have now. Then people began to talk about the drought and all kinds of water saving techniques were established—turn off water while brushing your teeth, don't let it run while cleaning dishes, take short showers. Since this was my first winter here, though others acknowledged the weather as unusual, I began to feel as if the summer had turned endless. Somehow I got it into my head as my work situation got worse and worse, that all those sunny skies were as much a cause of the depression I began to feel as was the terribly competitive job market I was trying to break into. Despite the beauty of the weather, I inevitably compared it to my frustrating job search routine because neither ever changed. I remember thinking about *The End of the Road*, a book by John Barth, in which a character uses the term "weatherless" to describe a certain type of climate. While I don't think he had bright blue skies in mind, that's how I began to experience California. It wasn't until February that it hit me that autumn had come and gone and that I had never seen the firey leaves fall from the trees. I was in a time warp, so mesmorized by the intense blue sky that I'd forgotten what it was like to jump into a pile of crunchy leaves and scatter them everywhere. On the other hand, I was happy to forget about the snow and slush of winter that I knew was blanketing the east coast and other parts of the country. Yet, there was something about having missed the fall that was almost painful.

In time, of course, the drought ended and San Francisco's subtle seasons began to emerge for me. Like all other transplanted easterners, I stopped looking for dramatic changes in the weather. I not only got used to, but began to appreciate the foggy Julys and rainy season. But ever since that first year here, I have never quite gotten over losing fall. In 1977, I flew back east in October and gloried in the colors and crisp air, but when I became a student and then a teacher, the option of leaving at that time of year disappeared. So, in 1978, I established a plan with my mother. As soon as the leaves on the giant maple tree in front of our house turned yellow, orange and red, she would wait for them to fall and begin collecting. The first year, she sent me one or two, but the color turned brown by the time they reached me. The next year, she sent more and I had better luck—a brilliant yellow maple leaf with only a few flecks of brown had made it unchanged. And so, what began as a silly attempt to ease this seasonal homesickness became a ritual I now celebrate every year about this time. Last Friday when the mail came with a big brown envelope addressed to me, I knew what was inside. As I spilled out the contents, amidst the crisp brown oak and ginko leaves and between a few moldy maples, a small red leaf fluttered out of the bag. Its veins were still green, but a rich red flushed out on all sides of those narrow lines—one perfect leaf in a mass of 20 past their prime.

So, my taste of autumn is here with me in my room, a reminder of my favorite time of year, of my childhood, from the tree my mother planted as a sapling, which now obscures the entire front of the house. I look at it and know that in a few weeks, I will finally be able to get away and go up north to delight in the flash of color and smells that I almost forgot one fall eight years ago.

Appendix C

Instructions for Steppingstone Assignment

First Journal Assignment

Steppingstones

(Adapted from the work of Ira Progoff)

You are going to make a list of 8 to 12 significant points in the movement of your life. These points may reflect times of happiness, pain, decision, transition, boredom, or anything else as long as they illustrate a moment or period that is memorable to you, regardless of the importance it may or may not have to someone else.

Write only a word or phrase to indicate each steppingstone period. You are the only one who needs to understand the meaning behind each point, so lengthy or detailed explanations are not necessary.

Your list should begin with your birth and move to the present. If ideas or images should come to you out of chronological order, once your list is completed, go back and number the items in chronological order.

You should take no more than 20 minutes, maximum, to make this list! At first, you may find it difficult to think of 12 points, and then suddenly, 12 will seem like too few. Don't labor over which 12 to pick. Just write the first 12 that come to you without getting too focused on any particular period.

Second Journal Assignment

Look over your list of Steppingstones. Pick one that you would like to write about. You will probably share your writing with some of your classmates, so pick one that you won't mind talking about with other people. Finally, write about a time when you felt something significant was happening in your life, when you were changing or growing as a person.

Now, write about that time in detail. Use the following questions as *guidelines.* You don't have to answer all of them or respond to them in the order they are asked. Pick the ones that are relevant to you. Write in paragraph form.

1. Where were you?
2. What were you doing?
3. How did you feel about yourself?
4. Where did you live? Describe the situation.
5. How old were you?
6. Who was important to you?
7. What was important to you?
8. What were your values and priorities?
9. What were your plans for the future?
10. Did you have any political or religious commitments? What were they?
11. Did you belong to any groups or organizations? Which ones?
12. How did you picture yourself? What did you look like? What clothes did you like to wear?
13. What music did you like to listen to?
14. What food did you like to eat?
15. What were your hobbies or interests?

The CATESOL Journal

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The Communicative Writing Framework: Examining Bilingual Children's Writing

■ **This paper examines the potential for teachers to act as researchers within their own classrooms. It utilizes a four-step process for such classroom-based research: observation, reflection, planning, and action. The focus of the research described is the creation of a Communicative Writing Framework (CWF) to aid in the examination and evaluation of linguistically diverse children's writing. Research by James Cummins, Katherine Perera, and Linda Flower provide the theoretical basis for such a framework. Application of the CWF is made to (a) data from the Language Assessment Scales-Writing, a national assessment tool, and (b) writing activities of students in a first-grade Spanish-English bilingual classroom. Suggestions are provided for teachers interested in implementing and adapting the CWF model to their own writing classes.**

The blending of theory and practice has no better home than in the classroom. Teachers, who spend all day with students, possess a wealth of intuitive knowledge about (a) what does and doesn't work, (b) who does and doesn't understand, and (c) which stimuli are useful and which are boring. However, teachers often want to know more about reasons behind events in their classrooms and turn to the academicians at the university to help answer the theoretical questions. Training teachers to conduct classroom-oriented research either by themselves or in collaboration with university faculty is a way to maximize educational resources (Nunan, 1990). Teachers become participants in both the evolution and application of theories as they relate to teaching strategies, lesson plans, and the use of classroom texts (Seliger & Long, 1983). The need to carry out such classroom research when teaching students from ethnically diverse backgrounds is great because while our knowledge of multicultural and bilingual learning strategies is growing, much remains unknown (Allen, Swain, Harley, & Cummins, 1990; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990).

The interactions I had with a bilingual classroom teacher just finishing her master's degree provided me with the opportunity to collaborate on such classroom research. Since both of our interests involved the early writing experiences of bilingual children, we decided to explore the possible application of current learning theories to the elementary classroom. My intent was to construct a classroom research model that would help to account for some of the areas in which children's writing evolved, whether in the first or second language, and that could be used by Michele, the classroom teacher. To do this, we needed to first look more closely at what other researchers had found.

Models for Classroom Research

Researchers have developed several models that provide classroom teachers and other educators with guidelines for researching classroom questions. Lewin (1946) identified four aspects in his model: planning, acting, observing and reflecting. Kemmis and McTaggert (1982) viewed these as a continual cycle, as they incorporated Lewin's model into their *Action Research Planner*: "The linking of the terms 'action' and 'research' highlights the essential feature of the method: trying out ideas in practice as a means of improvement and as a means of increasing knowledge about the curriculum, teaching and learning" (p. 5).

Hopkins (1985) states that his purpose in "tackling classroom research . . . is to give teachers an introduction to the variety of methods available to them as a means of extending their repertoire of professional behaviours and of encouraging flexibility in professional development" (p. 41). Further, Hopkins outlines three concerns for teachers doing such research: that "teachers' primary job is to teach" (p. 41); "the method of data collection must not be too demanding on the teacher's time" (p. 42); and, "the methodology employed must be reliable enough to allow teachers to formulate hypotheses confidently and develop strategies applicable to their classroom situation" (p. 42).

Palmer and Jacobsen (1974) provide a larger perspective on the action research model as they apply it to the area of policy. Theirs is an approach "which combines the development of competence with community action," in which "people empower one another. Research becomes a form of action when it is done not by the experts but by people who themselves must act" (p. 1). Their steps include defining the problem, developing research instruments, and finally collecting and analyzing the data.

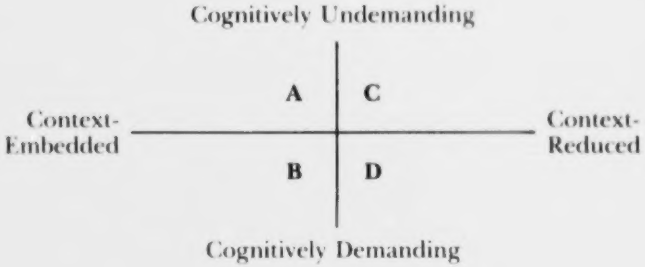
The action research approach appeared to be a useful way to proceed with our classroom investigation of children's writing. I decided to use Kemmis and McTaggert's (1982) four concepts of *observation, planning, action, and reflection*. When we talked, Michele said that she had first observed that her children could write. As a result, she planned some activities (journal writing), and then had the children write (act). She then looked back and reflected on what had happened before coming to me to discuss it. Next, in order to formulate an effective classroom model for writing research, I needed to consider different ways of explaining young bilingual children's writing. This entailed reviewing studies that have attempted to explain the levels of difficulty encountered by all children learning to write.

The Cummins Framework

Briefly, Cummins (1981) explains the interaction of communicative language skills by the construction of two intersecting continua: the amount of contextual embedding and the degree of cognitive involvement. Contextual embedding refers to the amount of information that is given through visuals, realia, and other nonverbal devices. He claims that the greater the contextual support, the easier it is for children to learn information. Examples might include drawing pictures and doing hands-on science experiments. The less the contextual embedding, the more difficult the task, such as analyzing an unknown theory for which one has no available context.

FIGURE 1

Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in communicative activities



Note: From "The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students," by J. Cummins, 1981. California State Department of Education, *Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework* (p. 12). Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University, Los Angeles. No copyright. Reprinted by permission.

The degree of cognitive involvement (demanding or undemanding) forms the second axis of the model (see Figure 1). Content that is not demanding might include, for example, telephone conversations in one's native language. Lack of knowledge of telephone codes and/or the person with whom one is speaking would make this a much more demanding task. Simple exercises that are visually demonstrable are also cognitively undemanding. On the other hand, skills such as higher math and learning to read would be highly demanding cognitively.

In this model, as the task becomes more cognitively demanding but remains context-embedded, the activity moves from Cummins' Quadrant A (e.g., Total Physical Response), to Quadrant B (e.g., hands-on math or science). When there is less obvious context, but the content is not difficult (e.g., a telephone conversation) the activity moves to Quadrant C. Finally, when the content becomes more challenging and the context remains reduced, the activity moves into Quadrant D, (e.g., analyzing difficult political concepts such as democracy and capitalism). Cummins cautions that at least three factors must be taken into account in locating any particular task in relation to the two continua: (a) the task's inherent characteristics, (b) the learner's general level of proficiency, and (c) the learner's individual learning style.

While Cummins is concerned with all communicative language activities, it might be assumed that writing, specifically (after mechanical skills are acquired), could exist anywhere along the continuum, depending on what is required of the student. For example, language experience stories written by the child may be context rich with a low level of cognitive difficulty (Quadrant A). Analytic writing, however, which many would agree exemplifies the most difficult of the writing tasks, might be found in Cummins' Quadrant D because little obvious context is available and the subject matter is complex.

In order to relate Cummins' theories to the writing of linguistically diverse children, a model must allow for three factors: (a) the inherent difficulties of writing, or the negotiation of meaning in print; (b) the level of writing proficiency of the bilingual, limited English proficient child; and (c) the child's learning style, which may be culturally based and possibly affect the way in which he or she writes, both stylistically and analytically (Hudelson, 1989a; Kaplan, 1984).

Perera's Framework

Another way to conceptualize the degree of contexualization present in writing tasks has been explored by Perera (1984). Perera, like Cummins, is concerned with two dimensions in her writing framework (see Table 1). The first suggests that the easiest writing organization model for children (the least cognitively demanding) is chronological or narrative. Perera characterizes this type of writing in the following way.

> . . . the sequence of events in time structures the material; in a nonchronologically ordered text, the relationships between the parts are not temporal but logical. . . . Linguistically, a chronological text can be identified by its high use of verbs that describe actions or events and by the fact that sentences which contain such verbs can generally be joined by connectives like *then, next, after that.* (p. 217)

TABLE 1

A Schematization of Kinds of Writing Showing Typical Pronoun Use

	Close personal (known to writer)	Intermediate personal (unknown to writer)	Distant personal
Organization of the subject matter	he, she, they I, we, you	he, she, they (I, we, you)	it, they
Chronological	e.g. autobiographical account Story	e.g. biographical account	e.g. account of a process
Non-chronological	e.g. description of a friend	e.g. description of a type of person (e.g. pirates, Eskimos)	e.g. description of of a structure, evaluation of an idea

Note: From *Children's Writing and Reading: Analysing Classroom Language*, (p. 220) by Katherine Perrera, 1984, London: Basil Blackwell Ltd. Copyright 1984 by Katherine Perrera. Reprinted by permission.

In the second dimension of her framework, Perera examines the distance between writer and reader and the writer's relationship to the subject matter, the latter being specifically concerned with the differences between writer versus reader-based writing (see discussion of Flower below). Perrera identifies three levels of distance between writer and subject. *Close personal* is the level characterized by extensive use of personal pronouns such as *I, we,* and *you*. *Intermediate* includes the use of third person pronouns (*he, she, it, they*). The subject is probably unknown. In *Distant Impersonal* personal pronouns are few. They are limited to *it* and *they*.

According to Perera, developmental levels of the young writer will not necessarily be revealed by applying the framework. A child with sophisticated writing skills may still on occasion write in a close personal chronological form or style, especially since these are not mutually exclusive types of writing. Moreover, Perera does not indicate exactly how to label a piece of writing as belonging to one of the three levels.

Flower's Approach

In her model Perera implies that the degree of reader/writer awareness that the writer exhibits, for example through the use of personal pronouns, may be closely related to the sophistication of the writing that the writer attempts. Flower (1984), explores this implication by positing *writer-oriented* and *reader-oriented writing*. For Flower, writer-oriented writing is related to Piaget's (1955) *egocentricism* and Vygotsky's (1978) *inner speech*. In this style of written communication, no concessions are made to the reader. The writer (whether adult or child) assumes that the audience understands the message (see also Calkins, 1980). In this sense the communication is elliptical: The subject is always known, at least to the message sender. In writing, this might be indicated by the apparent lack of cohesive ties, rather than the close linking of them. The writer knows how the ideas are tied together but has not made the reader aware, causing the reader to guess at the intended meaning.

In chronological writing, most often connectors such as cohesive ties are simpler (and more obvious), and other clues provide the context for the reader. As the writer moves to more difficult, less chronological writing, these connectors become more critical to maintaining communication with the reader. Similar to Perera's framework, which moves from simpler (chronological, personal) to more difficult (nonchronological, distant personal), Flower's model suggests that the writer must move from "concrete, factual bonds," or chronological writing, to concepts that are "abstract, logical relations," (p. 18) which are more frequent in analytic, nonchronological writing. When this is done successfully, the writer becomes more reader aware and more accomplished. I suggest that reader/writer awareness may be a good indicator of the developmental level of writing in the child, the degree to which the child moves from simple to more complex skills, and the extent to which the child uses context to produce his or her writing.

The Communicative Writing Framework (CWF)

Given the similarities in the work of Cummins, Perera and Flower, I decided to combine these approaches, developing a model by which teachers can interpret and encourage young linguistically diverse children's writing, ranging from personal narratives to analytic essays.

TABLE 2

Communicative Writing Framework (CWF)

		Cognitively Undemanding		
		+ Chronological	− Chronological	
Context Embedded	Close personal	CWF 1	CWF 4	Context Reduced
	Intermediate personal	CWF 2	CWF 5	
	Distant personal	CWF 3	CWF 6	
		Cognitively Demanding		

The CWF framework is compatible with the principles of the Cummins, Perera, and Flower models. The terminology is adopted from Cummins and Perera, while Flower's discussion is implicit in the concept of children's egocentric usage of written language and the distance of writer to subject matter and reader.

CWF 1: + chronological; close personal; context embedded; cognitively undemanding

In CWF 1, children write about what they know and what is close to them by recounting events in order. These tasks are context embedded for the children; but they may not reflect an awareness of the reader or provide context for the reader. Perera suggests as an example of this level a story or autobiographical account. Other examples might include a story about the child's birthday party, or a letter to a close friend or relative. Some of these may be written with sophisticated vocabulary, others more simply.

CWF 2: +chronological; midpersonal; context embedded; midcognitively demanding

Perera's intermediate-level chronological writing is midway between Cummins' Quadrants A and B and may show some degree of audience awareness (Flower). Children recognize the reader and produce more cognitively difficult writing. They remove themselves as writers to some extent but retain an approach that utilizes personal context. Perera suggests as an example a biographical account. Other examples might include a story about a friend's birthday party or a letter to a new acquaintance.

CWF 3: + chronological; impersonal; context embedded; cognitively demanding

At CWF 3, the furthest point on the axis for cognitively difficult (but context-embedded and chronological) writing, the child is still writing about what is known but has completely removed him or herself as author. Perera's example of a process, perhaps how to make a peanut butter sandwich, fits here. Other examples might include how to prepare for a birthday party or retelling a story the child has read.

CWF 4: − chronological; personal; context reduced; cognitively undemanding

In CWF 4 the writer uses the close personal dimension, but the task is not chronological. Since the information is still known (personal) to the writer, it is not necessarily demanding; but the context is no longer as embedded as in CWF 1-3 because its description or analysis requires the use of imagination by both reader and writer. The use of connective ties becomes more important in this type of writing. The child must become more aware of the reader. An example of CWF 4 might include the description of a friend or place the child has visited or a simple explanation of why the child did or didn't do a chore.

CWF 5: − chronological; intermediate personal; context reduced; cognitively middemanding

This intermediate personal and context-reduced level includes a somewhat more removed description or explanation than at CWF 2, such as the explanatory essay requires. Connections for the reader need to be clearly made at this level as chronological order will not be used as it is in CWF 2. However, since the subject matter does not include abstract concepts as it would in CWF 6, the level of difficulty is also lower (middemanding). Perera, in her framework, uses the example of a description of a specific group of people that is not personally known to the writer, such as pirates. Other examples might include a description of new neighbors who are from another country or who speak another language.

CWF 6: – chronological; impersonal; context reduced; cognitively demanding

In the CWF model, nonchronological and distant impersonal writing corresponds to Cummins' Quadrant D. This represents the most difficult level of writing because no assumptions about audience can be made, and the writing requires a high level of negotiated meaning. CWF 6 might include a description of an imagined structure (such as something in outer space) or, for younger children, the simple evaluation of something they see, such as why birds fly and people don't. For older students, it might include some type of theoretical analysis of why birds fly.

Application of the CWF Model to the Classroom

Once teachers are familiar with the theory behind the CWF, they can use the model in several ways. For example, the model can provide a guide to begin to answer the kinds of questions that I have heard teachers ask and that I have asked myself about the writing of young bilingual children—"How do I know when children are beginning to feel more comfortable writing in their second language?" "My students just write short boring sentences. How can I encourage them to be more creative and to vary the length of their sentences?" "My students just write in the first person. Is that normal? It doesn't seem like my monolingual English students do that so much."

I developed the CWF model as a result of my earlier having examined some 30 first- through sixth-grade children's English writing portfolios and asking just such questions. The children were just beginning to learn English, and Spanish was the first language of most. I found their writing very egocentric. These children were apparently unaware that they might have an audience for their writing, an audience outside their particular world view. Their writing reflected this perception by the presence of the first person pronoun *I* to the exclusion of other pronoun reference. Also, the lack of connectives was one indication that the children might not be making the transition from writer to reader awareness discussed by Flower.

In addition, I observed from the portfolios that the limited English proficient children, as compared to native English-speaking children, were less likely to try nonchronological, or less personal writing such as would happen as children moved from CWF 1 towards CWF 6. Instead, they relied heavily on contextualized stories (e.g., chronological accounts of a particular event).

From the above experience with children's portfolios, and after consulting research, the CWF evolved as I followed the recursive process of Kemmis and McTaggert's (1982) action research model: standing back to observe what was happening, reflecting on what had happened, planning a lesson or model, implementing it, and then standing back to observe what happened, reflecting on what had happened, and then planning again.

Application to Language Assessment

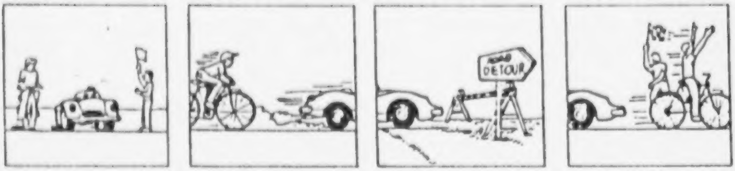
I will now discuss the CWF as it relates to language assessment, using a language assessment instrument and student writing. One of the specific applications that I made of the CWF was to the writing tasks elicited by the Language Assessment Scales Writing (LAS-W) Instrument (De Avila & Duncan, 1988). Students in my language assessment class had pilot tested the LAS-W, and the authors gave me access to several hundred of those writing samples. Since such assessments may be used as part of the identification and reclassification of students in bilingual programs, I thought it important to evaluate the kind of writing that the instrument elicited.

The writing task on the LAS-W was a response to "Let's Tell a Story." In this task, children are shown four pictures and are given a sentence prompt from which they are asked to write a story. No other instructions are given.

I applied the CWF to (a) determine how open-ended the prompt was and (b) see where children's responses would fall on the CWF. From examining these two areas, I gained additional information beyond what the assessment instrument provided.

First, I tried to determine how much flexibility the child might have in responding to the prompt (some prompts might require a narrative response; others might require an analysis of an idea). For purposes of providing some indication of the sophistication of the child's writing, the prompt should allow for a response anywhere along the CWF continuum. (Of course, a child who is capable of more sophisticated writing might still choose a simpler form). I found that the story (see Figure 2) elicited both chronological and non-chronological responses, although a chronological one was more likely. Some children viewed the story at a close personal distance, while others responded with intermediate to impersonal perspectives. Some of the children chose to elaborate on the prompts as well as to add analytic or other rhetorical and expository elements to their responses, while others simply described the picture or narrated the story in the pictures.

FIGURE 2



Val thought her new car would beat Bob's bike in a race. Jim raised the flag and ____________________ .

From: *LAS Reading/Writing*. "Finishing Sentences" Form 2A. Published by CTB/ McGraw Hill Copyright 1988. Copyright by Ed De Avila and Sharon Duncan.

Through this analysis, I saw the wide possibilities allowed the children in their written sample, since children could write anywhere along the continuum. A more limited prompt would have produced more limited responses.

My second use of the data from the LAS-W was to examine individual students' responses, using the CWF as a guide. To show how I used the CWF to evaluate the children's writing, the writing sample of a fifth-grade limited English proficient (LEP) child, whom I called "Marco," will be examined. This male native Spanish-speaking child scored 3 (LEP) on the English version of the Language Assessment Scales-Oral (De Avila & Duncan, 1976), an assessment tool used throughout the country for identification of oral language proficiency of nonnative English speakers. This was Marco's response to the writing prompt:

> The race start and Val was wining the race then there was sign and the sign said Road Detour then Bob was very fast and Val's car stop and Bob's bike wins the race.

Using the CWF, I saw that Marco consistently used proper nouns, but no pronouns. Because he provided few details in his story, Marco did not need to use pronouns. Whether the lack of writing skill caused the absence of details or of pronouns is, of course, unknown from one writing sample. The majority of the story was chronological. Marco merely described the pictures in order. However, Marco's writing did show some evidence of analysis, moving part of his story to the analytic side of the CWF. Marco determined that "Bob was very fast," which was not indicated from the pictures. While this is a small point, it showed that Marco could do more than just describe the pictures. It should also be noted that Marco used a minimal number of connectives, consistent with being a writer-centered writer (Flower, 1984).

In summary, the teacher examining this writing now knows, at least from this sample, that Marco is able to use a chronological organizational structure with few details. He has yet to begin using pronouns to replace nouns. There is no indication at all that Marco places himself in this scenario. He is not writing from an egocentric viewpoint, or CWF 1, but at a low level of CWF 2.

Another example from the same LAS prompt was of a fourth-grade male student "Ricardo," who scored 4 on the LAS-Oral, which indicates near oral fluency in English. His native language was also Spanish. His story was as follows:

> . . . Val and Rob took of. At first Val got ahead, then she could not go any further because the road was closed. There was a sign that said Road Detour, but Val's car could not fit on the Road Detour. So Bob go on the Road Detour and he pedaled along until he got to the end of the race. Bob had won the race.

Again, using the CWF continuum, I could see that Ricardo's story showed several higher levels of sophistication than did Marco's. First, because he provided more details in his story, he needed and used more pronouns. Ricardo easily mixed proper nouns with appropriate pronouns, all third person (*he, she*). The story prompt suggested a chronological narration, which Ricardo primarily followed, placing his writing at CWF 2. However, there was also evidence of Ricardo's analyzing what was happening in the prompt. First, he showed causal relations (". . . she could not go any further because the road was closed"). He also used some false causation ("There was a sign that said Road Detour, but Val's car could not fit . . ."). The story was primarily chronological, but there were elements that would also place parts at CWF 5. Also, there were a few connectives to tie the story together for the reader.

Application to the First Grade Classroom

A second kind of classroom application for which the CWF may be appropriate is in the area of portfolio development. Using this approach, Michelle, a Spanish-English bilingual classroom teacher, began to study her first graders' writing achievements. Last fall, in order to integrate speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills, she had the children first write stories in journals on topics of their own choosing (in Spanish or English). When these were completed, she asked the children to read out loud what they had written. When the children were willing, she tape-recorded their responses. The oral reading frequently had only general correlation to what had actually been written, reflecting instead what the children wanted to have written or thought they had written. It was generally longer and more complete in detail than the written version.

Michelle was able to expand the use of the CWF by comparing the level of sophistication of the children's oral skills to that of their written skills. She examined their use of cohesive ties, pronouns and use of detail in both their writing and speech. Her expectation was that, by the end of the spring, her children's oral readings would become much closer to their actual writing, and, in fact, this happened in most cases. One child in particular went from "reading" what was presyllabic writing to reading an actual story she had written. The children were very excited about this activity, which they did three times a week. Frequently when visitors came to the room, the children would run up to them and offer to read the stories they had written.

Even in the few short months that Michelle used this task, the children began moving away from close-personal contextualized speaking and writing (CWF 1), toward intermediate and, in some cases, even to distant impersonal. Some exhibited instances of analysis in the form of simple causation as their writing developed. Based on her experience with the CWF, Michelle expanded the kinds of language activities she encouraged her children to do. This she hoped would lead to the variety in writing her students needed to begin to do in order to become more interesting and successful writers. She did this when it was time for Writer's Workshop by telling her students what she herself was writing and for what purpose. Thus, she introduced the children to the variety of types and styles she used when doing her own authentic writing (e.g., letters to parents, notices for the bulletin board). She also encouraged the children to write about real things that happened to them both in and outside the classroom.

Reflection

It could be tempting to use the CWF to "label" children, but that is not its intent. Rather it is to provide a continuum to chart changes and growth. The kind of analysis a teacher does when working with the CWF, taken together with other writing samples, may be useful for observing longitudinal development of individual students.

Obviously, the categories in the CWF are broad. For example, in the case of Marco and Ricardo above, both could be placed in CWF 2 with parts of Ricardo's story also in CWF 5. An expansion of the categories, for example adding the category *descriptive* between chronological and nonchronological, would allow for a more precise categorization of the writing sample. However, if the categories become too discrete (say with six or seven such categories), the process of categorization might then become too time-consuming for teachers. One could also argue that it is as important for the teacher to be able to analyze student writing more generally across sentences and pieces of writing as it is to provide a discrete score. This possible expansion of categories is another example of how the implementation of the recursive model of reflection and replanning would be useful.

Conclusion

The preceding pages propose a way of involving teachers in investigating the communicative writing skills of nonnative English-speaking children in their classrooms. The CWF framework that was used as the tool moves along a continuum of levels of complexity and context, levels that may reflect differences in the English language skills of the students. When applied to writing in authentic situations, this model has the potential to identify the complexity of the skills children reach in their writing development as well as to provide a means to evaluate the difficulty level of writing tasks assigned to students.

In discussing the writing skills of two second grade limited English proficient children, Hudelson (1989b) points out how both the influence of teaching methods (e.g., copying vs. creative writing) and individual personalities affect the speed of acquisition of writing by children learning English as a second language. Within these parameters, limited English proficient children's writing development is similar to that of native English-speaking children in terms of willingness to take risks, invent spellings and go beyond copying.

Regardless of language background, children who are exposed to whole language approaches to authentic tasks, as opposed to isolated and often meaningless worksheets, seem to fare better. The strength of the CWF model may well lie in its potential to distinguish the child who is ready to take or is already taking risks, who is ready to move or is moving along the continuum with support and stimulus, from the child who remains close to the safety of the first quadrant. The value of the classroom research process outlined in this paper rests in its potential for enhancing the ability of the classroom teacher to better understand the performance of the crosslinguistic student. ■

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Footnotes

I would caution the teacher to remember that the use of any assessment instrument such as the LAS-W creates an artificial testing situation, and whatever is found should be compared with longitudinal growth of students' writing. However, the latitude allowed by the prompts in the LAS-W at least provided the children with an opportunity to choose how they wished to respond.

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The CATESOL Journal

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A Look at Learner Strategy Use and ESL Proficiency

This paper discusses part of a study conducted recently in which the patterns of learner strategy use of university-level, Asian ESL students were examined, here specifically in relation to the students' level of ESL proficiency. Strategy use was assessed through the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL), and proficiency was determined by TOEFL scores. It was the purpose of this part of the study to investigate both the frequency of use and the choice of strategies by students at intermediate and advanced levels of ESL proficiency. Research in the identification and application of successful learner strategies —research in learning not only what but how to learn—can help lead educators and students toward the goal of learner autonomy.

Although researchers continue to explore methodology and language learning curricula as factors influential in successful language learning, there has been, in recent years, a new focus in second language learning research: the exploration of learner strategies. Instead of placing emphasis on the teacher as the primary activator of language learning, researchers are increasingly turning to the student as a source of information regarding specific, conscious strategies used to facilitate the learning of the target language. It was my purpose in this study to identify patterns of second language learner strategies employed by one population of ESL students, so that teachers and students might become more aware of the range of possible strategies and how strategies can assist learners in becoming more autonomous.

In this study I was interested in exploring the patterns of learner strategies used by university-level, Asian ESL learners as self-reported in a language strategies questionnaire, the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning—ESL/EFL, or SILL (Oxford, 1990). I limited my student population to intermediate- and advanced-level Asian ESL students, proficiency levels being determined by scores on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). This study specifically addressed the following research questions:

1. What learner strategies are self-reported by adult, university-level, Asian learners of English as a second language?
2. Do the "good" language learners of this group, as determined by the level of English as a second language proficiency, report using a wider range of strategies than less proficient learners?

Sample and Methodology

The 141 subjects were drawn from a population of foreign-born, young adult students attending the intensive English as a second language programs at seven western state universities, three private and four public. These institutions were chosen because of the similarity of their ESL populations and their intensive English programs. Students' ages ranged from 17 to 30, and the sample included approximately equal numbers of males (46%) and females (54%). Most of the students in this sample were Japanese ($n = 53$) and Chinese ($n = 40$); other groups included Korean ($n = 18$), Indonesian ($n = 16$), and Thai ($n = 11$) students.

TABLE 1
Independent Variables Measured for This Study

Quantitative Variables

VARIABLE	LEVELS	RANGE	%
ESL proficiency level, as measured by the TOEFL.	High	600-507	34.0
	Med	506-481	30.5
	Low	480-397	35.5

VARIABLE	MEAN	SD
Length of time in the U.S.	0.74 years	0.51
Length of time studying English in the U.S.	0.69 years	0.45

Qualitative Variables

VARIABLE		%
Sex	Male	46
	Female	54
Major	Engineering/Science	28
	Social Science/Humanities	29
	Business	43
Ethnicity	Chinese	28
	Indonesian	11
	Korean	13
	Japanese	38
	Thai	8
	Other	2

By controlling for the independent variables of ethnicity and age (limited to adult Asian ESL learners), I investigated which patterns of strategies were used by students at three ESL proficiency levels, as determined by TOEFL scores which ranged from 397 to 600. I classified *low* scores as those within the 397-480 range ($n = 50$), *mid* scores as those from 481 to 506 ($n = 43$), and *high* scores as those from 507 to 600 ($n = 48$).

In addition, I analyzed student response on the SILL. The instrument contains 50 items that elicit, on a 1-5 Likert scale, (1) = *never or almost never true of me* to (5) = *always or almost always true of me*), the extent to which students use particular language learner strategies, classified as *mnemonic, cognitive, compensatory, metacognitive, affective,* and *social.* (See Appendix for sample items.) I surveyed 14 classes, each with an average of 20 ESL students and approximately 14 Asian students per class. I collected data from the intact, ethnically heterogeneous classes but analyzed only the questionnaires from the Asian students.

I established three dependent variables to operationalize *strategy use.* The first outcome variable was the mean SILL score (possible range: 1-5) for the total test. In addition, I broke down this dependent variable into the mean scores of each of the six strategy subcategories—Part A, mnemonic; Part B, cognitive; Part C, compensatory; Part D, metacognitive; Part E, affective; and Part F, social. My second dependent variable was the mean number of strategies in the total inventory (possible score range: 1-50) for which students indicated frequent (i.e., >3.0) use. My third dependent variable was the mean number of SILL strategy subcategories which had at least one score above 3.0 (possible score range: 1-6), also referred to as *mean range.*

Data Analysis and Results

What learner strategies are reported by adult Asian students of ESL? Mean scores were calculated for the individual SILL items and for the six subcategories. Most of the means for the individual items fell at or above 3.0 on the 5-point scale, indicating a relatively frequent use of all of the strategies. The six subcategories were then analyzed as separate dependent variables followed by pairwise comparisons. Figure 1 presents the mean SILL profiles for each of the SILL categories of strategies used by this group. A multivariate ANOVA showed significant differences in usage among the six subcategories of strategies ($F\ [5,136] = 51.46$, $p \leq .001$). Paired t-tests on adjacent pairs of strategy subgroups indicated that students reported using compensatory strategies to a significantly greater extent than cognitive strategies, cognitive strategies to a significantly greater extent than affective strategies, and affective strategies to a significantly greater extent than mnemonic strategies. Results show, too, that students used metacognitive ($M = 3.70$) and social ($M = 3.65$) strategies more frequently than affective ($M = 3.12$) and mnemonic ($M = 3.00$) strategies. There were no significant differences between the other adjacent pairs. Table 2 shows the sequenced means and standard deviations and the *t*-test results.

FIGURE 1

Mean profiles for each of the SILL parts

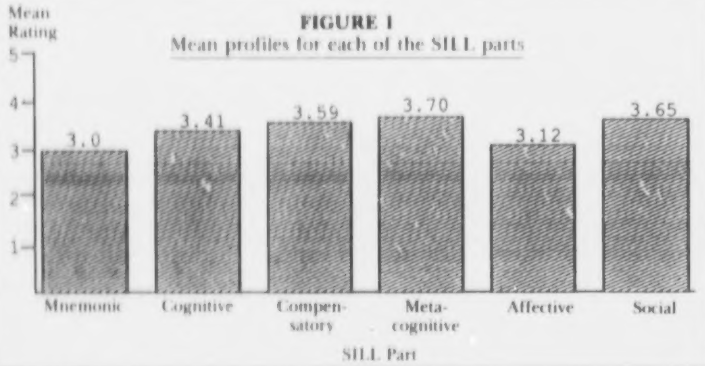

TABLE 2

T-Tests for Adjacent Part Means Sequenced by Magnitude ($N = 141$)

IDENTIFICATION	PART	MEAN	SD	DIFFERENCE	*t*	*p*
Metacognitive	D	3.70	0.50	D - F	0.81	0.42
Social	F	3.65	0.67	F - C	0.91	0.36
Compensatory	C	3.59	0.66	C - B	3.72	<0.001
Cognitive	B	3.41	0.47	B - E	5.52	<0.001
Affective	E	3.12	0.56	E - A	2.39	0.02
Mnemonic	A	3.00	0.55			

Do the good language learners of this group, as determined by level of ESL proficiency, report using a wider range of strategies than less proficient learners? I analyzed this second question by dividing the sample population into three levels of ESL proficiency (as determined by TOEFL scores) and examining these proficiency groups according to the same three outcome variables. Individual item analysis was done to determine whether or not there were isolated SILL items which showed significant differences between high- and low-proficiency groups.

43.1

Initially, in order to maximize the differences between the groups, I investigated only the mean scores of the high and low groups. There was no significant difference between the high and the low TOEFL groups on any of the three outcome variables.

Individual item analysis, however, revealed significant differences between the high- and the low-proficiency TOEFL groups on eight of the SILL items, as indicated in Table 3. Using flashcards (L = 2.52; H = 1.92; $p \leq .01$) and writing down feelings in a language learning diary (L = 2.34; H = 1.88; $p \leq .05$) were items that had low mean scores by both groups but differed significantly in that less frequent use was reported by the higher level group. Students from both groups tried not to translate word for word (L = 3.00; H = 3.42), with the higher group avoiding word-for-word translation significantly ($p \leq .04$) more often. The lower group reported significantly greater use of two metacognitive strategies: (a) trying to become a better learner in English ($p \leq .01$), and (b) looking for people to talk to in English ($p \leq .04$). Significantly greater ($p \leq .04$) self-awareness of tension or nervousness was reported by the lower group. The higher group indicated significantly greater ($p \leq .01$) circumlocution (using a word or phrase that means the same thing as the word the learner does not remember), a compensatory strategy, and use of clear goals for improving one's English skills ($p \leq .03$), a metacognitive strategy.

TABLE 3

Items Showing Significant Differences in High and Low TOEFL Groups

ITEM AND DESCRIPTION	PART	MEAN	*p*
Low TOEFL group reported greater use:			
6 I use flashcards to remember new English words	A	Low . . . 2.52 High . . . 1.92	.01
33 I try to find out how to be a better speaker of English	D	Low . . . 4.26 High . . . 3.85	.01
35 I look for people I can talk to in English	D	Low . . . 3.58 High . . . 3.05	.04
2 I notice if I am tense or nervous when I am studying English	F	Low . . . 3.46 High . . . 3.00	.04
43 I write down my feelings in a language learning diary	F	Low . . . 2.34 High . . . 1.88	.05
High TOEFL group reported greater use:			
22 I try not to translate word for word	B	Low . . . 3.00 High . . . 3.42	.04
29 If I can't think of an English word, I use a word or phrase that means the same thing	C	Low . . . 3.90 High . . . 4.35	.01
37 I have clear goals for improving my English skills	D	Low . . . 3.22 High . . . 3.75	.03

When the midrange TOEFL score group (with TOEFL scores of 481 to 506) was examined along with the highs and the lows, there were no statistically significant differences among the groups for dependent variable 1, mean SILL scores. However, there was significantly greater strategy use by the midgroup for the mean number of strategies with ratings greater than 3.0 (F [2,138] = 3.31, $p \leq .04$) and for the mean number of SILL subcategories with at least one score above 3.0 (F [2,183] = 3.82, $p \leq .02$), abbreviated here as mean range.

Results from this study indicate a relatively high level of strategy use, especially of the metacognitive and social strategies, for this population of adult Asian learners. ESL proficiency seems to affect strategy choice of the lowest- and highest-level students of this sample and notably of the middle-range proficiency subgroup, which reports significantly greater strategy use than either the higher or lower proficiency groups. These results provide valuable groundwork in the identification of the strategies second language learners use and, in the investigation of language proficiency level, as one variable possibly affecting strategy use.

Discussion

Students completing the 50-item SILL inventory indicate a relatively high use (i.e., $\geq$ 3.0 on a scale of 1-5) of the strategies in all of the subcategories: mnemonic, cognitive, compensatory, metacognitive, affective, and social. These findings support recent studies (O'Malley, 1984-1987; Oxford, 1985-1990) showing high self-reported strategy use based on both the SILL and other instruments of data collection. In this investigation, students report using metacognitive strategies with the greatest frequency, as indicated by the mean score on Part D of the SILL (3.70 on the 1-5 scale). The next most frequently employed category of strategies was social strategies (Part F; mean score = 3.65), contradicting the popular belief that Asian students generally resist using participation in social interaction as a means to improve their second language proficiency. The high mean scores of both the metacognitive and social strategies support data collected recently from a similar population using the SILL (n = 43) at Penn State (Oxford, Talbott, & Halleck, 1990) that also found the highest mean scores from these categories (social = 4.0; metacognitive = 3.9).

Mean SILL subcategory scores show that the next most frequently used strategies were compensatory (M = 3.59) and cognitive (M = 3.41). These results also matched the mean scores of the Penn State study (Oxford, Talbott, & Halleck, 1990). The least popular strategies in both this study and the Oxford et al. study, according to mean scores of the subcategories, are affective and mnemonic.

The individual items most frequently reported by the group in this study ($M \leq 4.0$) were metacognitive and compensatory strategies. These involved circumlocution ($M = 4.19$), planning (trying to find out how to be a better learner in English [$M = 4.08$]), using gestures when one cannot think of words during a conversation in English ($M = .04$), and paying attention when someone is speaking English ($M = .04$). These are communicative strategies which involve a conversational or interactional situation.

The least used items were primarily mnemonic strategies (in both this study and the Penn State study [Oxford, Talbott, & Halleck, 1990] as well): using flashcards ($M = .23$) and rhymes ($M = .66$) to remember new words, and physically acting out new words ($M = .62$). The less frequent use of these strategies may be related to the relatively high proficiency level of the students in this population. Foreign language studies (Atkinson, 1975; Levin, 1976; Raugh & Atkinson, 1975; Weinstein & Meyer, 1986) have shown mnemonic strategies to be effective in the memorization of vocabulary items (a skill associated more often with the beginning stages of second language learning) but assumed to be less relevant in communicative, interactional activities. The least used strategy was writing down feelings in a language learning diary. Although in some studies this strategy has been shown to be beneficial in language learning (Lavine & Oxford, 1990), it seems that few students independently discipline themselves to write in a language diary.

Initial data analysis of the low group (TOEFL scores 397-480) and the high group (TOEFL scores 507-600) revealed no differences in strategy use between the two groups on any of the three dependent variables. These results seemingly refute the conclusion from a number of recent studies in both foreign language (Chamot & Kupper, 1989) and ESL (O'Malley, 1982-4; Oxford, 1989-90; Oxford & Nykos, 1988) learning, that frequency of strategy use and range increased as students became more successful or proficient learners. However, the nonsignificant results from this study may be slightly misleading due to the instrument which was used to establish ESL proficiency and the way the groups were divided. It should be noted that the TOEFL scores of all the students in this sample were above 397, which is usually considered an intermediate-level score. That is, although for the purposes of this study, the 397-480 range was defined as low, it may not truly indicate a low level of proficiency. It was assumed that students at a lower TOEFL proficiency level might have considerable difficulty understanding the SILL items. Therefore, with the clarification that all of the students in this sample were at a relatively high (i.e., intermediate to advanced) level of ESL proficiency, the findings that strategy use did not significantly differ between the high and low groups are less surprising.

The midrange TOEFL score group, however, does provide some interesting data related to the relationship between strategy use and proficiency level. When *strategy use* was defined as the mean number of strategies for which students indicated frequent (i.e., >3.0) use (dependent variable 2) and the mean number of strategy subcategories which had at least one score above 3.0 (dependent variable 3), the midgroup showed a significantly higher level of strategy use than either the low or the high group. It may be that this occurred because lower level students are less aware of the strategies and the higher level students need to consciously apply those strategies less often than the mid-level students.

In addition to the hypothesis that more proficient learners would use more strategies more often is the suggestion that students at different levels of proficiency use different strategies successfully. O'Malley and his colleagues (O'Malley, 1982-4; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Kupper, & Russo, 1985) found that intermediate-level ESL students reported more metacognitive strategies than did beginning-level students, a finding consistent with my results.

This study revealed that there were eight items that were used to a significantly different degree by what were defined as low and high groups. The low group's greater use of flashcards and word-for-word translation might be expected, as these are both vocabulary item-level strategies. Two metacognitive strategies (trying to find out how to be a better learner in English and looking for people with whom to speak English) had significantly higher mean scores for the lower group, but the mean scores of both groups for those two strategies were above 3.0.

As might be expected, the lower group reported greater awareness of tension or nervousness when studying English than the higher group. Higher level students used circumlocution (a compensatory strategy) significantly more than lower proficiency students, perhaps because more advanced students possess a greater repertoire of English synonyms. The finding that the higher level students used clear goals for improving their English skills to a greater degree than less proficient students supports the hypothesis made by O'Malley et al. (1985) that the use of metacognitive strategies increases with proficiency level.

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

Interpretation of the findings of this study suggests some conclusions for intermediate and advanced, university-level, Asian ESL students. First, these students consciously employ a variety of language learner strategies with great frequency, notably metacognitive strategies. Second, they possibly avoid, are unaware of, or don't know how to apply affective and mnemonic strategies in comparison to the strategies from other categories. Third, frequency of strategy use seems to vary according to ESL proficiency level, midrange proficiency students reporting significantly greater strategy use than the lower and higher groups.

There are several practical pedagogical implications that may be drawn from this research. Students can be asked to monitor each other and to take an active part in not only learning but also teaching. Successful language learners may serve as informants for students experiencing less success in language learning regarding strategies, techniques, and study skills. Teachers should become more aware of the learner strategies and styles that their students are (and are not) using so that teachers can develop teaching styles and strategies that are compatible with their students' ways of learning. Teachers may combine a variety of data collection methods (think aloud data, diaries, one-on-one and group interviews, semistructured and structured questionnaires, such as the SILL) to elicit strategy information from their students.

Interpretations of the findings of this investigation also lead to several recommendations for further research. It is recommended that a replication of this study be done wherein (a) the Asian population in this study is compared with other ESL populations, (b) the SILL is compared with other types of data collection tools (e.g., diaries, interviews), (c) teacher judgments of what strategies they think their students use are compared with what their students (indicate they) actually use, (d) the SILL is translated and administered to lower proficiency students, and (e) students are trained in the use of these strategies so that trainability and transfer may be assessed. It is evident that many factors affect which strategies learners choose and the frequency with which they use them. More research is needed in this area to establish how effective strategy use may be facilitated by both the language teacher and the language student. ■

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Appendix

Strategy Inventory for Language Learning, Sample Items

1. Never or almost never true of me
2. Usually not true of me
3. Somewhat true of me
4. Usually true of me
5. Always or almost always true of me

(Write answers on worksheet)

Part A

1. I think of relationships between what I already know and new things I learn in English.
2. I use new English words in a sentence so I can remember them.

Part B

10. I say or write new English words several times.
11. I try to talk like native English speakers.

Part C

24. To understand unfamiliar English words, I make guesses.
25. When I can't think of a word during a conversation in English, I use gestures.

Part D

30. I try to find as many ways as I can to use my English.
31. I notice my English mistakes and use that information to help me do better.

Part E

39. I try to relax whenever I feel afraid of using English.
40. I encourage myself to speak English even when I am afraid of making a mistake.

Part F

45. If I do not understand something in English, I ask the other person to slow down or say it again.
46. I ask English speakers to correct me when I talk.

Note: From *Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know* (pp. 293-300) by Rebecca L. Oxford, 1990, New York: Newbury House. Reprinted by permission.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Barrier to Open Access in the Community College: The Effect of Unadapted Campus Written Material on Participation of Nonnative Speakers

Recognizing the impact of the changing population on the community college campuses of our nation and the requirement for more attention to the special linguistic needs of nonnative speakers, the author proposes that campus-produced publications and written materials be adapted to encourage and facilitate equal access for all. The author further argues that recruitment, participation, and retention of nonnative speakers can be fostered through not only modified campus-produced materials, but also more explicit registration and support-service procedures. The focus is on adaptation of materials by trained staff in lieu of the provision of bilingual or multilingual materials. A list of recommendations is included.

The community college has publicly subscribed to a policy of open access for all students, an egalitarian approach that promises fair and impartial treatment to any student, regardless of his or her background. As the numbers of nontraditional and minority students increase, the college is even more aware of its commitment to equality. Yet, the open admissions policy it supports is undermined by assumptions that the institution makes about its students, assumptions that reflect a lack of familiarity with the unique characteristics and needs of nonnative speakers of English.

The Problem

One of the most significant assumptions under which an academic institution operates is that its students meet an acceptable standard of English language proficiency (Graham, 1987). Just what that standard is has become increasingly controversial. Students must read at a minimal level to pass an English placement test allowing them to enter a California community college as credit students; but that level is often inadequate to operate effectively on the campus and may not reflect familiarity with cultural norms. Furthermore, for nonnative speakers with low English proficiency and limited time in the U.S., prior high school completion may not truly change this situation.

Academic performance is not the only issue; mere survival in the process of registration and use of support services on the campus is the beginning point. A community college needs to become cognizant of the variety of demands upon students learning English as they seek to participate on campus. I am not alluding here to comprehension of textbooks and class notes. I am referring to comprehension of college-produced written information that assumes an audience capable of processing messages in the manner of the native speaker of English. Such an assumption is no longer valid, especially in California, where the student population increasingly includes large numbers of immigrants.

For nonnative students, the challenge of literacy is especially difficult. Confronted with written information intended for the native English speaker, they will be at a disadvantage until their English approaches native proficiency.

> The point ... is that literacy is not so much the ability to decode words and read textual material as it is to process the information contained therein, derive meaning from it, and apply it to specific tasks that need doing in specific contexts. (Business Council for Effective Literacy, 1987)

Reading requires that information from written or printed language be related to knowledge the reader has in order to create meaning for the text (Eskey & Devine, 1990; Johnson, 1981). According to second language reading research, nonnative speakers of English tend to read like poor native English-speaking readers, unable to determine what is significant in the text or use contextual cues to get the main idea (Miller & Perkins, 1989). In addition, some ESL students entering college for the first time may also be poor readers in their own language. Thus, they can be hindered in two different ways in reading comprehension: They may have never developed good reading strategies in their native language, and they are trying to read in a second language that is semantically, syntactically, and textually different from their own. Having to read for both content and structure poses problems for students with less proficiency in English (Parish & Perkins, 1984).

Reading theory provides insight into some differences between first and second language reading, even though the theories have been developed for more extensive connected prose than that which is the focus of this paper. For example, Perkins (1988) found that both imperfect knowledge of the second language and poor first language reading ability may cause reading difficulties for the unskilled limited English reader.

The interference of the first language also means that students learning English may struggle with word order, unfamiliar structures, and sound patterns (Mellor, 1988). Speed and orthographic sensitivity (the reader's knowledge of letter order in English) have been suggested as factors that influence reading comprehension (Haynes, 1983). In addition, familiarity with transition words is also crucial to comprehension, but often is not part of the reading background of beginning-level students. In fact, many nonnative students, like numerous native English speakers enrolled in basic skills classes, may lack the full range of reading skills and strategies that a college believes its students have. In the case of nonnative students, their refugee or economic status may result in several obstacles simultaneously: educational gaps of several years' duration coupled with language and cultural barriers.

I suggest that the task of reading college-produced information may present obstacles for nonnative students and that the college should communicate important messages through material written with nonnative speakers in mind. Such responsiveness to a real need could facilitate recruitment and retention of these students, their integration into the greater campus, and their readiness for education in general.

Some may claim that this need to make adjustments for the language minority student with low English proficiency demonstrates that some students are simply ill-equipped to handle college-level work and should not be recruited into a system where their chances of success are so slim. However, others disagree.

> I am surprised that there are those who still maintain that the opportunity to learn should be limited to those who have demonstrated that they *can* learn ... The problem is how to determine if a student will make it or not. I have taught many students who should not be in a college setting if we considered background alone. Some of these left college after a few weeks, but others went on to earn a degree ... (Hardin, 1988)

As Hardin claims, underpreparedness does not equate with being incapable or ineducable, and, of course, for nonnatives underpreparedness is largely a product of cultural and language differences and does not reflect on their potential to learn.

Education of nonnative students should be part of the community college mission. First, any effort to lessen the barriers to educational access for the limited English-speaking population represents a major step toward the educational growth of the nation as a whole. Second, the community college offers all adults a fresh start in the further development of skills, such as reading, which may have eluded them at other times and in other settings. Third, educational institutions must be in the forefront of the move to eliminate race and ethnicity as factors in the participation of students in higher education.

Factors Affecting Comprehension of Limited English Readers

Among the range of reading strategies and skills that are needed, identification of main ideas is often top priority. Yet nonnative speakers are seriously inhibited in their ability to extract main points from text because of their lack of background knowledge. Thus, familiarity of content may be the pivotal issue in text comprehension by limited English speakers. Although leading ESL researchers acknowledge that rhetorical form is also a significant factor in ESL reading comprehension, they claim that "content is of primary importance" (Carrell, 1987).

Unfamiliar content, of course, also means that vocabulary presents substantial stumbling blocks for the limited English reader, and "major misinterpretation of text may be traceable to misinterpretation of one sentence" (Lebauer, 1985). Yet, vocabulary is one of the factors that can most easily be adjusted if written materials are adapted for nonnative speakers.

These considerations, together with the visual impact of how ideas are arranged on a page, the size of print used, spacing, and graphics may affect the comprehension and retention of students reading in a second language. "With the community college student, it is not a case of the student not paying attention, but rather in not knowing where to focus attention" (Biggins & Sainz, 1989). It is not surprising, then, that many of the reading tasks students must undertake on the college campus, whether in the initial admissions process or in something as casual as reading a flier or finding and checking out a library book, require a level of reading comprehension and cultural background for which many second language learners are, at least initially, ill-equipped. Somehow, even when we think we are reaching out, our message may fail to get through. Could it be that we need to consider alternatives?

Overly-Complex Messages

Apparently, existing methods of information dissemination have questionable effectiveness. Campus literature such as publicity mailers, designed with language that may not be part of the students' world outside of school, may inhibit full participation in and access to college education for nonnative speakers. After exploring the needs of this special population, the Los Angeles Community College District's English as a Second Language Institute recommended that college and district publications be reviewed and evaluated "to insure their comprehensibility" (Los Angeles CCD, 1988). Interestingly, a

San Jose City College study found that about 20% of the respondents to its survey indicated that they "learned of the ESL program through the newspapers" which were in the native language (Gosak, 1988).

Nonnative students may find the following excerpts from community college shedules of classes, financial aid brochures, and parking information incomprehensible.

1. Students "cannot enroll in classes that conflict in time with WL classes" nor can they "enroll in another section of the same course for which they have WL status."
2. "Prerequisites: If the course has a prerequisite, it is your responsibility to ensure you have fulfilled the prerequisite."
3. "Awards range from $100 for enrollment fee waivers (BOGGS) to thousands."
4. "Vehicles parked in violation of the parking code and regulations will be towed away or immobilized at owner's expense. There is no grace period."

Although it is unrealistic to expect the college to provide two versions of the class schedule, an effort could be made to condense the most frequently needed information and terms to the essentials, with key definitions and steps to registration included. Even more important, however, are explicit instructions on where and when to find counselors trained to assist nonnative speakers. Research has found students often underutilize counseling services. ESL students, in particular, need guidance to avoid enrolling in courses for which they are unprepared, more classes than they can handle, or, conversely, fewer classes than they can profit from.

Many ESL instructors often write adapted announcements for their multilingual classes when important information must be communicated clearly. I have had several experiences cooperating with staff in other departments on a community college campus rewording information for our language minority students who are using admissions, health, tutorial, counseling, child care, and language lab services. Most recently, I taught a workshop for ESL students enrolled in a Work Experience program. I chose to focus on safety information because many students worked in custodial and grounds maintenance jobs. As I had expected, they could not read the precautions commonly found on cleaning solutions they used on the campus.

Often the provision of simplified written instructions eliminates the need for bilingual staff to interpret the message. Recently, a staff member in a support service at a community college commented to me that getting information out in the most efficient, economical way was the first consideration. Yet, lamenting the complexity of forms in her department, she said, "We thought about moving the key information to the top of the page, under the name, but it would have been too expensive to reformat." What is the real cost if the forms have to be read and filled out for students, rather than by them, and are never really understood?

Unadapted Information

There are, moreover, other significant obstacles that further complicate reading for language minority students. In this age of technological progress, computer-generated communications to students about their registration or academic status also act as barriers to those unfamiliar with this type of message and format. Students receiving a communication in the mail from Admissions regarding a problem with their registration process will often not understand the implications or significance of the steps they must follow to rectify the problem. Part of their difficulty may be with the form of the letter received, but another important part is likely to be the language, which is often more sophisticated than necessary for the purposes of the message. Sometimes nothing more than an additional fee for parking or health services generates a letter with complex terminology, which nonnative students have trouble following perhaps because they have had no prior experience with this type of communication.

A familiar example of the nonresponse of language minority adults to institutional writing can be seen in the ways they often fail to act upon fliers sent home from their children's school, bringing them instead to the college ESL class for an explanation from the teacher. Recently, for example, I received a copy of a flier sent to parents of children needing to update their immunization records in order to remain legally in the local high school. The letter, written by health staff, used language that sounded officious and firm, but was difficult to understand. It referred to "provision of verification of adequate immunization," when a more effective wording would have been simply, "the school needs proof of your child's immunizations (shots)." When I suggested such a change to the nurse at the school who sends out the letters, she seemed relieved and pleased, yet said she could "always get Mrs. Gonzalez to call the families." That assumes, of course, that the families speak Spanish and are home for the call.

Inadequate Distribution of Information

However, adaptation of written information is not enough. Information must be disseminated more widely and conspicuously. For example, a typical assumption regarding written information on campus is that students can find their way to various departments based on a few centralized signs. Quite the contrary seems to be the case. Native English-speaking students arrive on campus with background knowledge of how schools are set up in this society but still must ask for directions and explanations before they can find buildings and offices they want. For nonnative speakers the task is more difficult. If verbal skills are weak, pronunciation or vocabulary inadequate, or comprehension insufficient to the task, these students are less likely to complete registration and follow through on referrals. Even native speakers often stop faculty to ask the location of key departments. Can't we do better with our signs? I am not referring so much here to rewording as simply to the provision of more information, more liberally distributed.

As common as these experiences are, educators and academic institutions professing to believe in encouraging participation of the underrepresented fail to learn from the examples of other institutional outreach efforts. Why not share our failures and successes and learn from each other in our common struggle to communicate with those not yet proficient in our language? Sometimes the obvious escapes us: What is familiar to some is not familiar to all.

Characteristics of Language Minority Students

An informative 1983 survey of university students at California State University at Long Beach revealed that even though nonnative speakers of English with low-level ability averaged 5 years living in this country, they had done so by surviving "with a minimal code and language strategies adequate for everyday use, but far removed from standard academic English" (Fox, 1984). And it is standard academic English with which they must cope when reading school-issued fliers, publications, letters, and other types of official literature.

The author of the CSU Long Beach study further commented that we cannot expect informal contacts in the environment outside of the institution to prepare students for the demands of the institution in terms of language comprehension and use. She concluded, "Accumulated evidence from this study points to minimal and compartmentalized utilization of the target language" (Fox, 1984).

Students of ESL often use English in very restricted ways because of the routine nature of many of their contacts with the English-speaking community. For example, they hold jobs that often do not require significant interaction with English speakers or require only limited, unvaried interaction. As an illustration, some of my students have told me that they use essentially the same conversational exchanges every day in positions in which they meet the public.

The CSU Long Beach report also showed that students in the ESL population live in ethnic neighborhoods, use English less than 3 hours a day at work, and speak English at home less than 1 hour per day. Therefore, it is not difficult to see that the background information considered essential for reading does not, in most cases, exist for the second language reader of unadapted printed matter. Significantly, however, though they may be enrolled initially only in

English as a second language courses, ESL students are faced with reading demands outside of their program which are the same as those of native speakers.

These findings suggest that students attempting to become part of the greater campus have much building and development to do in terms of their knowledge base in the target language before they can understand the expectations of the school of which they are now a part. In addition to vocabulary and linguistic aspects of language, they also need cultural knowledge (Burquest, Henry & Barger, 1988).

In a comprehensive study of language minority students at San Jose City College, (Gosak, 1988) several additional characteristics of this emerging population came to light. The trend at San Jose City College is toward students in an older age group than that traditionally thought of as college age. The data from the report indicate this population is composed of 22- to 39-year-olds, supporters of households, unavailable for full-time studies. Rather, these students come to campus "to improve job skills, including language, take vocational courses, and perhaps pursue an AA degree" (p. 15). Most of them, at least in credit programs, are male.

With these characteristics in mind, we can see that such students are not likely to spend extra time reading cumbersome communications in English. In contrast, they are the kind of students that might be expected to welcome succinct, highly readable, explicit communications in which brevity and clarity are strongly valued. Should the numbers of second generation immigrants entering college from high school increase significantly, preference for concise, clear information would not change. In fact, studies have found that native English speakers also prefer information that eliminates extraneous detail (Derwing, 1989). Therefore, whatever efforts are made in the direction of simplification will have wide acceptance and endorsement. However, any institution cannot claim to have available such printed material at this time. It has yet to become a priority.

Real access to the educational system and the campus community dictates concrete actions be taken to enable students to become aware of the opportunities available for their growth and development on the college campus. For real access to occur, these actions must include modification or restructuring of written materials explaining college enrollment procedures, student services, course offerings, including occupational programs, and official policies so that students will not be at a disadvantage in seeking self-improvement and further development of their potential.

Addressing the Problem

What form might such modification take? It should involve adapting existing written material so that the meaning of the original text is preserved in a more concise, explicit, and vocabulary-controlled

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version. Ideally, the adapted version should include some illustration providing an appropriate clue to the student reading the accompanying text. More explicit passages should foster comprehension, retention, and recall (Connor, 1984). When written materials do not already exist, they should be developed with these guidelines in mind.

The adaptation should be done by ESL professionals familiar with the reading comprehensionn problems faced by ESL students. Since time and compensation are concerns, it should be possible to assign this task to ESL staff who can apply for grants or special funds to cover this type of responsibility. If ESL professionals are unavailable for work on individual pieces of adapted written materials, there should be inservice training arranged for other departments. In addition, copies of adapted materials should be reviewed by ESL staff before final printing.

While considering the adaptation process, we must also give sufficient attention to formatting. As we are increasingly learning in our computer age, formatting is gaining in importance, accounting for many of the changes in levels of sophisticaiton in word processing programs, and is an essential starting point for creating a more readable, explicit text. For the second language student learning to read in English, careful formatting may be the essential ingredient that helps such a student focus attention on key information and understand more easily the gist of the ideas, if not every word or detail. As an illustration, technical writing, with its focus on brevity and clarity, may be viewed as an example of communication which seeks the elimination of superfluous or ambiguious wording (Hirschhorn, 1980). Technical writing experts in ESL suggest similar guidelines for nonnative speakers (Nash, 1987). Those who create materials in an institution need to be aware not only of what they are saying but of how they are saying it.

Additional Considerations

Research in second language reading argues for preserving the authenticity of a piece of writing when it is used for instructional purposes and for simplifying the tasks required of the student rather than altering the text itself (Johns, 1985). However, in noninstructional situations, it may be fair to claim that simplification of text, with control of vocabulary and grammatical forms, is key to making the reading matter accessible to the nonnative speaker. Clewell and Clifton (1983) provide a list of considerations for evaluation of textbook readings that is applicable to any printed matter ESL students might have:

1. Do textual aids (illustrations, headings, special features, format) provide the reader with an overview of the content?
2. Do illustrations support or extend the accompanying discourse?

3. Do special features (e.g., italicized words) reinforce or supplement important ideas and relations in the discourse?
4. What are the author's assumptions about the reader's background knowledge and experience?
5. If the content is inaccurate, how can students be helped to recognize the inaccuracies and evaluate the information?
6. Are the relationships among the topics clear and logical?

The San Jose City College report (Gosak, 1988) recommends that multilingual information be available in the following areas: vocational department brochures; admissions and records enrollment information; ESL department brochures; counseling letters; advertisements; and so forth. These are all crucial for ESL students. While multilingual materials do meet needs, not all groups may be served equally if not all languages are represented. In most communities there are groups who seldom, if ever, receive attention in their language because of their smaller numbers. Those whose language is not among those translated would benefit from adapted materials. Indeed, the need for multilingual materials could be reduced or eliminated if the written material were substantialy adapted.

Most students also have contacts who, though perhaps not completely proficient in English themselves, can read material which has been controlled for vocabulary and syntax. Grammatical complexity and vocabulary control are most significant factors in comprehension considerations. Materials that use long, complex sentences, passive voice, vague reference, and so forth, will not facilitate understanding. Likewise, materials that employ technical or specialized vocabulary will also present a barrier to comprehension. Finally, materials that are printed on a ditto or by some other means that does not ensure high quality print will make the reading task more difficult, as vowels, for example, are often hard to distinguish from one another if type is not clear. Background and context clues are just not available to the nonnative speaker in the same way that they are for the native English speaker.

If we are to reach the language minority population, we must begin by getting key information into their hands in understandable English (Olivas, 1979). Studies on recruitment and retention of nontraditional students for community colleges might well give some consideration to this issue. "Colleges and universities must offer a more hospitable climate to those from diverse backgrounds," according to a public policy makers' meeting on higher education (Evangelauf, 1988). Part of the problem may be the dichotomy between the democratic ideals professed by the community college, "a desire that everybody be part of the elite" (Kort, 1987), and the realization that the institution is not currently set up to implement such ideals.

What can be done to adapt written material to foster greater participation by nonnative English-speaking students? Some suggestions follow:

1. Simplification of essential printed materials. Control of vocabulary and grammatical complexity; focus on headings and key terms with top down rhetorical organization and, especially, redundancy.
2. Input on adaptation from ESL professionals paid for their time.
3. Arrangement for inservice training of support staff.
4. Inclusion of illustrations in printed material, when feasible.
5. Provision of a sign at the entrance to the admissions office which directs nonnative speakers to a specific area where adapted materials are provided and specially trained staff are available to assist.
6. Provision of a condensed, simplified handout on registration procedures, with parking regulations listed first and counseling for nonnative speakers highlighted.
7. Directional signs to admissions and student services offices at all major points on campus.
8. Simplification of handouts from support services and distribution to all major areas of the campus and the ESL department.
9. Explanation of the ESL program and its registration process through fliers in the main registration and support service areas of the campus to facilitate easy referrals.
10. Commitment to print quality in all materials for nonnative speakers of English.

Southerland (1986) remarks that community colleges "could lower their attrition rates by admitting only excellent scholars in the same manner that hospitals could lower their mortality rates by admitting only patients with low-risk health problems." But if colleges are sincerely interested in meeting the needs of their changing community, responding to the emerging face of the language minority student in the 1990s, they will have to make some very real adjustments to become a "more hospitable environment."

As the campus grows in numbers of second language and nontraditional students, we must ask ourselves with whom we are communicating. The questions asked by Ann Johns (Weissberg, 1990) in referring to coherence of texts used in classroom instruction might be applied to campus-produced written material as well: "Why is the text written this way? Who is this community? What are their expectations?"

Adaptation of written information for the limited English student on the community college campus represents a commitment with costs, but the final product would be consistent with the original text and more fair in making the delivery of information accessible to all, regardless of their background. The cost of adapting written information might be less than that of trying to duplicate meaning and intent of communications through translation, often inadequate, from one language to another.

Campus resources must be mobilized to communicate more effectively with nonnative students, who are quickly becoming a large and essential part of our community colleges. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Teaching Culture in Language Classes: One Approach

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Learners who have spent most of their lives in a single cultural environment, and who are then immersed in a different culture, start to see their own ideas, beliefs, behaviors, and values as being culturally determined, and not as fixed, universal givens. In fact, it is only by seeing how others view and do things, and becoming aware of what they know by being members of a different culture, that we can become fully aware of the cultural basis for our own ways of doing, seeing, and knowing. It is an on-going learning process that surrounds us every day in this field; it happens to everyone from the young Salvadoran refugee in high intensity ESL classes in a Washington, DC junior high to the recent Japanese college graduate enrolled in summer language classes in Hawaii. The approach presented in this paper attempts to put aspects of that process at the center of language teaching and learning activities.

In the summer of 1989, under a grant from the Soros Foundation, 45 Hungarian secondary and university teachers of English attended a 5-week session at the University of Pennsylvania. The objective of the entire summer program was to introduce these EFL teachers to American life and culture.

To meet this goal of introducing the teachers—very few of whom had even visited the United States before—to American life and culture, the official summer program made arrangements for attendance at numerous evening and weekend concerts, activities, and sporting events; hosted formal and informal social gatherings; set up trips to New York, Atlantic City, and Washington; and sponsored a weekend homestay for all participants. In addition, all participants attended morning lectures by distinguished authorities on a wide array of social, cultural, political, and educational topics. The lectures were followed by language classes, and the afternoons were set aside for the students to conduct independent research about American life and culture.

The key components of the approach to the language class were making observations and conducting interviews with informants about social or cultural phenomena; recording personal notes about interviews and observations; collecting or writing case histories or "people's stories" which illustrate specific social or cultural phenomena; reflecting afterward about observations, experiences, incidents, interviews, and cases; and lastly, assigning and talking about cultural meanings.

The Framework for the Language Course

The class was grounded in two central features: keeping course notebooks and conducting field visits as cultural investigations.

The Course Notebook

The teachers kept notebooks following these suggested guidelines. In the first section of the notebooks, the participants made daily field notes—descriptions of events, people, behavior, and things they observed about American society and culture. Teachers were advised that these field notes were only for them; only they needed to understand the entries. (I suggested they try to make better sense out of their notes by thinking about them, reorganizing them, or talking about them later with their classmates and me, rather than worrying about using them for formal descriptions.)

In this first section, teachers also wrote down people's stories—that is, cases. Each time they went out to interview or observe, one of their goals was to come back prepared to tell someone's story which illustrated what they had seen or learned. Cases did not need to be too elaborate or formal since the teachers told people's stories in their own words, or in the words of the people they had interviewed. The cases were, however, an important part of our classroom discussions throughout the course. The teachers also recorded in the first section any interesting, illustrative, or technical language or terms they came across in various situations.

The second part of the notebook included participants' own questions and comments about the things they observed and recorded. This section was more exploratory than expository—a chance for the teachers to engage in active reflection about observation and experiences.

Finally, the teachers assigned meaning to the things they saw. They reported evidence of cultural rules, norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs in the behavior, interactions, events, and cases they observed and described. The teachers who went on each of the field visits also discussed what they had anticipated finding on the visit and what they actually found.

The overall goal of this reflection and discussion about meanings was to encourage the participants to think about aspects of American culture as they are seen and understood by us, and in doing so to make cross-cultural comparisons about Hungarian and American life.

Field Visits as Cultural Investigations

To begin their cultural investigations, the course participants conducted field visits. The teachers visited various sites and met with people to talk about their work, their program, or some facet of American life. These visits were related to the topics of program lectures as often as possible.

Not everyone had to, or could, attend every field visit. The teachers signed up for the visit(s) they were interested in or willing to make. However, the group was asked to be sure all visits were covered. Teachers also made suggestions for other observations or interviews throughout the course.

Figure 1

Observation/interview/visit schedule

DATE	SITE AND DESCRIPTION
7/6	Berlitz—Private language school
7/7	Mayor's Council on Literacy—Adult literacy
7/8	Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts—Artists' lives
7/10	Drexel University—Computer-assisted language learning
7/11	City Commissioner's Office—Elections
7/13	Germantown Friends—Basketball and reading clinic
7/14	Temple University—Women's athletic conditioning coach
7/19	Genesis II—Drug rehabilitation program
7/20	Philadelphia University of the Arts—Admissions office
7/21	Youth Freedom Theatre—Community theater group
7/25	City Hall—Local government workers
7/27	Blackwell Center—Women's health center
7/31	Ryerson Steel—Office and factory workers
8/1	Afro American Cultural Center—Story telling
8/2	Balch Institute—Ethnic studies

Over the summer, the teachers themselves began to arrange cultural investigations and set up interviews. Subsequently added to the list were visits to a newspaper, a local elementary school, a day care center, a church, and an interview with Penn's track coach. Another course instructor arranged a visit to a criminal trial. It was not possible to arrange all requested field visits, such as a meeting with an architect. The teachers did, however, end up going on an architectural tour of Philadelphia's colonial neighborhood, Society Hill, with a local group.

Magda's Notes: A Case Study of A Program Participant

The following represent a sample of the work completed by one of the participants, Magda. Magda was a university-level EFL teacher in her early 30s. She was unmarried and lived alone in a small apartment in Budapest. Like many English teachers in Hungary, she taught privately at night to supplement her modest teaching salary. She was a last-minute replacement for a teacher who could not attend. As a result, she was especially enthusiatic about having a chance to participate. Magda was intense, articulate, and dedicated to teaching. She was uncertain about the impact of political change on Hungary's future, but she was a vocal advocate of that change. This was her first visit to the United States.

Though examples of one student's notes cannot recreate the class discussion these ideas engendered, they can help illustrate the kind of discussion that took place. It should be reiterated that these notes were meant only for the student herself. They were a kind of preclass preparation for discussion or a postclass sorting out of ideas and themes. They were not formal presentations in any way.

These are her thoughts early in the summer after leaving the confines of the predominantly white university area for the first time and getting lost in West Philadelphia.

Case/Observation

> We lost the way and ended up walking along 52nd Street through West Philadelphia. Just horrible! Messy. Shabbiness. Why Only black people? Underclass?

Reflections

> Two communities—one white, one black—seem to live beside each other. Maybe they cooperate in economic fields—but very much apart in every other aspect—each having its own hierarchy, own views, own leaders.

Rule

> Even if there's a certain amount of cooperation between black and white communities, segregation is present in lots of fields, like housing and social life.

One distinct advantage of this field visit approach is that it fosters seeing everyday experiences as parts of larger social patterns and therefore as important topics for reflection, analysis, and discussion. This is clearly illustrated in Magda's notes, for example in this recounting of an occurrence in her dormitory.

Case/Observation

> A nice young woman from the neighborhood dropped in one afternoon, and we had a pleasant conversation with her. She told us she was going to Mexico for holiday with her girlfriend and said she would like to find a beach where she could sunbathe topless. After she left, I asked my friend why the girl had to go to Mexico to enjoy sunshine topless. Aren't there

> beaches where it is not prohibited in the US? My friend said it is usually only allowed at private beaches. I was pretty surprised to hear that.
>
> **Rule**
>
> Not being able to sunbathe topless is not a rule I agree with, but it seems it is a rule that really works in the US. It is prohibited as it may hurt other people's feelings at a public place. Privately you may do what you want! Once your freedom hurts other people's feelings—you can't do what you wish.

Individual, minority, and majority rights in the United States were recurring themes for Magda throughout the summer. After attending the program lecture on the topic of AIDS and then visiting a women's health center, Magda wrote this entry in her course notebook.

> **Reflections**
>
> People in the U.S. seem to be tolerant of minorities—let them be sexual, ethnic, or any other kind. Are they really, or do they just look that way? I don't know. But if a problem—in this case, AIDS, comes up—even if the mainstream of society tends to blame these people for their disease—they are still able to organize themselves, or an organization to help them is almost immediately set up—to defend their interest, to fight for their rights! And they are able to think of a more sophisticated and humanistic way of dealing with these people than just excluding them from society. It may be a struggle—but as there is a struggle—it can be won! Contrast this with the Cuban situation of excluding HIV positives in quarantine! Without any opposition—with one single order on behalf of the government—and without proper or sound grounds—they found themselves treated as if they were not citizens and had no civil rights. That's some difference!

In one of the later entries in her notebook, Magda made observations about children at a museum, described their activities, and then offered this meaning of what she saw.

> **Rule**
>
> Teaching through practice is much more accepted in America. Or is it better to say the normal way of learning in America is through experience? First, they look at the things closely and find out how they really work, and it is only then that they formulate principles and come to conclusions. Perhaps that's why people here are so practical and realistic.

What had been only a museum visit was transformed into a another opportunity to see cultural norms in action. In fact, Magda's comments about her observations that day could have been a fitting summary of the way the course attempted to introduce this particular group of EFL teachers to American life and culture.

The Role of the Teacher

Making arrangements for interviews, visits, and more formal observations was clearly seen as the course instructor's responsibility, at least in the initial stages of the course. Within the class, the teacher was expected to assume the role of facilitator of discussion. Both of these aspects of the teacher's role were consistent with the participants' learning style preferences as well as with the overall course design.

The only area of conflict was that at times the class members expected the teacher to settle disagreements about issues or cultural meanings. The temptation to do this can be very strong; however, it runs directly counter to this approach to teaching about culture in a language class.

The central purpose of such a course is to help visiting teachers become better observers of American social life and cultural patterns and for them to formulate their own ideas about the meanings of their observations and experiences. To accomplish this goal, it is critical not to shape participants' perceptions about social and cultural phenomena prior to the cultural investigations. The course instructor needs to avoid becoming the sole arbiter of issues regarding American values or do for the students the work they are in the United States to do, namely, investigating and forming ideas about American life and culture.

This conflict can be resolved in a variety of ways: (a) by encouraging greater student description of phenomena prior to discussing meanings; (b) by asking that the student(s) who conducted an interview or made a visit/observation assume the task of leading the discussion in class for that day; (c) by trying to summarize and restate as questions for further exploration the gist of their preceding discussion when asked about opinions; and (d) by waiting as near to the end of class as possible before actually entering into the discussion, and then by trying to enter in as an equal, not as an expert.

However, an expert or insider's knowledge of the target culture is useful in being able to raise questions about stereotypical or biased perceptions about American life and culture which are presented in class discussions. Furthermore, an insider's knowledge of the culture enables the instructor to respond to or clarify issues that arise out of the more formal sessions.

One other role for the teacher of the course is resource. The teacher can encourage extra reading and provide relevant background information, such as articles from newspapers, magazines, and journals which relate to topics of participant interest or investigations. The participants can then share such information with others in the class discussions.

Advantages

There are some important reasons for adopting this approach to language instruction, or at least incorporating elements of it into classes to supplement existing courses. It can be not only employed to meet the goal of learning about a target culture for nontraditional students, such as these Eastern European teachers, but adapted to meet the speaking, listening, reading, and writing objectives of more traditional language learners as well.

First, this approach is strongly learner-centered. ESL teachers are able to design learning activities and goals consistent with students' own preferences. Through this approach, a wide range of classroom arrangements and student learning styles can be accommodated. Furthermore, the approach makes learners active partners in developing and conducting a language course. While such learner-centered instructional design considerations are especially important for adult and nontraditional language learners, self-motivated -directed learning is a valuable goal for all second language learners. An analysis of learner characteristics of the Hungarians makes clear that as learners they had a great deal in common with students in other ESL contexts. And, the Hungarians' success with the approach indicates that learners with similar characteristics would benefit from its use, too.

For instance, even though the participants in the Hungarian program were EFL teachers, their language fluency and proficiency varied tremendously. This was true of vocabulary and pronunciation features as well as pragmatic use of the language. Many of the teachers had never really used language to interact with native speakers on an in-depth basis. Several lacked confidence in their abilities. Moreover, despite living in an English-speaking country for the summer, the teachers lived in a dorm together, spoke in their native language during much of their time away from their classes, and had few opportunities to talk with and get to know Americans outside of the program. Thus, these learners, like other L2 learners, had limitations as well as strengths. And, each participant, like most ESL or EFL students, had language development as a definite part of his or her personal learning agenda. One distinct characteristic of the approach is that it makes the use of participants' own language and ideas (interviews, preparation for interviews, conversations, questions, cases, notes, reflections, presentations, analysis of interviews and observations) the central component of classroom language. This feature indicates the approach is applicable to other ESL/EFL teaching and learning contexts.

Second, the approach helps students become more cognizant of their own culture as well as the target culture. Though not as clearly reflected in Magda's notes, analysis of and lively exchanges about Hungarian values, norms, and beliefs—often in the context of cross-cultural comparisons of behavior and beliefs—played a central part in much of the classroom discussion. Such growth of awareness about students' own culture and opportunity to make cross-cultural analyses are goals of many ESL programs, not just those for advanced students. This approach provides another way to realize them.

While all ESL students might not be able to adapt to this approach quite as easily as the Hungarian EFL teachers did, and even though the course does necessitate a great deal of prior planning, the results of this approach to learning language by learning about a target culture are, I believe, worth the effort it takes for teachers and learners to make it work. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Mexican Immigrants Can Achieve In U.S. Schools

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One of the greatest strengths of the United States has been its free and equal access educational system. Historically, many sons and daughters of immigrants have pulled themselves out of poverty through education: in K-12, community college, and university. Our newest immigrants, South East Asians, have also taken advantage of this educational system.

Immigrants from Mexico, our closest neighbor, have access to the same educational system; yet, they fill our dropout rolls and are among the lowest achievers in our schools. They also comprise the largest minority group in the southwestern United States. From all indications, Mexican immigrants are in danger of becoming a permanent underclass.

The record of the performance of Mexican students in U.S. schools is abysmal. Deborah Mounts, in *The Binational Child*, a 1986 publication of the California Department of Migrant Education, records that it takes approximately 3 years for the average migrant student in California and Texas to move the one grade level from third to fourth grade. The migrant child has only a 40% chance of entering the ninth grade and a slim 11% chance of entering twelfth grade. Approximately 90% of migrants do not graduate from high school.

My own 11 years of research on 26 Mexico City schools show that this lack of achievement exists for three reasons. The first is economic: Mexican families come to the United States to survive. Second, the tradition of education found in many other countries is not as strong in Mexico. Third, educators are not aware of the differences between the processes of education in Mexico and the United States.

Causes of Lack of School Achievement

For the past 8 years, the Mexican economy has experienced runaway inflation with almost no growth in its gross national product. The accompanying unemployment/underemployment and low wages affect families, students, and their teachers. For example, from 1986-8, Mexican teachers in primary schools received raises, but, because of inflation, their net buying power actually decreased 156%. My interview with officials from the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación in 1989 revealed that in 1979, a teacher could potentially buy 4.62 lbs of meat per month on a standard salary. By 1982, buying power had eroded to such an extent that 2.2 lbs represented 62.9% of a teacher's monthly salary. In February 1989, that same amount of meat represented 86% of a month's salary. The situation is the same for most occupations. Consequently, many Mexicans continue to move to the United States in search of jobs so that they can care for their families, with education taking a back seat to survival. Because of the concern for survival, immigrant children are under tremendous pressure to stay home and babysit younger members of the family or to drop out of school and take low paying jobs in the service industries or in agriculture.

The decision to drop out is much easier than to stay in school because Mexico lacks a tradition of education. The concept of universal education only started after the revolution and is less than 70 years old. Though a tremendous amount of time and effort has gone into organizing an educational system for the entire country, it was not until 1988 that President De la Madrid announced in his last state of the union message (reported in "Back to School," *Mexico Journal*, October 3, 1988) that there was sufficient education space available for all those who wanted it. Although he said no child who wanted a primary school education would be denied it, his statement ignored the many poor children who work to support families for whom education is a luxury they can not afford. The same economic factors and weak education tradition that influence the dropout rate of Mexicans in the United States cause similar problems in Mexico. According to the Secretaria de Educación Pública's 1988 publication, *Informe de Labores 1987-8*, almost 15 million students are in the primary schools, but only 4 million are in the secondary schools. A wall mural in the textbook commission building states that between 1964 and 1969, for every 1,000 students who entered a Mexican primary school, 615 would not finish sixth grade. In 1898, this number stood at 45%, according to *Quinto Informe de Gobierno*, a 1987 publication of the Presidencia de la República. Since these dropout students do not have the education to obtain the better jobs, many of them and their families move to the United States—and the cycle continues.

The third reason for the poor success in educating Mexican immigrants in U.S. schools is simply a lack of awareness of different learning processes between the educational system in Mexico and that of the United States. To succeed, immigrant children must understand and conform to our cultural and educational models. Language barriers, combined with a fundamental difference in learning models, create insurmountable obstacles for most immigrant students, who therefore fail in school and drop out.

Addressing the Problem of Poor Academic Achievement

The problem must be addressed at the national, state, local, and individual teacher level. Some programs are already in place; others need to be implemented if we are to help these students obtain a better education.

On August 17, 1990, Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos and Mexican Secretary of Public Education, Manuel Bartlett Diaz, signed a Memorandum of Understanding establishing closer U.S.-Mexican ties on education issues and programs. The agreement remains in effect until December 31, 1991 with provision for successive 2-year extensions. The agreement provided for a border conference in the winter of 1991 to discuss the teaching of English in Mexico and Spanish in the United States, as well as teacher exchange, migrant education, educational administration, educational research and innovation, and improvement of intercultural understanding. Also, technological education, teacher education, and professional development were addressed.

The state of California has several programs to help Mexican immigrants. On September 27, 1990, seven trailer loads of Mexican adult education textbooks (153,715 books) arrived at the consulate in Los Angeles. This material is for a new program designed to provide 17,000 Mexican adults living in Los Angeles with access to literacy so they can complete their elementary or high school in Spanish. The students will have the option of getting their studies certified by the Mexican government. During the 1988-9 school year, the Department of International Relations of the Mexican Ministry of Education placed 25 teachers in Los Angeles and 29 in Louisiana. The Binational Project sponsored by the San Diego County Office of Education negotiated agreements between the States of Michoacan and Baja California concerning children who go to school in both Mexico and the United States. These agreements include allowing students to enroll in Mexican schools any time during the year, providing sixth grade certificates for those who complete sixth grade in the United States, free placement testing in areas close to towns where the students live, and officials to call on both sides of the border concerning implementation of the agreements.

While these programs are laudable, they service only a small proportion of the immigrant Mexican population. However, individual teachers can help students learn and achieve in U.S. schools.

First, the teacher must determine the student's home town and amount of schooling the student has received. Schools in Mexico are divided into three levels: grades 1-6, called *primaria*; grades 7-9, called *secondaria*; and grades 10-12, called *preparatoria*. (Mexicans talk of the first year of the secondaria, rather than of seventh grade, often causing confusion among U.S. teachers.) Only about 55% of the population graduates from the secondaria. Those students from the cities who attend secondarias or preparatorias probably will be good students and will learn quite rapidly. These students have taken English as part of the curriculum in the secondaria and have developed higher order thinking skills. However, those students with fewer than 6 years of education and those from the countryside will find schoolwork a struggle.

If the student attended a public school in Mexico, the student will only know how to print. Also, most instruction is with the whole group; individualized instruction and the inquiry method are not commonly used in Mexico. Modeling is prevalent: The teacher writes the project on the board; one or two students do the work on the board, and then the rest of the class copies the board work in their notebooks. As a teacher in the United States, I use this information in two ways. In my beginning ESL classes, I often rewrite paragraphs and then have the students copy my paragraph on their papers. Whenever the students do not understand my directions, I model exactly what I want them to do. We may do the same type of assignment four or five times until the students understand my expectations.

Spelling is a major obstacle for those students who did not complete the primaria. Spanish has 27 letters and 24 sounds; thus it is very easy to spell Spanish words. English, on the other hand, has 26 letters and 41 sounds. Since spelling is a function of configuration and memorization, I have the students write a word three times on a paper. Next, they turn the paper over and write the word from memory. I do this until they know the words. Since sight reading is a major focus of the Mexican curriculum, students know how to memorize words.

Probably the most difficult aspect of dealing with Mexican immigrants is their attitudes towards education. As mentioned earlier, the concept of universal public education is only 70 years old. The students and their families often do not see school as vital to their livelihoods. Since family loyalty and solidarity are primary cultural values, students must often work to support the family or stay home to babysit younger children. This, of course, creates a high rate of absenteeism, often resulting in school failure.

As educators, we need to make our classrooms places where these students feel comfortable and want to be. We can do this by discussing aspects of Mexican culture in the classroom and by assignments that compare the Mexican way of life with that in the United States. In my classes, we publish a book called *Coming to California*, to which each ESL student contributes a story. The stories are created from three paragraphs: the day I left Mexico, the trip, and the first days in California. A copy of the book is bound and placed in the library. I then use the book to teach reading.

Summary

Because of the economic conditions in Mexico and the lack of a tradition of universal education, Mexican immigrants are faring poorly in U.S. schools. Federal and state-level programs are in place to help. However, classroom teachers can also promote learning. Educators must determine the level of schooling of the student and design a program accordingly. Next, teachers must be aware that students know only how to print, that modeling is the preferred style of teaching in Mexico, and that spelling may be a problem with many students. Lastly, activities in the classroom that involve both Mexico and the culture of the United States have a greater chance of being successful with these students. ■

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Articulation: The Community College Task In Teaching ESL Writing

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Cooperation is one key to successful articulation of ESL freshman composition courses between community colleges and state colleges. While cooperation means work by both parties, in this discussion, I will emphasize only the community college's part in improving articulation.

Teachers in both the two- and four-year institutions have access to and often use the current scholarly information and research from the recent decades of revolution on the teaching of composition. But, because the community colleges are bombarded by the many pressing needs of a student population with diverse needs, ordinary, logical steps for improving composition programs are sometimes not given first priority. Still, since the community college instructors know that their courses are accepted by the state universities as classes that satisfy the general education, composition requirement for the four-year degree, they are concerned whether their ESL students who complete "English 1A equivalent" classes truly reflect freshman-level writing proficiency.

This problem of equivalency between community college freshman ESL composition classes and those of the universities becomes evident in the writing proficiency examination that all California State University colleges give to candidates for four-year degrees. Many ESL students are caught between schools with an astonishing gap separating their writing skills from the expectations of the universities. Indeed, upon transfer, some students need two or even three semesters of composition and reading instruction before they can pass a writing proficiency examination. As a teacher of some of the state college students who have somehow not met the writing test requirements and are not ready to write effectively in courses across the curriculum, on the job, and in their life pursuits, and as a community college instructor, I have some insights that would help community college ESL students improve their written communication. First, I will present a composite example of the unprepared transfer student.

The Unprepared Transfer Student

I call the student Robert, a name I have seen a Vietnamese male adopt for school records. Robert, an immigrant, was a student in one of my state university ESL composition classes. Although Robert had already been a university senior for two semesters, his bachelor's degree lay just beyond his reach, for, despite his wonderful successes in his major, Robert still could not pass the university's writing proficiency test, his only unfulfilled requirement for the degree. To earn his bachelor's degree, he had followed the appropriate procedures in a definite order. He completed all his English requirements in a community college, and when he entered the state university, he studied his major subject with great concentration. Then, in his senior year, when he took the writing proficiency test, he failed, a totally surprising result for him. Hadn't his previous school told him, after he had taken eight community college ESL courses, that he should be ready to complete his education with no further English courses? Certainly, he had not been mistaken. Nonetheless, upon investigating his failure, he found that the courses he had taken had not lived up to the promises that had been made to him. With resignation, he finally signed up for the writing course to which he was assigned through the university's testing of his English, two levels below freshman composition. And, during his third semester as a senior, he enrolled in my ESL writing class, one level below freshman composition. I found that, despite having credit for freshman composition from a community college and despite one composition course at the university, Robert had not yet learned to structure his essay so that it would clearly communicate to a reader. Instead, Robert discussed one point thoughtfully but abstractly, then deliberately switched to a new point, and then back to the first one.

At that time, even after repeated testing, he had not passed the writing test, and the cost of school was becoming an ever greater burden for him. Frequently, he came to class dressed in a suit, tie and white shirt, immaculately ready for a job interview. I began to wonder whether he would ever finish school, whether his strength, courage, and money for education would hold out, or whether the quick dollar from some employer would seize him before he completed his writing requirements. I would like to be able to say that I was the writing teacher who made the difference for this student. However, today, in a crowd of students in predicaments similar to Robert's, I have lost track of the particular student who suggested this composite. But, a stream of Roberts, one by one, each a real individual with demanding, even overwhelming needs, continues to take my ESL composition classes.

Suggestions for Improving ESL Writing Programs

I now want to make some simple suggestions that might help such ESL writing students, suggestions already successfully practiced in a number of community college ESL programs.

For the many community college ESL teachers who see articulation as a pressing priority, a few steps could be helpful in structuring a goal-oriented ESL writing program. At first, these suggestions seem simple and readily apparent, but ESL instructors who examine their college catalogs, schedules, course outlines, and syllabi for classes may be surprised to find incomplete or uncoordinated units in their writing programs.

A Sequenced Series of Courses

First, in the best of all circumstances, the community college ESL writing programs should have a series of four or five courses. Developing writing skills takes time. And, the courses should be sequenced such that each course is more challenging than the preceding one and such that students at each level have more writing experiences and/or practice than those in the preceding course. The sequencing should be specified in the course outlines.

Writing Essays, Not Just Paragraphs

Second, in these community college writing courses, students should be writing essays, as opposed to paragraphs. The essay gives students a chance to think about complexities and a context in which to make ideas meaningful. And, of course, when students reach the more advanced levels of English the longer unit with richly developed and complex ideas is the goal. The student who is ready to write paragraph length assignments is probably ready to write those paragraphs as part of an essay. The writing of essays should be a requirement in the three or four courses prior to freshman composition, and the requirement should be specified in the course outlines.

Use of a Revision System

Third, the use of a revision system in writing classes is effective for the development of ideas, for good organization, and for eliminating problems in syntax, diction, and usage. By revision system, I mean a planned rewriting of each essay. With the least experienced college writers, instructors might ask for two successive revisions of essays: a global revision for changes from the students' original ideas and organization and a local revision to eliminate other problems such as grammar and punctuation errors. Many instructors use an overlapping assignment system such that students turn in an essay every week at the same time that the teacher returns the previous week's essays. With the collection of each local revision, the instructor adds a new assignment to keep the exchange of essays constant throughout the composition course. Under such a revision system, both students and teachers recognize how students' skills grow. Course outlines should suggest that teachers use a form of revision.

Use of Grading Criteria and Norming

Fourth, grading criteria should be part of the course outline for each level. The criteria should describe the proficiency required in major components of essay writing, listing for each level graduated standards of quality for (a) content appropriate to the essay; (b) organization and coherence; (c) diction; (d) structure; and (e) grammar and usage. Some method of norming essays to the criteria is also necessary. Establishing standards and following them is all important. At the 1991 CATESOL State Conference, one presenter suggested that writing courses should have two sets of criteria, one for at home writing and one for in-class writing. However, one set per class level may be sufficient because instructors who want to set up special criteria within a level can simply spell those writing standards out in their assignments.

Focus on Integrated Writing and Reading

Fifth, once a student reaches fluency in English, reading and writing should be integrated. Many instructors use multiple readings to lead to one essay, which then serves as the test of students' reading comprehension, vocabulary growth, critical thinking, and writing. So, the instructors assign grades on the basis of the essays, and the students read to write and write to read. Course outlines should permit the integration of reading and writing in at least the four most advanced levels of community college ESL writing courses.

A Writing Lab for Individualization

Finally, many ESL writing programs would do well to have a writing lab course to help students through individualized instruction and to show students how complex and demanding the task of learning to write is. The teacher-taught, individualized, self-paced, variable unit course, would be open to students whether or not they were enrolled in other ESL writing classes. In the class, students would work with the teacher to determine appropriate materials and activities, receiving from one half to three units based on attendance and work completed. Students in the lab course would get most of their instruction on writing from the regular ESL writing classes, but the lab course would be a place to overcome students' individual writing difficulties.

Problems with some items on my list call for a little explanation. The sequencing of courses seems so obvious that instructors sometimes assume that everyone knows that there is sequencing, what it is, and how it works. I would argue that such an assumption is false. The appropriateness of writing complete essays instead of paragraphs is debated. Instructors think that paragraph writing is easier on the teacher and on the student. But my own experience has shown me that writing paragraphs is an artificial task that denies students the pleasure of relating thought to thought in an essay and it is actually labor intensive for the teacher. When my students have written the one paragraph unit, I tend to use a one-day turn around, which means that I must mark paragraphs, record grades, return papers, and accept revisions in a whirlwind of repeated collecting and returning during every class period, whereas when my students write essays, I extend marking time to one week, with the result that I receive more writing with fewer processings. So essays are actually easier to work with. Moreover, because of their complexity of thought, essays make more interesting reading for the teacher. Obviously the instructor can teach paragraph structure and enrichment within the larger context, the essay.

Although there are debatable issues throughout, my list is meant to serve as a suggestion of what community colleges might consider as they coordinate the parts of a writing program to form a whole. And, that coordinated program will form a vital part of the articulation plans for community college and state university composition courses. ■

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

ESL in the California State University: What are the Key Issues?

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At CATESOL 1991 in Santa Clara, the newly established California State University (CSU) English for Academic Purposes Professional Association held its first annual meeting (see *The CATESOL Journal, 3* for background on the establishment of the Association). The main objectives of the meeting were to examine the issues relating to the teaching of ESL in the CSU and to begin the development of an agenda for the new organization.

Ann Snow of CSU, Los Angeles, the Association's interim chair, served as moderator. Donna Brinton of UCLA began the meeting with a talk entitled "ESL in the CSU: Coming to Terms with Multiple Identities." In her talk, Brinton identified seven key issues related to the teaching of ESL in the CSU and questions related to those issues. After the talk, small groups discussed the issues.

The issues suggested by Brinton not only reveal the range of interests and concerns related to the teaching of ESL in the CSU, but also point out the multiple identities of the various CSU campuses—that is, the many different faces of the ESL and TESOL programs within the state college system. A first step toward forming an agenda for the CSU EAP Professional Association, then, will include an effort to identify variables which exist from campus to campus and to prioritize those which require action. Though she provided no definitive answers to the questions she raised, Brinton shared her own experience and that of University of California TESOL professionals who grapple with many of the same issues in attempting to formulate educational policy. Since many of these issues and their attendant questions are pertinent to all arenas of ESL instruction, we provide them in detail below.

The status of ESL instruction. Nationwide, ESL programs in higher education suffer from an identity crisis in terms of their physical location, the face validity they enjoy across campus, and the amount of articulation between ESL programs and other campus disciplines. The California State University system needs to consider carefully the following questions:

1. Where is ESL housed (separate language institute, continuing education division, academic department, learning center)? How does this affect the visibility and credibility of the program? How standard is this among campuses?

2. Is ESL instruction viewed as remediation?

3. Can students satisfy their composition requirement by taking ESL courses, or are the ESL courses a feeder mechanism into "regular" English courses?

4. Are ESL students marginalized on campus, or do they have equal access to the educational opportunities of native English-speaking students?

5. What is the perception of faculty across the curriculum of the ESL program and the service it renders to students?

6. If housed within an academic department, how mutually complementary are the aims of the academic department and the ESL program?

7. What is the perception of faculty across the curriculum of ESL students?

The placement of ESL students. Similarly, even on campuses where there are large numbers of ESL students, placement issues continue to figure prominently in discussions between program administrators, teachers, and students. Placement is confounded by the existence of at least two distinct populations of ESL students whose linguistic and cultural profiles (and therefore needs) are equally divergent—long-term immigrant students and international students. Critical questions to be answered here include:

1. What defines ESL students? On what basis are they identified and placed into ESL courses or programs?

2. Is the TOEFL required for international students? If so, what is the cut-off level for admission? Is this standard among campuses?

3. Are the students who are accepted into the ESL program articulated students? If not, does acceptance into the ESL program insure students' acceptance to CSU? Is this standard from campus to campus?

4. Are immigrant and international students placed into the same or different sections of ESL courses? What about graduate and undergraduate students?

5. What are the criteria for tracking students into native speaker or nonnative speaker courses?

6. What instruments are used for placement? Are standardized tests (SAT verbal, TOEFL, TSE, TWE) used, or institutionally designed instruments (GWAR)? How standard is this among campuses?

7. On the basis of what skills is placement effected?

ESL curriculum and program design. Closely related to the above issue is that of curriculum and program design. Here, questions to consider revolve around the extent to which ESL courses should be credit bearing and the desirability of offering all-skills instruction as opposed to limited skills instruction (e.g., intensive writing practice). Finally, the extent to which placement and exit exams color curriculum needs to be examined. Questions in this area are:

1. How many ESL courses are offered? What is the percentage of credit versus noncredit-bearing courses? Required versus elective courses?
2. If both credit- and noncredit-bearing courses are offered, at what level do the courses become credit bearing? Is this standard from campus to campus?
3. What is the skills focus of the course offerings? Are students provided with opportunities to improve in all skill areas, or does the instruction focus on more limited areas (e.g., writing skills)?
4. What is the organizing principle of the ESL curriculum (e.g., grammar, rhetoric, content)? Is there a match between students' needs and interests and the design of the courses?
5. What amount of ESL instruction is considered necessary for students to cope successfully at the university?
6. Can students repeat courses as necessary and still obtain credit if their skills are not up to par to enter the next level?
7. What informs curricular decisions? Is the ESL curriculum closely tied to the exit exam, or are other factors (e.g., students' needs across the curriculum) taken into account?
8. Is there built-in flexibility in the curriculum? How autonomous are instructors (e.g., in their choice of content, instructional materials, course objectives)?

Assessment. Typically, assessment is interpreted as referring to the means used to evaluate the work of students in the ESL program. However, this area not only concerns the validity and reliability of instruments and procedures used in ESL classes; it also extends beyond the ESL classroom to encompass the measures used to assess ESL students in their disciplinary studies. The following questions should be examined:

1. Are there standard entrance and exit requirements from section to section? Level to level? Campus to campus?
2. How reliable and valid are the instruments and procedures being used for assessment?
3. If instruments are teacher-developed, are teachers provided with guidance in producing them?

4. Are outreach efforts made to sensitize content area faculty to issues of "accentedness" in ESL writing and to inform ESL instructors of prevalent campus attitudes toward ESL-marked writing?

5. How is ESL program review carried out?

6. How tied are the asssessment instruments and procedures to curricular objectives and philosophies?

7. How frequently are assessment instruments reviewed and revised for the match with curricular objectives?

8. Are instructors normed with reference to composition and oral skills evaluation criteria? Are these criteria systematically articulated?

9. What role do instructors play in articulating assessment criteria?

10. Who is the watchdog to insure that instructors are adhering to evaluation procedures?

Support for ESL instruction. The CSU system is not alone in experiencing inadequate support for its ESL and TESOL programs. As is the case elsewhere in higher education, part-time faculty exceed full-time faculty members, and facilities are far from ideal. Yet some campuses in the system have better support than others and can serve as resources for their sister campuses which are attempting to improve instructional support for their programs. Questions to be addressed include:

1. What percentage of faculty are part time versus full time?

2. Is there tenure or security of employment for ESL instructors?

3. Are part-timers offered contracts? Benefits? Sabbatical leave?

4. How does the institution provide for professional development of instructors (inservicing and preservicing)?

5. Do tenured faculty participate in ESL instruction?

6. Is there funding available for curriculum development?

7. Is institutional support and funding adequate for ESL instruction (for number of classes offered, class size, etc.)?

8. What academic credentials are required to teach ESL? Does the institution adhere to these?

9. What infrastructure exists within the ESL program to support the program (e.g., administration, supervisory staff, secretarial support, space)?

10. What resources (e.g., language lab facilities, computer labs, counselling, legal aid, EOP, tutorial centers) are available?

11. Are hiring and retention criteria clearly articulated?

Articulation. California is virtually unique in the U.S. in that is has three separate state systems of higher education. This situation mandates close articulation between the three systems, particularly in a domain such as ESL instruction where large numbers of the students transfer into the CSU system from the community college system or graduate from a CSU and apply to the state university system. Closer articulation is also called for within given campuses, where there may be little communication between the various on-campus branches responsible for the instruction of language minority students. The following questions should be addressed:

1. How does the ESL instruction offered at CSU compare with that at other postsecondary segments?
2. Do CSU ESL courses transfer to other institutions?
3. Are entrance and exit criteria standard from campus to campus?
4. Are students tracked after completion of the program?
5. What are the retention rates of ESL students within the system? What efforts are made to improve their retention rates?
6. Is there open communication between the ESL program on campus and the unit responsible for the writing instruction of native speakers? Are efforts made to articulate curricula and standards of evaluation?
7. In what way do ESL programs articulate with other programs on campus responsible for language instruction?
8. How well and in what ways do TESL and ESL programs on campus communicate? To what extent do they share a common agenda?
9. What tracking occurs of ESL students who transfer from CSU to another 4-year institution? What about students who enter graduate school?

Responsibility to the profession in general. Finally, the CSU system must recognize its leadership role within the state of California in teacher training and language education research. This responsibility begins on the home campus, with TESOL and ESL programs reaching out to other disciplines to educate faculty about the needs of language minority students. But the CSU system cannot afford to ignore its role in reaching out to the community, its schools and business, and effecting change based on its research findings. Questions which cluster under this heading are the following:

1. What responsibility do ESL programs in the CSU system carry in regard to the population of the state of California?
2. Can the CSU system accept responsibility for training future teachers of LEP and language minority students? Do TESL programs exist on your campus?
3. To what degree can ESL programs on campus instruct and inform faculty across the curriculum about the language minority student population? How can this best be achieved?
4. What role should the CSU play in outreach faculty development in the elementary and secondary segments?
5. What should the research agenda of the CSU be? At what levels can this be implemented and how?

In conclusion, a strong sense of momentum developed at this first meeting of the CSU EAP Professional Association which we hope will serve as a springboard to subsequent CATESOL meetings and future association activities. We encourage everyone involved in ESL in the CSU, including TESOL teacher trainers and those administering and teaching in intensive ESL programs, to get involved in the Association—to work together to meet the challenge of improving instruction for language minority students in the California State University. ■

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Ed. Note: We present this article hoping to encourage debate among ESL professionals in all segments. We welcome comments and discussion on these and any other issues of concern to ESL in California.

The CATESOL Journal

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Annotated Bibliography of Research in Writing in a Nonnative Language

■ Until recently, the importance of writing has not been acknowledged, and literacy has tended to be construed as reading. Thus, research on writing and the writing processes of native speakers has lagged behind research on reading, and research on the writing of nonnative speakers has been even slower to emerge and is still in its infancy. We wished to establish a database that researchers and practitioners could use according to their professional interests and the special needs of their students. We hope to create a synthesis of the research which will contribute toward building a definable field of inquiry and a coherent research agenda for the 90s.

In establishing our corpus, we sought data-based pieces. Thus, articles describing (or prescribing) pedagogical approaches or curriculum were not included. Nor were those devoted exclusively to advocating a particular political or philosophical stance. We also decided to exclude pieces written primarily for the purpose of constructing evaluative measures. Finally, we excluded studies dealing exclusively with nonstandard dialects.

In compiling pieces for review, we utilized four sources: Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts, ERIC, Dissertation Abstracts International, and bibliographies of pieces reviewed. For each entry, the database includes keywords for: age level of writer(s); native language of writer(s); target language; research methodology; genre of the writing studied; and the context in which writing was produced.

Text Features

Error Analyses of Syntax and Mechanics

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Bofman, T. (1989). Attainment of syntactic and morphological accuracy by advanced language learners. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11*(1), 17-34.

Writing had similar syntactic and morphological features across language groups. Syntactic proficiency was markedly stronger than morphological proficiency.

Barnwell, D. (1987). *Syntactic and morphological errors of English speakers on the Spanish past tenses.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 281 369).

Subjects confused verbs which resembled each other and overgeneralized the first person form.

Laing, D., & van den Hoven, A. (1986). *A comparative study of the syntactic maturity and surface control of grade 8 Francophones writing in English.* Paper presented at the International Conference on the Teaching of English, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 285 409).

Errors were most frequent in article use, word choice, verb use, and syntax.

Obeidat, H. A. (1986). An investigation of syntactic and semantic errors in the written composition of Arab EFL learners. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47,* 3415A.

Evidence was found for L1 interference errors and interlanguage or learner system errors.

Cross-cultural Comparisons

Dicker, S. J. (1986). Abstracting in writing: A study of four ESL college students. (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47,* 4007A.

Cultural differences were found to account for variation in genre, voice, content, and transitions used in abstracting.

Harley, B., & King, M. L. (1989). Verb lexis in the written compositions of young L2 learners. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11*(4), 415-439.

Native Francophone writers displayed more lexical variety and used more infrequent verbs than English L1/French L2 immersion students.

Indrasuta, C. (1988). Narrative styles in the writing of Thai and American students. In A. C. Purves (Ed.), *Writing Across Languages and Cultures: Issues in Contrastive Rhetoric* (pp. 206-266). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Thai students used narrative as a vehicle for exposition and instruction, while American students did not.

Ostler, S. E. (1987). English in parallels: A comparison of English and Arabic prose. In U. Connor & R. B. Kaplan (Eds.), *Writing Across Languages: Analysis of L2 Text* (pp. 169-185). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Arabic L1/English L2 writers used more coordinate structures than English L1 writers, began essays with a global statement, and ended them with a formulaic or proverbial statement.

Soter, A. O. (1988). The second language learner and cultural transfer in narration. In A. C. Purves (Ed.), *Writing Across Languages and Cultures: Issues in Contrastive Rhetoric* (pp. 177-205). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Linguistic or cultural differences were found in the writing of English L1, Vietnamese L1/English L2, and Arabic L1/English L2 writers.

Relationship to L1 Linguistic and Cultural Background

McKay, S. L. (1989). Topic development and written discourse accent. In D. M. Johnson & D. H. Roen (Eds.), *Richness in Writing: Empowering ESL Students* (pp. 253-262). New York, London: Longman.

One's experiences in a culture play a large role in how writing topics are developed, contributing to a "written discourse accent" in L2 writers.

Nishimura, Y. K. (1986). Prose-organizing strategies of Japanese college students: A contrastive analysis. *Descriptive and Applied Linguistics, 19*, 207-218.

Evidence for cultural transfer of rhetorical organization was found, but transfer weakened with L2 development.

Ricento, T. K. (1987). Aspects of coherence in English and Japanese expository prose. (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1987).

In a paragraph reordering task, subjects were better at choosing initial and final paragraphs than those in the middle, and evidence was found for a Japanese-specific rhetorical organizational pattern.

Rittershoffer, J. S. (1987). The nominal reference system in the interlanguage of Japanese students writing in English. (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1987). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 48*, 119A).

Japanese L1/English L2 writers sometimes employed grammatical structures which exist in both languages at the expense of a more idiomatic or appropriate English pattern.

Nonnative Writing Proficiency Development

Bilingual Literacy Acquisition

Hadaway, N. L., & Cukor-Avila, P. (1986,). *Composing in two languages: A bilingual child's response.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Social Science Association, San Antonio, TX. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 280 288).

Most children observed wrote only in English, and code-switching was rare. Use of Spanish L1 was influenced by genre and topic.

Hudelson, S. (1989). A tale of two children: Individual differences in ESL children's writing. In D. M. Johnson & D. H. Roen (Eds.), *Richness in Writing: Empowering ESL Students* (pp. 84-99). New York, London: Longman.

One student was more willing to take risks with writing, resulting in more progress in L2 literacy acquisition.

Nathenson-Mejia, S. (1989). Writing in a second language: Negotiating meaning through invented spelling. *Language Arts, 66*(5), 516-526.

Students used their greater knowledge of Spanish L1 orthography to help them to spell words in English L2.

Piper, T. (1989). *Written language growth in a multiethnic classroom.* Paper presented at the Second Language Research Forum, Los Angeles, CA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 308 528).

Bilingual students used compositions to speculate and generalize more than monolingual or beginning L2 peers, although native speakers wrote more and received higher holistic ratings on their work.

Pringle, M. V. (1986). Learning to write in French immersion. *Carleton Papers in Applied Language Studies, 3*, 27-45.

Three stages are hypothesized in the development of L2 French writing skills by Grade 1-2 immersion students: from writing that is related to drawing and personal experience, to risk-taking writing with errors, to coherent transactional and poetic writing.

Samway, K. D. (1987). The writing processes of nonnative English-speaking children in the elementary grades. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester, 1987).

The teaching and learning of writing in an elementary ESL classroom were described using ethnographic techniques.

Seda, I. & Abramson, S. (1989). *English writing development of young, linguistically different learners.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 321 882).

Documents the oral and written L2 development of children participating in interactive journal writing.

Urzua, C. (1987). "You stopped too soon": Second language children composing and revising. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*(2), 279-304.

Cognitive and social aspects of literacy developed in similar ways for English L1 and L2 young writers.

Later Elementary and Secondary

Elliott, M. (1986). Nasr's development as a writer in his second language development: The first six months. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics, 9*(2), 120-153.

A high school-aged Arabic L1 student's writing development was traced.

Peyton, J. K. (1986). *Dialogue journal writing and the acquisition of English grammatical morphology.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 276 257).

Individual differences in the development of correct grammatical morpheme usage were found.

Literate Adults

Anakasiri, S. (1986). Indicators of quality in second language written communication. (Doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 48,* 583A.

Highly rated writers used more subordinate constructions per t-unit, made fewer global errors, and used more reference and substitution cohesion.

Linnarud, M. (1986). Lexis in composition: A performance analysis of Swedish learners' written English. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47,* 812C.

Native writers wrote longer sentences, varied sentence length more, and used more unique vocabulary items than nonnative writers.

Rivers, W. J. (1987). Story writing: A comparison of native and L2 discourse. In J. P. Lantolf & A. Labarca (Eds.), *Research in Second Language Learning: Focus on the Classroom.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Uses a Vygotskian framework to analyze the narratives of L2 learners.

The Writing Process

Brooks, E. (1989). *Interviews with students and colleagues: What can we learn?* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 314 958).

Traces college students' experiences and progress as college writers in a follow-up to a previous study.

Cumming, A. (1990). Metalinguistic and ideational thinking in second language composing. *Written Commmunication, 7*(4), 482-511.

One third of L2 writer's decisions during writing involved simultaneous considerations of gist and appropriate L2 use.

Dennett, J. T. (1990). *ESL technical writing: Process and rhetorical differences.* Paper presented at the Conference on College Composition and Communication, Chicago, IL.

The best writers, both L1 and L2, spent most of their composing time on prewriting. L2 writers had less sense of audience while composing than L1 writers.

Kelly, P. (1986). How do ESL writers compose? *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics, 9*(2), 94)119.

Describes think-aloud protocols of nine L2 writers.

Martin-Betancourt, M. E. (1986). The composing processes of Puerto Rican college students of English as a second language. (Doctoral dissertation, Fordham University School of Education, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47*, 2577A.

Significant individual differences were found in composing processes and in L1 and L2 use in the process.

Relationship to Attitude

Betancourt, F., & Phinney, M. (1987). *Souces of writing block in bilingual writers.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 281 361).

Sources of writing apprehension in bilinguals varied by the language used and how experienced students were with writing in that language.

Fayer, J. M. (1986). *Writing apprehension among Puerto Rican university students.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Chicago, IL. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 280 283).

Writing apprehension was higher in English L2 and higher in speaking than writing.

Gungle, B. W., & Taylor, V. (1989). Writing apprehension and second language writers. In D. M. Johnson & D. H. Roen (Eds.), *Richness in Writing: Empowering ESL Students* (pp. 235-248). New York, London: Longman.

A writing apprehension survey found small correlations between students' writing requirements for their majors and their interest in writing and taking advanced writing courses.

Revision

Cohen, A. D. (1987). Student processing of feedback on their compositions. In A. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner Strategies in Language Learning*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice/Hall International.

A survey of students in language courses showed that few incorporate teacher comments into revisions.

Cohen, A. D., & Cavalcanti, M. C. (1990). Feedback on compositions: Teacher and student verbal reports. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 155-177). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Students in both L1 and L2 composition courses saw teacher feedback as judgement rather than comments of an interested reader and seldom used teacher comments for revision.

Gaskill, W. H. (1986). Revising in Spanish and English as a second language: A process-oriented study of composition. (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47*, 3747A-3748A.

Most revisions were made during writing rather than between drafts, and most revisions were surface changes in both L1 and L2.

Hall, C. (1990). Managing the complexity of revising across languages. *TESOL Quarterly, 24*(1), 43-60.

Revision was very similar in L1 and L2, although L2 revising took more time and demanded some unique strategies.

Lai, P. C. (1986). The revision processes of first-year students at the National University of Singapore. *RELC Journal, 17*(1), 71-84.

Most revisions were mechanical, and students described revision as checking for error.

Effect of Task and Other Contextual Variables

Benesch, S. (1987). *Word processing in English as a second language: A case study of three nonnative college students.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Conference on College Composition and Communication, Atlanta, GA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 281 383).

Found individual differences in how computers were utilized in writing, although in no case was there substantive revision.

Campbell, C. (1991). Writing with others' words: Using background reading text in academic composition. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 211-230). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Non-native writers' incorporation of background texts was not integrated into compositions as well as native writers'.

Chastain, K. (1990). Characteristics of graded and ungraded compositions. *Modern Language Journal, 74*(1), 10-14.

Graded compositions were longer, with longer and more complex sentences, but similar in terms of errors made, content, and organization.

Chiste, K. B., & O'Shea, J. (1988). Patterns of question selection and writing performance of ESL students. *TESOL Quarterly, 22*(4), 681-684.

When given a choice of essay questions, ESL students favored short questions and questions appearing first in a set.

Friedlander, A. (1990). Composing in English: Effects of a first language on writing in English as a second language. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 109-125). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Students wrote longer and better essays when planning in L1 on a topic related to L1 background.

Johns, A. M., & Mayes, P. (1990). An analysis of summary protocols of university ESL students. *Applied Linguistics, 11*(3), 253-271.

Low proficiency students tended to copy more in summaries, and high proficiency students combined more ideas from the original in their sentences.

Johnson, P. (1986). Acquisition of schema for comprehension and communication: A study for the reading-writing relationship in ESL. *RELC Journal, 71*(1), 1-13.

Tests the notion that inexperienced L2 writers find it easier to remember and summarize information presented in narrative than expository form.

Kroll, B. (1990). What does time buy?: ESL student performance on home versus class compositions. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 140-154). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Students made similar errors and achieved only slightly better holistic scores on at-home than in-class essays.

Li, K. N. Y. (1990). *Writing with pen or computer: A study on ESL secondary school learners.* Paper presented at the Annual World Conference on Computers in Education, Sydney, Australia. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 322 720).

Computer-written essays were longer and more highly rated, although learners did not find nonnative writing easy or enjoyable.

Peyton, J. K., Staton, J., Richardson, G., & Wolfram, W. (1990). The influence of writing task on ESL students' written production. *Research in the Teaching of English, 24*(2), 142-171.

Students wrote more and wrote more complex prose in dialogue journals than in assigned writing.

Reid, J. (1990). Responding to different topic types: A quantitative analysis from a contrastive rhetoric perspective. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 191-210). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Writing in different genres affected lexical choice but not syntactic patterns.

Seidhofer, B. (1990). *Summary judgments: Perspectives on reading and writing.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, Dublin, Ireland. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 321 571).

Writers who were provided with texts as they originally appeared in print wrote summaries borrowing more from the original text than writers who were given only a typed manuscript without headings.

Siu, K. P. (1986). *The effects of mode on syntactic and rhetorical complexity for EFL students at three grade levels.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 274 163).

Subjects used longer *t*-units and clauses and more clauses per *t*-unit on argumentative than narrative tasks.

Swales, J. (1990). Nonnative speaker graduate engineering students and their introductions: Global coherence and local management. In U. Connor & A. M. Johns (Eds.), *Coherence in Writing: Research and Pedagogical Perspectives.* (pp. 187-207). Alexandria, Virgina: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

Students were able to compensate for communication difficulties caused by grammar, semantics, and register by following the conventionalized form of scientific text introductions.

Van Haalen, T. (1990). *Efficacy of word processing as a writing tool for bilingual elementary school students: A pilot study.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 318 233).

No relationship was found between field dependence and bilingualism, and bilinguals reported using more effective composing strategies than monolingual counterparts.

Nonnative Writing and Other Language Skills

Reading/Writing Relationship

Carson, J. E., Carrell, P. L., Silberstein, S., Kroll, B., & Kuehn, P.A. (1990). Reading-writing relationships in first and second language. *TESOL Quarterly, 24*(2), 245-266.

Correlations between reading and writing skills in L1 and L2 were weak to moderate, with differing patterns for Chinese L1 and Japanese L1 learners.

Cumming, A., et al. (1989). *Reading and summarizing challenging texts in first and second languages.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 306 773).

Subjects displayed similar expertise in reading and writing in L1 and L2, and literate expertise was a more significant factor in subject performance than language proficiency.

Pimsarn, P. (1986). The reading and writing relationship: A correlational study of English-as-a-second-language learners at the collegiate level. (Doctoral dissertation, North Texas State University, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47*, 2974A.

Reading and writing ability were significantly correlated, but neither were correlated with self-reported background variables.

Speaking/Writing Relationship

Florez, V., & Hadaway, N. L. (1987,). *Relationship of oral language proficiency and writing behaviors of secondary second-language learners.* Paper presented at the Southwest Regional Conference of the International Reading Association, Phoenix, AZ. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 283 359).

LAS test scores were unrelated to assessments of writing ability in L2.

Wald, B. (1987). The development of writing skills among Hispanic high school students. In S. R. Goldman & H. T. Trueba (Eds.), *Becoming Literate in English as a Second Language* (pp. 155-185). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Late learners of English differentiated more between written and spoken syntactic features than early learners.

Relationship to NL Writing

Canale, M., Frenette, N., & Belanger, M. (1988). Evaluation of minority student writing in first and second languages. In J. Fine (Ed.), *Second Language Discourse: A Textbook of Current Research* (pp. 147-165). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

The strength of the relationship between writing in L1 and L2 depended on the evaluative instrument used on texts.

Cumming, A. (1989). Writing expertise and second language proficiency. *Language Learning, 39*(1), 81-141.

Writing expertise and second language proficiency accounted for large, but separate portions of the variance in L2 writing quality.

Fagan, W. T., & Eagan, R. L. (1990). The writing behavior in French and English of grade three French immersion children. *English Quarterly, 22*(3-4), 157-168.

Students wrote faster and wrote longer and better texts in English than in French. Many composing processes were the same.

Doushaq, M. H. (1986). An investigation into stylistic errors of Arab students learning English for academic purposes. *English for Specific Purposes, 5*(1), 27-39.

Students were equally unskilled in L1 Arabic and L2 English composition.

Jones, S., & Tetroe, J. (1987). Composing in a second language. In A. Matsuhashi, (Ed.), *Writing in Real Time: Modeling Production Processes* (pp. 34-57). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Planning strategies transferred from L1 to L2 but were poor in both languages.

Instructional Factors

Instructional Program

Castellano, M. (1989). *The literacy experiences of a Chicano student: A case study of Ernesto.* Paper presented at the conference on College Composition and Communication, Seattle, WA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 320 457.)

Attributes difficulties in college-level writing to negative early literacy experiences.

Kangas, J. A., & Reichelderfer, N. (1987). *Persistence by successful and nonsuccessful remedial and nonremedial English and English-as-a-second-language students: A longitudinal study* (Research Report No. 65). (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 289 539).

Success in reading and writing courses was one of the most significant factors in persistence.

Stairs, A. (1990). Questions behind the question of vernacular education: A study in literacy, native language, and English. *English Quarterly, 22*(3-4), 103-124.

The introduction of English (L2) literacy instruction might have caused the Anglization of Inuktitut (L1) written language.

Curriculum and Methodology

Burger, S. (1989). Content-based ESL in a sheltered psychology course: Input, output, and outcomes. *TESL Canada Journal/Revue TESL du Canada, 6*(2), 45-59.

Students in sheltered subject matter courses made proficiency gains equal to those enrolled in ESL courses. Extra reading and writing practice was not linked to gains in profiency.

Chandrasegaran, A. (1986). An exploratory study of EL2 students' revision and self-correction skills. *RELC Journal, 17*(2), 26-40.

Three revision techniques were successively employed with ESL writers, but students were still unable to recognize one third of composition errors.

Fathman, A. K., & Whalley, E. (1990). Teacher response to student writing: Focus on form versus content. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 178-190). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

While both grammar and content feedback were beneficial, grammar feedback had more effect on revisions made than content feedback.

Liebman-Kline, J. (1986). *Toward a contrastive new rhetoric: A rhetoric of process.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Anaheim, CA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 271 963).

Some of the L2 rhetorical phenomena claimed to be culturally influenced may actually be vestiges of infrequent, product-centered composition instruction in L1.

Robb, T., Ross, S., & Shortreed, I. (1986). Salience of feedback on error and its effect on EFL writing quality. *TESOL Quarterly, 20*(1), 83-93.

Type of error correction had little effect on fluency or accuracy in compositions.

Ross, S., Robb T., & Shortreed, I. (1988). First language composition pedagogy in the second language classroom: A reassessment. *RELC Journal, 19*(1), 29-48.

Three different modes of instruction had no effect on accuracy measures, and fluency building techniques were of limited value in expository writing instruction.

Ulijn, J. M., & Strother, J. B. (1987). Interlanguage and EST writing: Some syntactic evidence. *English for Specific Purposes, 6*(2), 99-112.

Students' major played a larger role in the use of scientific register than their language background.

Zamel, V. (1990). Through students' eyes: The experiences of three ESL writers. *Journal of Basic Writing, 9*(2), 83-98.

The instructional model followed by composition teachers affected student attitude toward writing.

Eds. Note: This bibliography represents only a small portion (1986-1991) of the complete work which is available by writing to the Center for the Study of Writing at the following address:

Center for the Study of Writing and Literacy
School of Education
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720

Sandra R. Schecter is associate director of the Center for the Study of Writing and Literacy at the University of California at Berkeley.

Linda Harklau is an ESL teacher and doctoral student at the University of California, Berkeley.

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

How English Works: A Grammar Handbook with Readings.

Ann Raimes. New York: St. Martins Press, 1990. Pp. xxiii + 389.

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In the not too distant past teaching English as a second language was synonymous with teaching grammar. However, recently a great deal of research and not a little rhetoric have been devoted to questioning the place of grammar instruction in the adult second language classroom: whether it should be central or peripheral, implicit or explicit, inductive or deductive. Ann Raimes herself in 1983 claimed that a concentration on grammar, language use, and mechanics could inhibit the flow of writing and lead students to concentrate on the written product and not on the writing process (Raimes, 1983). Nevertheless, teachers who prepare students to function in academic and business settings know that at some point students must focus on accuracy in order to produce the edited English that their audiences expect.

The question for most of us in the '90s who teach college students is not whether to teach them grammar but when and how to do it. Jack Richards (1986) advocates giving students "pedagogic tasks and learning experiences that allow for the development of monitoring, revision, or editing capacities, that is, making grammatical accuracy a part of the communicative process, rather than focusing on the study of grammar for its own sake" (p.157). In a recent article Barbara Kroll (1990) suggests that "this is best done through having contextual writing to look at, writing which has been produced by the students and which they have a vested interest in improving" (p.51). She proposes an ESL curriculum where students first develop rhetorical control and then turn their attention to syntax, not as an end unto itself but as a tool in the effort to communicate effectively to a reader.

A traditional grammar book in which grammar is taught for its own sake would not be appropriate for such a course. However, Ann Raimes' *How English Works: A Grammar Handbook with Readings* gives students a communicative context for learning grammar; it attempts to make the connections between reading, writing, and grammar so close that knowledge about grammar will result in change in student writing. The text offers students opportunities to read, write, and learn strategies for editing their own writing.

Following a sequence similar to traditional grammar books, *How English Works* opens with chapters on basic sentence structures, followed by chapters on noun and verb phrases, modifiers, agreement, verbals, connecting and combining sentences, and finally principles of written discourse. But it departs from traditional texts in its focus on grammar in discourse, both in the writing of professional authors and in the student's own writing. Each chapter has students analyze a brief reading passage for a particular grammar point. Readings are taken from authors such as Nora Ephron and Russell Baker; they are brief, interesting, and cross-referenced to the grammatical points which they illustrate.

For teachers who wish to spend more time on reading, at the end of the book Raimes includes the entire essay with two writing topics and a list of references to the relevant grammar chapters. A clear exposition of the grammatical rules in question follows the reading passage. Abundant charts schematize the rules and provide handy references when students are in the editing phase. A variety of exercises, most based on the reading passage, allow students to apply the rules that they are formulating. They edit a piece of student writing, write on a related topic, and conclude by editing their own work.

For example, in the chapter on articles, students read a passage from Russell Baker's autobiography and analyze how articles are used in terms of whether the noun phrase refers to something actual and specific for both the writer and the reader either inside the text or outside it. Rules governing the use of articles are followed by exercises. In one, students work with partners to make generalizations on topics such as "babies" and "homework" in order to practice using *zero article*. In another they take a series of noun phrases from Baker's autobiography and classify them as countable or uncountable, singular or plural, and specific or nonspecific. Because the items come from a passage, rather than from disconnected sentences in the manner of traditional grammar texts, students can observe how the rules function in discourse. After editing a piece of student writing, they write about a surprise they once had or that they prepared for someone else and check their work for the use of articles using the categories introduced in the chapter.

The instructor's manual that accompanies *How English Works* provides answers for exercises, noting that often more than one answer is correct and that students should consult with their teacher if they believe their answer is correct. This caveat is particularly important when students work through the exercises in a chapter at their own pace, a strategy that teachers will find useful for dealing with the different levels of grammatical literacy that inevitably occur in their classes. The instructor's manual also contains suggestions for using

How English Works in a course focusing on reading and writing, using grammar in the service of reading comprehension and the editing of compositions. Raimes provides preview and response questions for the complete essays, as well as questions for analysis. The instructor's manual also provides suggestions for using the grammar sections, including suggestions for responding to errors. Raimes offers a "Response Form and Checklist" that teachers can use first to comment on ideas and organization and then to identify "main problem areas in grammar" (p. 5) in the draft they are reading. This form allows the teacher to refer the student back to the chapter where a grammatical topic has already been discussed and to assign relevant pages and exercises for review, encouraging students to see that what they are learning is cumulative, not something to be studied and then forgotten once the chapter is completed.

One problem that teachers using *How English Works* may encounter is that many ESL students in the United States are immigrants; many of them have lived in this country for a number of years and have had their education in American high schools and community colleges. For a variety of reasons, these students, unlike traditional international students, have often not had systematic instruction in either the grammar of their first language or of English. Thus, even though students have achieved a fair degree of fluency in English, they frequently lack the grammatical terminology and concepts that Raimes takes for granted. Teachers of these students may have to backtrack and lay foundations before they can proceed with a lesson. For example, in the chapter on phrases and clauses, Raimes lists prepositional phrases as one category of front structures (p. 17), but she never defines or discusses prepositional phrases. Teachers will have to fill in this gap before students can accurately identify subjects of sentences and understand the concept of *sentence packing*. Nor does she contrast clauses with phrases. *How English Works* will work best for high intermediate to advanced students who have already become familiar with basic English syntax.

Teachers will find little need to supplement material in the text but, like most grammar texts, it covers far more than can be handled in a 15-week semester. They will have to be selective, perhaps eliminating some chapters, such as the one on questions and negatives, since spending time on items such as tag questions promises the least benefit to students' writing. Teachers may also choose to sequence chapters somewhat differently than they are presented in the text, for example, shifting the chapters on punctuation and connecting sentences, which occur late in the text, to the early weeks of the course since students need these skills for all of the writing they will be doing in the course. Although Raimes' intention is that teachers follow the sequence that she has laid out, teachers can readily adapt *How English Works* to the needs of their students and their own vision of how grammar instruction should be sequenced.

How English Works is not a grammar book for all purposes. It assumes that students have reading skills, writing fluency, and knowledge of the fundamentals of English grammar. It is not a reference book although its index would allow students who were familiar with its contents to refer to it in the future. It also contains some inconsistencies which may confuse students. For example, two exercises on modals include *will*, but Raimes never explains why *will* can be considered a modal, nor does she include it in a chart that summarizes the uses of modals and related idioms. What the text sets out to do, however, it does well. *How English Works* represents an innovative approach to grammar for students who are on the syntax side of the rhetoric/syntax split defined by Barbara Kroll and who have achieved a degree of fluency and are now refining their grammatical accuracy in written academic English.

ESL practitioners must still answer the question of when explicit grammar instruction is most productive. Students need to begin developing grammatical literacy while they are developing fluency in the language, but devoting an entire course to grammar is probably most effective, as Barbara Kroll recommends, when students have the ability to communicate in writing, generating ideas and developing and organizing them in a clear and effective manner. Once students have control of rhetoric, they then have a reason for learning grammatical rules in order to edit that writing. Higher level students tend to be more interested in and responsive to grammar instruction. They will see its relevance more clearly than students at lower levels. Krashen is persuaded that we can't alter the order in which grammatical forms are acquired, but even he recommends that a university ESL program include grammar study "to produce 'optimal' Monitor users, performers who will use conscious rules to raise their grammatical accuracy in situations where communication is not impaired, e.g., in writing or in prepared speech" (Krashen, 1985, p.76). Students need to be taught to be good monitor users, which, in writing, means to be good editors.

Behind the selection of interesting reading passages, the clever and varied exercises, and the motivating writing assignments included in *How English Works*, lies the assumption that the application of grammar is part of the transaction between reader and writer. Thus, grammar is an integral part of the writing process, not a separate entity that can be labeled product and divorced from the writer's attempt to convey meaning and the reader's attempt to construct it. *How English Works* offers teachers a more effective way of helping students come to terms with the grammar of English so that they can use their knowledge to become better writers, not just better grammarians. ■

Ed. Note: See the following review for another recently published grammar text.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Nadine Calder, Keith Stanley, and Tom Miner who have successfully used this text and without whom this review would not have been written.

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Using English, Your Second Language, 2nd Ed.

Dorothy Danielson, Patricia Porter, and Rebecca Haven
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents. 1990.

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The differences between the first and second editions of *Using English* show how ESL grammar teaching has changed in the past 20 years. The first edition of this textbook, published in 1973, reflects the traditional, structuralist approach; it contains simple, brief explanations of grammar forms and patterns and numerous teacher-directed drills (completion, transformation, restatement, etc.)

The second edition shows the influence of cognitive and communicative views of second language teaching, not to mention the vastly expanded knowledge of English syntax, semantics, and pragmatics contributed by linguists. The book's explanations, now more complex and cognitively demanding, are discourse-based and cover sociolinguistic as well as linguistic points. The exercises aim to have students use grammar correctly but also in socially appropriate ways (by means of activities like role play), and frequently have students working in pairs and groups for extended communicative practice. Indeed, the second edition of *Using English* is an entirely different book from its predecessor.

A dialog or prose passage begins each chapter and includes numerous examples of the targeted grammatical forms in context. These are accompanied by half-page illustrations (useful for prereading discussion) and follow-up discussion questions and social/cultural notes. The dialogs center around typical conversational situations such as one student asking questions of another in an effort to get acquainted (illustrating various types and functions of questions) and friends discussing what to bring on a picnic (showing various social uses of modals). The passages, written in easily accessible style, are on various stimulating topics, for example, endangered species, rules of politeness, and sexism in language. Examples of the targeted grammar topics are then extracted from the dialog or passage for study; this begins the formal grammar presentation in the chapter.

A traditional variety of grammar topics are covered in *Using English*, from morphology (e.g., verb tenses and possessives), to parts of speech, to complements (e.g., direct and indirect objects, noun clauses, and reported speech), to sentence-level constructions (e.g., question construction, passive and conditional sentences).

Each chapter section presents explanations and examples of the particular grammar feature, charts, and numerous exercises and communicative activities. The exercises are helpfully labeled to indicate their focus (e.g., "future—predicted activities;" "future—scheduled plans"), making it easy for an instructor to scan the chapter and select exercises appropriate for a class. At the end of each chapter, cumulative and integrative exercises are provided for reinforcement and review (e.g., role plays and composition assignments). The chapter organization of *Using English* makes it easy for instructors to design three-stage grammar lessons as recommended by Celce-Murcia and Hilles (1988): presentation, focused practice, and communicative practice.

Using English is innovative in the quantity and variety of communicative activities that it provides. These activities elicit repeated use of the particular grammar point, allow students to exercise their imagination, and stimulate students to interact with one another. The oral commmunication tasks include interview activities, group discussions, contests, and short oral reports. For example, students are invited to submit 150-word entries to a Stowaway Travel Agency contest, stating "where you have always wanted to go for a vacation and why" and telling "how long it has been since you had a vacation and where you went on that vacation" (grammar focus: present perfect and simple past). Writing tasks include short summaries, compositions, written dialogs, questionnaires, and letters.

Because *Using English* covers so many grammar topics and is so packed with detailed grammatical explanations as well as activities, instructors must be careful to use it selectively. The authors point out that the chapters do not need to be taken up in any particular order; they recommend selecting chapters and parts of chapters most appropriate to the needs of a particular student group. It is essential for teachers who use this text to plan a realistic syllabus with sufficient time for students to process grammatical information and to apply it in communicative activities.

The instructor's manual provides many helpful teaching guidelines including suggestions for planning a course syllabus, orienting students to the book, presenting grammar information, conducting group and pair work, and writing tests. Chapter notes which include common student errors/problems are also useful.

Using English is not only a unique ESL textbook but also a valuable reference and resource book for ESL teachers. I have used it in a pedagogical grammar course (for prospective ESL/EFL teachers) to supplement *The Grammar Book* (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1983). The two books complement each other perfectly. This is no coincidence, as Danielson, Porter, and Hayden have adapted some of *The Grammar Book*'s analysis and concepts. Some examples include the Bull framework for analyzing verb tenses in discourse, the classification of uses of modal auxiliaries into *social* and *informational* (i.e., having logical probability), and the categories of conditionals.

ESL teachers will find *Using English* is ideal for advanced ESL students in academic programs. It is especially appropriate for college ESL classes and for the highest level in intensive programs for college-bound students, in courses where the goal is expanded formal knowledge of grammatical structures and application to oral communication. Students who have studied grammar formally but who need to review and fill in gaps will find it very helpful. It is also useful for those who need to refine their grammatical competence so as to improve the accuracy of their speech and writing. The book makes it possible for grammar learning to be not only systematic, but enjoyable. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Language Aptitude Reconsidered.

Eds. Thomas S. Perry and Charles W. Stansfield.
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents. 1990.

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Based strictly on its title, *Language Aptitude Reconsidered* might be mistakenly classified as just another collection of articles on the two fairly old but well-known language aptitude tests, *The Modern Language Aptitude Test* (Carroll & Sapon, 1959) and *The Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery* (Pimsleur, 1966), or, as simply another work on language aptitude in isolation. The volume, however, covers considerably more research than indicated in a narrow interpretation of its title. The work includes a wide range of research articles on a number of personality, cognitive, and motivational factors contributing to second language learning success. Thus, it is a volume whose use should not be limited to classes on second language testing. It could be extremely useful in a class on applied linguistics, research in second language acquisition and psycholinguistics. The title must not mislead the reader.

Language Aptitude Reconsidered consists of a number of articles by authors such as John Carroll, Rebecca Oxford and R.C. Gardner. Two overall impressions emerge from the work. First, the articles touch on a number of topics that are often glossed over when success in second language learning is discussed. Second, the work clearly indicates that we already know a lot about success in second language acquisition, but, at the same time, there is much that we do not know.

The following will highlight a few of the topics discussed in this work that are not commonly found in current literature.

First, in his article "Cognitive Abilities in Foreign Language Aptitude: Then and Now," Carroll addresses the issue of hearing loss, which might interfere in class performance. It is not often that hearing loss problems are even considered as a variable in research on adult second language acquisition.

In the same article Carroll observes that different aptitudes may be required for success in the beginning aspects of second language acquisition (i.e., "scratch") as opposed to higher levels:

> In my research, high verbal ability (as measured by vocabulary and reading comprehension tests) was generally not a good predictor of early language learning success, but it is possible that it would be a good predictor of success in reaching higher levels of proficiency. (p. 24)

Such information merely confirms the complexity of determining language aptitude.

Second, in her article "The Role of Personality Type in Adult Language Learning: An Ongoing Investigation," Madeline Ehrman examines the very popular psychological instrument *The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator* (MBTI) (Briggs & Myers, 1983) and its usefulness in predicting success in second language learning. The MBTI classifies individuals on four bipolar scales of personality type. These are *Extraversion-Introversion, Sensing-Intuition, Thinking-Feeling*, and *Judging-Perceiving*. The author suggests that individuals who rate high on intuition and feeling may be more successful second language learners. However, she cautions that exact correlations between MBTI scores and successful second language learning are tentative at best. Although the results of this research do not lead to any simple one-to-one correlations, the contribution of the research is that of bringing this particular personality type instrument into the domain of second language learning research.

Third, in their article, "Predictors of Success in an Intensive Foreign Language Learning Context," Lett and O'Mara discuss the Defense Language Institute categorization of languages by levels of difficulty. Categories are determined by the length of time the DLI estimates it takes an adult to acquire certain levels (e.g., beginning, intermediate, advanced) of proficiency. Category 2, for example, includes German, Hindi, Indonesian, Malay, Romanian, and Urdu, and it is estimated to take 1,020 hours for intermediate proficiency. The most difficult languages include Mandarin, Korean, and Arabic which are estimated at 2,160.

These types of listings are seldom seen in methodology and applied linguistics texts. Perhaps the reason is that linguists must carefully avoid statements that appear to be value judgments with respect to any one language. In so doing, it is possible to overlook the idea that *relative to English* one can make certain statements about the ease with which particular other languages may be learned.

Thus, it is clear that one of the distinctive features of this work is its forthrightness in dealing in a scholarly way with refreshing new topics that are often neglected or disregarded in other works within the field.

The second distinctive feature of *Language Aptitude Reconsidered* is its balanced approach to presenting what we know about the issue of aptitude and what we do not know at this point in time. Virtually all of the articles present tentative findings but also indicate how much more research is needed in the field.

In 1972, Gardner and Lambert published *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. The issues highlighted in this book and related articles remain alive today. *Language Aptitude Reconsidered* includes an article by Gardner titled, "Attitudes, Motivation, and Personality as Predictors of Success in Foreign Language Learning." Gardner still maintains that among the affective variables—including personality, attitudes, and motivation—the latter plays a fairly substantial role in language learning success.

Rebecca Oxford's article "Styles, Strategies and Aptitude: Connections for Language Learning" examines what learners do for themselves to facilitate the learning process. She looks at the issue in relation to style and reports findings from a variety of researchers. It may be of interest, for example, that good learners may not be as uninhibited as once thought and that they pay more attention to form than meaning. She ultimately concludes that all of these issues need much more extensive and thorough investigation.

Language Aptitude Reconsidered thus touches on a number of issues, any one of which could be the subject of a far more thorough investigation. It should be noted, however, that the articles all discuss issues relevant to the adult or older learner. There is virtually nothing on aptitude in children, and an article exploring some of the differences between child and adult second language aptitude would be a useful addition. Nevertheless, this volume is excellent professional reading for both ESL instructors and researchers. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

BOOK BYTES

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Ed. J. Kreeft Peyton and L. Reed. *Dialogue Journal Writing with Nonnative English Speakers: A Handbook for Teachers.* Alexandria, VA: TESOL. 1990.

> *A dialogue journal, put very simply, is a conversation between a teacher and an individual student ...*" (p. 3)

Many teachers have now heard about dialogue journals and are interested in trying them out with their classes. Reed explains that dialogue journals are particularly appropriate for ESL students who may enter a new school with extremely high anxiety levels: "Students that come to the classroom unable to speak English soon find that the journals can be a real source of comfort and satisfaction" (p. 2). Journals may also serve as a safe way for the child to ask questions about things he or she does not understand.

Very readable and practical ideas about how to implement journal writing fill the book. Helpful examples are given throughout of actual dialogue journal entries. What a dialogue journal is (and isn't) and how it varies from the basic journal format is discussed in chapter 2. This is followed in chapter 3 by a lengthy discussion of the benefits of dialogue journal writing. Then begins the application. Chapter 4 addresses the different entry levels of students: beginning, literate, and more advanced. Certainly the kinds of dialogues will change for each of these students.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with potential problems: How does a very busy teacher find time for the dialogue? How do the children find topics to write about? Potential areas of concern relate to the reluctant and/or repetitive writer. Repetitive patterns "can become a very comfortable, safe way for a beginning writer to get something in print" (p. 72).

The book ends, quite appropriately with profiles of four students who display various experiences with print including "the defeated student who blossomed" (p. 99) and the "good student and the development of voice" (p. 100). Anyone interested in using dialogue journals will find this book a constant resource.—NK

H. Douglas Brown, Deborah S. Cohen, and Jennifer O'Day. *Challenges: A Process Approach to Academic English.* Prentice Hall Regents. 1991.

Challenges is designed for students about to enter or already in a university course of study where English is the medium of instruction. The book presents an integrated approach to academic reading and writing. The overall framework is reflected in the title—the knowledge being discovered in various academic fields challenges us "... to understand our environment, to utilize our resources, to take better care of our minds and bodies, and to work together as a human race for the good of all" (p. vii). The book therefore is organized around discipline-based topics such as "An Exploding Population" (Demography), "Crossing Economic Borders" (Business and Management), "Parents, Children and the Family" (Anthropology), and "Unlocking the Wondrous Mind" (Physiology). The reading selections in the various topics are culturally varied and sensitive to a multicultural population. Within each unit students are helped to develop various reading strategies such as scanning, skimming, and guessing vocabulary from context. They are shown how to interact with the text, to bring their own background knowledge to bear on their interpretation of the text. They are led through the writing process, discovering how to cluster, freewrite, revise, and edit. The book encourages group work and discussion, ways of helping students explore ideas, generate ideas, and respond to their peers' spoken and written ideas. The teacher's guide is invaluable for the instructor who has never before used some of the suggested reading and writing strategies. And, it also includes additional ideas and extension activities for teachers who are more familiar with the strategies. Although designed with the ESL student in mind, the text is also appropriate for any students not yet familiar with academic rhetorical conventions. ("ESL" occurs only on the back cover of the text.) Since the text does not offer particular grammar help for ESL students (concentrating instead on the processes and strategies of reading and writing), teachers might like to supplement this book with a grammar (such as Ann Raimes *Troublespots*, St. Martin's Press) for use during the editing stages of writing.—DM

Ed. J. Kreeft Peyton. *Students and Teachers Writing Together.* Alexandria, VA: TESOL. 1990.

This collection of articles on journal writing is of particular interest as it addresses the needs of deaf students as well as nonnative English speakers. Several concerns are raised throughout the book, including how to engage students in meaningful writing; how teachers respond to students in ways which encourage development in both writing and language skills; how to connect these skills with success in other coursework; the impact of journal writing with current theories of curriculum design; and how student progress can be followed at both the discourse and grammatical levels.

The first article (and part I) by Bonnie Meath-Lang examines reconceptualist curriculum theory and its applicability to journal writing with deaf students and second language learners.

Part II focuses on classroom approaches, with articles on connecting journal writing to academic writing (Lauren Vanett and Donna Jurich); a model for interactive teaching of reading (Margaret Walworth); and a context for teacher/student collaboration (Lauren Vanett and Donna Jurich). Part III looks at implications for learning. Joy Kreeft Peyton focuses on acquisition of English grammatical morphology, while Tamara Lucas looks at "Personal Writing as a Classroom Genre." This section concludes with John Albertini's article on "Coherence in Deaf Students' Writing," which examines internal organization.—NK

H. Douglas Brown. *Breaking the Language Barrier.* Intercultural Press. 1991.

Doug Brown's latest book is a delight, blending theory, pedagogy, and practical guidelines for individual language learning strategies. Although the book is directed to language learners struggling to become proficient in another language, it also has valuable lessons for all language teachers. It reports research findings "... in a simple, straightforward fashion. There is no mysterious jargon, no lofty academic prose, just plain talk ... about a phenomenon that is familiar to many" (p. xii). But, this straightforward presentation reveals accurate information on the process of foreign/second language learning, both in and out of the classroom. The book is well written, with numerous examples to illustrate processes and theories. Above all, Brown presents the material with humor and true understanding of the complexity of language learning. This book is ideal for anyone learning another language—it could be used in a content-based ESL class, in which students would learn both language and about the language learning process. I would highly recommend it to my more advanced learners because it would help them understand their frustrations and triumphs. And, it would be a wonderful, enjoyable, and informative introduction to the field of language teaching for potential ESL instructors. All of us, teachers and learners alike, could benefit from reading this book and taking the various self-tests in the Appendix—of aptitude, learning style, personality, and ambiguity tolerance. —DM

NOTES

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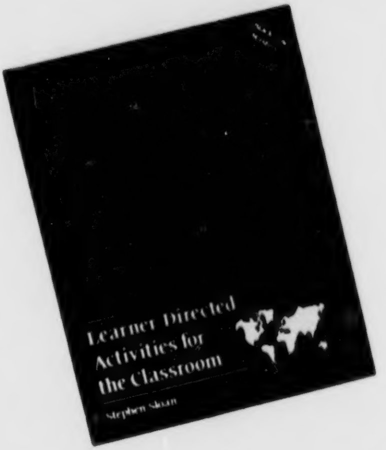
NEW FROM NATIONAL TEXTBOOK COMPAN



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California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

The

Journal

Special Theme Issue:
Content-Based Instruction

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The CATESOL Journal

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The CATESOL Journal

Editors' Note

We are pleased to present the first theme based special issue of *The CATESOL Journal*. Its focus on content based instruction provides an in-depth look at one of the most exciting new developments in our field. We wish to thank our guest editors, Marguerite Ann Snow and Donna M. Brinton, for responding to our challenge to develop this timely volume. They completed their task with professionalism and enthusiasm.

Dorothy S. Messerschmitt
Co-Editor

Denise Murray
Co-Editor

The CATESOL Journal

Guest Editors' Note

When we were asked to guest edit this special theme issue of *The CATESOL Journal* on content-based instruction (CBI), we seized the opportunity to showcase the interesting work in this area taking place around our state at all educational levels—elementary, secondary, postsecondary, and adult. In this journal edition, we seek to raise important issues in CBI, describe current content-based practices, and suggest directions in which this approach might evolve in the future. In designing this edition, we decided to look forward, opting to build on previous work in language and content integration, rather than retell its history. Throughout the issue, however, are references to earlier work in CBI; we invite readers to explore these references to provide context, both national and international, for the work here in California.

We also decided to use this theme issue as an opportunity to cast the net widely and show the relationships between CBI and other approaches which are currently generating interest in California. Accordingly, we asked experts in such areas as cooperative learning, whole language, and the teaching of culture to discuss the relationship between their work and CBI. We also looked to English for specific purposes (ESP), vocational English as a second language (VESL), and sheltered English, where the connections are a bit more obvious, in an attempt to uncover the similarities and delineate the differences among these related endeavors. We believe that this type of bridge building reveals a broadly based foundation for content-based teaching at all levels of instruction and suggests a great variety of approaches to improving instruction for language minority students.

As in the regular editions of *The CATESOL Journal*, there are three sections to this special issue: **Articles, CATESOL Exchange,** and **Reviews.** The **Articles** section presents a comprehensive treatment of four key topics in content-based instruction: syllabus design; student needs, interests, and motivation; testing; and literature as content. The **Exchange** section augments the full-length chapters by covering a wide variety of practical issues in CBI and, as mentioned, considers the relationships among related approaches. We designed this section as a true exchange, a dialogue of sorts with the authors who shared their perspectives and experiences across different levels of instruction. The third section, **Reviews,** examines current ESL/EFL textbooks designed for either sheltered content or content-based language instruction at a variety of instructional levels, ranging from the elementary setting to preuniversity and university levels. Some of these texts are designed for multiskill instruction; others emphasize a single skill such as vocabulary or writing while also suggesting ways in which students can practice other skills.

We think that this issue represents the state of the art in CBI in California. The rich variety of ways in which the principles of CBI are being applied at all educational levels is indeed impressive. We would like to encourage others working in CBI to join the dialogue by sharing their experiences at annual CATESOL conferences, in *CATESOL News*, and in future volumes of *The CATESOL Journal*. For those new to this instructional approach,we hope that this issue will inspire them to try content-based teaching in their classrooms. And finally, while we have designed this special issue with ESL teachers in mind, we hope that readers will share relevant articles with colleagues in the content areas and in the workplace in an attempt to build the bridges which are at the heart of content-based teaching.

Marguerite Ann Snow and Donna M. Brinton
Guest Editors

The CATESOL Journal

DAVID E. ESKEY
University of Southern California

Syllabus Design in Content-Based Instruction

■ **This paper explores the relationship between content-based second language instruction and so-called communicative language teaching and traces the development of syllabus design for second language courses from its emergence as an issue in the mid '70s to the present day. The paper argues that content, when combined with a concern for communicative function and grammatical structure, provides the missing third dimension in syllabus design for second language courses and generates course designs superior to those based on structure alone or on some combination of structure and function. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the problems in, and the prospects for, developing this kind of syllabus for such courses.**

Communicative Language Teaching, Content-Based Instruction, and Syllabus Design

In a brilliant, if somewhat neglected, paper the late H. H. Stern (1981) identified and discussed two major, and largely unreconciled, versions of what had become (and still remains) the dominant approach to second language teaching, that is, "communicative" language teaching (CLT). One—mainly European (and, especially, British)—he dubbed the *L-* (for linguistics) *approach*, because it derived from new kinds of linguistic analyses—not analyses based on linguistic forms like phonemes, morphemes, and syntactic structures but analyses based on such semantic elements as notions and functions and particular speech acts. The other—mainly American—approach he dubbed the *P-* (for psychology and pedagogy) *approach*, because it derived not from any kind of linguistic analysis but from studies of learners and the language-learning process. This approach is mainly concerned with establishing the kinds of conditions under which learners learn second languages best and the kinds of activities most likely to facilitate second language learning.

Since the L-approach generated a new kind of content for language courses, it led naturally to work on syllabus design, to what Munby (1978) called *communicative syllabus design*, and to the work of Wilkins (1976), Van Ek (1975), and many others on so-called *notional* syllabuses. Since the P-approach was based on process studies, it led naturally to work on methodology, to such new ways of teaching as Total Physical Response (Asher, 1969) and The Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983). It is interesting that each of these approaches was weakest where the other was strong, the L-approach having little to say about how semantic units should be taught, and the P-approach having little to say about what the content of a language course should be.

Content-based instruction (CBI) is clearly a descendant of the P-approach, in the sense that it consciously rejects the common sense notion that the content of a language course should be language. A basic premise of CBI is that people do not learn languages, then use them, but that people learn languages *by* using them. Thus in the surprisingly extensive list of works on CBI (e.g., Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989; Cantoni-Harvey, 1987; Crandall, 1987, to name just three of the book-length treatments), there is very little detailed discussion of syllabus design for content-based courses. By detailed I mean discussion of how a content-based syllabus for a class of second language learners would differ from one for a class of native English-speakers. The best work addressing this particular problem is that of Mohan and his colleagues (e.g., Early, 1990; Mohan, 1986), but most of those promoting CBI seem to assume that in this area (as opposed to methodology, an area in which differences are widely recognized and discussed) content-based courses for second language learners are no different from other subject matter courses, an assumption which I believe to be false for reasons which I will discuss in the third section of this paper.

On the other hand, CBI does provide content for courses in a natural way—the subject matter to be studied—and although I will argue that this kind of content does not, in the form that courses for native speakers employ, constitute the proper content for content-based *second* language courses, I will also argue, in the next section, that it does constitute the proper place to begin. And I will argue, more broadly, that CBI represents a very promising way of redefining CLT in a more comprehensive and unified manner.

The Case for the Content-Based Syllabus

It would hardly be revolutionary to say that the advent of the notional syllabus in the 1970s (Wilkins, 1976, provides a convenient starting point) was the beginning of serious discussion of the syllabus in modern ESL (or British ELT) circles. It might, in fact, be more accurate to say that the subject of syllabus design for language courses barely existed as an issue in the field before the notional syllabus was offered, about 15 years ago, as a more enlightened approach to the problem of designing second language courses than what was come to be known as the *structural* or *grammatical* syllabus, a type of syllabus so well established among the course designers of the day that few of them had considered the possibility of organizing a course in any other way. Since that time, however, it has become a commonplace of the field that the older structural syllabus is based on some set of the grammatical forms of a language, as identified by the typical linguistic analysis of forms (phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactic), whereas the newer notional syllabus is based on some set of the notions and functions of a language, as identified by some kind of semantically based text or discourse analysis (see Yalden, 1983 for an excellent summary of the history, to the early '80s, of syllabus design in second language teaching).

From that major premise, the substantial body of work that was published in the '70s on syllabus design for second language courses developed around two major arguments: first, that the notional syllabus, or some form of communicative syllabus, was superior to the structural syllabus (a literature devoted to explaining what this newer type of syllabus was and why it was better than earlier types, e.g., Wilkins, 1976), and, within a few years, that the notional syllabus was not as wonderful as its proponents thought it was (a kind of backlash literature devoted to exploring some of the limitations of this kind of syllabus, e.g., Brumfit, Paulston, & Wilkins, 1981). In the '80s, a more descriptive tradition developed. Most recent work on syllabus design takes one of three tacks—historical (there now being some history to record, e.g., Yalden, 1983); how-to (syllabus design having been recognized as an integral part of course and program design, e.g., Dubin & Olshtain, 1986; Yalden, 1987); and survey of types (e.g., Krahnke, 1987, which includes some discussion of CBI)—or some combination of these (e.g., Prabhu, 1987, which introduces the *procedural* syllabus, in my opinion one kind of content-based syllabus; it is virtually identical with Krahnke's *task-based* syllabus). The current feeling seems to be that just as there is no one best method for teaching a second language, so there is no one best syllabus type. This may be literally true but can be pushed too far. I will argue below that the best syllabus for a second language course, though it may differ from others in detail, will always meet certain criteria (Krashen, 1983, advances a similar argument for methods).

In any case, the controversy provoked in the '70s by the claims for the notional syllabus was never really resolved. It simply petered out. It soon became apparent that the so-called *notional-functional approach* had almost nothing to contribute to many of the questions—questions of method and materials, for example—that second language teachers are most concerned with answering. From a purely theoretical point of view, however, the trouble with both sides of this controversy was that they based their positions on a concept of competition between two major syllabus types (with a third, minor type—the so-called *situational* syllabus—having some limited usefulness), but this view of the issue is misleading. These two approaches to syllabus design are not contradictory but complementary. Both the notional syllabus recently in vogue and the structural syllabus of an older period can best be understood not as simple alternative approaches to syllabus design but as direct applications of the major theoretical work of their times on the subjects of language and second language learning and, therefore, as part of a larger, ongoing developmental process. As the scope of linguistic inquiry has increased, so has the scope of syllabus design, from a one-dimensional concern with grammatical form to a broader, two-dimensional concern with both grammatical form and communicative function. Since this increase in scope has breached the old wall between the study of language as a formal system and the study of systems of communication, it does, I would immediately concede, constitute a major breakthrough in second language teaching. But I would also argue for still another level of development embodied in the content-based syllabus, which represents a still broader conception of language and second language learning and attempts to apply insights from still newer research on these subjects. Just as the notional syllabus is best viewed as an extension and development of the structural syllabus (not, as noted, a mere alternative to it), so the content-based syllabus is best viewed as a still newer attempt to extend and develop our conception of what a syllabus for a second-language course should comprise, including a concern with language form and language function, as well as a crucial third dimension—the factual and conceptual content of such courses.

More specifically, the structural syllabus is best viewed as a direct application of the notion of *competence*—a speaker's largely unconscious knowledge of the grammar of any language he can speak (as opposed to *performance*, the speaker's real language behavior which must, of course, be based on competence and perhaps additional sets of sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules). This notion also includes most of the pre-Chomsky work in descriptive linguistics, both in the U.S. and elsewhere, the controversies that raged over Chomsky's transformational-generative model having to do little with the scope of linguistics but more with the nature of the systems of rules that constitute the grammars of human languages. For most of the competing approaches to linguistics, grammar remained the proper object of inquiry until a few scholars, mainly sociolinguists, began to argue for a broader conception of language as a system for generating not only grammatical sentences but also genuine communicative acts. And for a few applied linguists, it was these ideas that led to the notion of the notional syllabus, which I believe is best viewed as a direct application of the notion of *communicative competence*—a speaker's knowledge of what is not only possible (i.e., grammatical) in a language, but also appropriate in particular contexts where people use language for real communicative purposes. It is important to note that this conception of language includes the earlier conception but expands upon it, just as the notional syllabus includes some description of the grammar of the language to be learned (in the form of *exponents* for the notions and functions) but treats it as just one subsystem of rules for realizing a speaker's ideas, feelings, and intentions, which in turn involve another subsystem of different kinds of rules, that is, the rules of discourse.

Widdowson (1979) has proposed a model of language incorporating both of these systems of rules, which he calls *rules of usage* (i.e., grammatical rules of the kind on which the structural syllabus is based) and *rules of use* (i.e., discourse rules of the kind on which, together with grammatical rules, the notional syllabus is based). But Widdowson's system is even more inclusive. He also argues that a speaker must master what he calls *procedures* for negotiating meaning in specific real world contexts, and these correspond more closely to Chomsky's unspecified *rules of performance*, which neither of the syllabus types just referred to deals with in any serious way. In fact, these procedures are not rules at all. In reality, as Widdowson (1981) notes, human language behavior is not so much rule-governed as merely rule-referenced (p. 19). And, if Widdowson is right, as I think he is, something more than rules is required for learning how to use a new language in the real world, where the forms that are needed and the precise language acts that must be performed are, nearly always, to some extent unpredictable.

The problem is that learning rules is not enough, even if the rules of discourse are included. Rules are abstractions which normally apply only in token or typical situations. They cannot tell learners exactly what to say in particular cases, in which they must often make a judgment as to what should be said or how to interpret what someone else has said. Real language learning is most likely to occur when the context of that learning is not only typical, but real, when the learners are not merely acting out roles but trying to use their new language to fulfill genuine communicative purposes. In real language use, speakers do not begin with a list of either forms or functions that they wish to produce, but with a subject that they happen to be interested in and would like to learn more, or say something, about. Language syllabus designers, however, have not been much concerned with the purposes of learners, other than linguistic purposes, nor with subjects, so much as with the language of subjects, which most learners do not find especially interesting. Thus the missing third dimension in syllabus design is, I would argue, subject matter or content, and a real concern for subject matter is what most distinguishes the content-based syllabus from other syllabus types.

Content, in this kind of syllabus, is not merely something to practice language with; rather, language is something to explore content with. Such a syllabus does not begin with a list, or any selection from a list, of either forms or functions, but with a topic (or topics) of interest—a network of issues, concepts, and facts which a skillful instructor can bring to life for some particular group of students—an approach that coincides with what we know about human learning in general and second language learning in particular.

As a number of psycholinguists have noted (e.g., Rumelhart, 1980), people do not acquire or store knowledge in the form of random lists of facts but in what is known as cognitive structure, a kind of picture of the world (Smith, 1975) that each of us carries around in his or her head and to which everything we know is related. Thus, acquiring new knowledge always entails relating new information to what the learners already know, to the networks of knowledge, now often called *schemata*, of which their cognitive structures are composed. Before learners can begin to make such sense of a subject (before it can, for them, become a subject of interest), they must therefore acquire what Grabe (1986) has called a "critical mass" of information on that subject—that is, sufficient information to give that subject a shape of the kind that I have just referred to as a network of issues, concepts, and facts. If, for example, I were to say, "It takes good outside shooting to beat a zone defense," some readers of this article would be hard-pressed to say what I was talking about (although there are no words in this sentence that an educated reader could not define), whereas others would instantly recognize my remark as a common observation about the game of basketball. Moreover, as a number of scholars in our field have noted, language learning is essentially a natural process in which students learn or acquire the language by using it, not by memorizing rules or doing meaningless drills, and by using it to fulfill real comunicative needs. Widdowson (1981) says, simply, "acquisition and use are essentially the same phenomenon" (p. 21), but, as I have tried to show, normal use cannot take place in the absence of a genuine subject of interest.

Given these insights into the way that people learn, and the way that they learn second languages, the crucial role of content in the language-learning process can be defined in relation to two basic learning problems.

There is, first of all, the problem of knowledge (for researchers, the *cognitive* variables). For learners to make normal use of a language—the usual condition for successful acquisition—they must apply it to subjects they know something about (for which they have acquired the relevant schemata), and subjects they know something about in that language. They must develop some skill in the use of the language forms and routines needed for dealing with those subjects in whatever ways they may have to deal with them. But in the process of acquiring the key knowledge and skills, it is content which, when a course is built around it, will eventually provide that critical mass of information on the subject that will make it increasingly comprehensible. And in using the language to make sense of that subject', it is content, not form or function, that the learner will attend to. But it is just that kind of use, and that kind of attention, which results in the real acquisition of language.

Almost equally important is the problem of feeling (for researchers, the *affective* variables)—the learners' feelings that a subject really matters in some way that relates to their personal values and beliefs. The learners need to not only know about subjects, but care about them, if their study of those subjects is to evoke a normal learning experience. This point is, I think, very closely related to Stevick's (1976) notion of *depth* (pp. 34-36), and what some colleagues of mine call *engagement*—the personal involvement of the learner in the learning, at a level which guarantees real interest in it. There is, after all, no better motivation for learning a language than a burning desire to express an opinion in that language on a subject that one really cares about. In fact, it is only when that happens, I suspect, that most learners begin to take a serious interest in the problems of language forms and language functions, that is, in the problem of how to say it right.

By this time, I hope that I have made it plain that, like the notional syllabus, the content-based syllabus should not be considered a mere alternative to earlier types but a logical extension and development of them. At its best, this kind of syllabus incorporates all three dimensions of the good language course—the dimensions of content, function, and form.

Such a syllabus must, of course, be concerned with language form and function wherever they constitute problems for a learner, as they frequently do. To understand a lecture on any subject of interest, a learner must comprehend most of the words and structures that the speaker employs. To write a paper on that subject, he or she must have some understanding of what it means to compose written discourse in that language. But in the format provided by a content-based syllabus, these linguistic forms and functions are never ends in themselves but simply means of achieving communicative ends—of comprehending or producing information on a subject that the learners are exploring simply because they are interested in it. The structural syllabus tends to treat its content as mere tokens of various grammatical structures, and even the notional syllabus, concerned as it is with teaching for communicative purposes, approaches content mainly as a sampling of key discourse types—which, I think, is why both kinds of courses have a way of breaking down into a disjointed series of old familiar language lessons that do not have the feel of the normal learning process. By contrast, in focusing on real subject matter, the content-based syllabus provides a kind of natural continuity, creates genuine occasions for the use of those procedures for negotiating meaning that Widdowson identified, and tends to pull all three dimensions of language learning together around a particular communicative goal.

The Content-Based Syllabus: Problems and Prospects

During its brief 10 to 15 years of existence, content-based instruction has clearly prospered. From K-12 immersion programs to the adjunct courses offered at colleges and universities (see Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989 for discussion of the various kinds of content-based courses), this approach has attracted widespread interest and support. In American university ESL programs, it may in fact have become, in one form or another, the most popular method currently employed (Casey, 1991). At my own university, probably the first to implement what Brinton, Snow, and Wesche call *theme-based language instruction*, we are more convinced than ever that this appproach to language teaching is the best one that has been developed so far, at least for the kind of populations we serve. Student reaction has been consistently good, the first sign of which was a massive increase in the quantity of comments on our evaluation forms (which suggests that all the jokes that end with the punchline, "First, you have to get their attention" have some basis in fact). In the main, students seem to find such courses interesting, challenging, and relevant to their experience as students in the American university system. Faculty, too, seem to favor these courses, finding them, as do students, far more interesting, if more difficult to teach, than our more traditional language skills courses. And, finally, many others who have tried such courses have reported a considerable measure of success (e.g., Hauptman, Wesche, & Ready, 1988).

But we have also discovered that our courses—and by extension, any courses built around a content-based syllabus—have their limitations and generate certain specific problems. Two are especially troublesome.

The first is the problem of relating language form to language function and content in this kind of syllabus. This is the old accuracy/fluency problem, and content-based courses tend to come down hard on the side of fluency. Content and function flow rather smoothly together, being complementary aspects of language as a system for communication, but attending to grammar in any systematic way is difficult within communicative paradigms. One major reason may be the absence of insightful theoretical work on the relationship between grammatical form and discourse function (discourse studies are expanding dramatically but are still relatively underdeveloped); but there are also those who would argue that grammar cannot be taught (although, of course, it can be learned), and that the notion of somehow attending to it directly is simply misguided. As students learn to communicate in a language, so this argument runs, they will acquire whatever grammar they need. But those of us who work with real students in the real world have seen too many apparent counterexamples—speakers and writers of a fluent but ungrammatical English, a kind of pidginized ESL—to find this very convincing (see Eskey, 1983, for further discussion). It seems to me that on the issue of how to teach linguistic forms, or how to insure that they will be learned, we don't really even know the right questions to ask.

A second important (and perhaps related) problem is the student who does not make normal progress in the course. One reservation I have about learning by doing is that those who don't do well don't learn. Content-based instruction can provide students with genuine opportunities for learning, but it is far from clear to me what should be done for a student who cannot seem to exploit these opportunities. I am speaking of a small minority, and the answer may be "nothing": It may be that a certain percentage of students are, for any number of a wide range of reasons, incapable of learning a second language well. (An old friend of mine used to insist that one basic principle of education is that "Salvation is not compulsory.") If that is true, then no kind or amount of teacher intervention could make very much difference, but the trouble is we don't really know that it is true. For some students, a more structured approach might be better.

The real source of both these problems, I suspect, is that we have never come to terms with the fact that what we teach in any kind of content-based course is not the content itself but some form of the discourse of that content—not, for example, "literature" itself (which can only be experienced) but how to analyze literature; not "language" (in the sense of de Saussure's *langue*) but how to do linguistics. For every body of content that we recognize as such—like the physical world or human cultural behavior—there is a discourse community—like physics or anthropology—which provides us with the means to analyze, talk about, and write about that content; but these are culture-specific communities to which students must be acculturated.

Thus for teachers the problem is really how to acculturate students to the relevant discourse communities, and for students the problem is really how to become acculturated to those communities. Since each of these specialized communities grows out of, and remains embedded in, the larger discourse community of the speakers of the language being learned, the content of courses for nonnative speakers (by definition members of another culture, another major discourse community) cannot be exactly the same as the content of courses for native-speaking learners, who are normally much better attuned to the assumptions, conventions, and procedures of their own discourse communities. With respect to all of these, courses for second-language learners should be far more explicit than those for native speakers, but this principle assumes that the designers of such courses know (in the sense of having conscious knowledge of) what these assumptions, conventions, and procedures are, an assumption that is largely unjustified at this time. In this area, the best work is being done by scholars specializing in ESP, often in relation to academic writing (e.g., Johns, 1986, 1991; Swales, 1990; see also Campbell, 1990), but we have a long, long way to go.

Still, I think we have arrived at what I would call Phase 2 in the design of content-based courses, a phase of what I hope will be extensive fine tuning of this fundamentally sound approach, especially in the area of syllabus design. The first step will be to recognize the problem, to discard the false assumption that content-based courses for nonnative speakers should differ from courses for native English-speakers in methodology but not in content. The second step will be to develop, through research, much more explicit knowledge of what the kinds of discourse we want to teach consist of—an especially challenging research agenda because it entails our achieving a better understanding of ourselves annd some of our most basic, and normally unexamined, assumptions and values. The final step will be to build this new knowledge into content-based syllabuses for our students. Such work might even have implications for subject matter courses for native-speaking students in a society as diverse as our own, which is (at least in principle) committed to providing every student with the maximum opportunity to develop his or her academic potential. There is currently substantial evidence that many of our children—minority children, in particular—enter our school improperly prepared to deal with the culture they encounter there (e.g., Gee, 1990; Heath, 1986). A more explicit understanding of what these children need to know in order to perform more successfully in our schools might provide us with the means to alleviate this problem.

Of course, even if we were to succeed in developing more explicit versions of CBI for second language learners (and other culturally different populations), there would still be a certain irony in the fact that the best syllabus for a second language course might end up looking a good deal like a syllabus for any other kind of course. Have we come around at last to organizing our teaching in the way that our brains have always organized our learning in our day-to-day lives? That would seem to confirm both the scientist Einstein's observation that if we could see far enough, what we would see—space being curved— is the backs of our own heads, and the poet Eliot's (1962) observation that "the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time" (p. 145). But perhaps that should merely reassure us. Innovative ideas have a way of turning out to be reasoned explanations of what our intuitions tell us, and I suspect that the content-based syllabus, with its stress on our culture's normal use of language to explore issues of real interest to students, may turn out to be what we have been looking for all along. ■

Footnotes

1. Parts of the remainder of this paper appeared in much earlier form in Eskey, D. E. (1984). Content: The missing third dimension in syllabus design. In J. A. S. Reid (Ed.). Case studies in syllabus and course design. *RELC Occasional Papers, 31*, 66-77.

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How Relevant is Relevance?: An Examination of Student Needs, Interests, and Motivation in the Content-Based University Classroom

This article reports on two ethnographic studies that investigated student motivation in content-based ESL classrooms at a major U.S. university. The ESL population studied included immigrant and international students who were enrolled in the advanced level of the university's ESL service courses. The ESL course materials consisted of videotaped academic lectures from university content courses (i.e., history, communication studies) and excerpts from authentic course texts as part of an academic skills-based instructional sequence. Students were motivated through attention/interest, relevance, confidence, and satisfaction, according to a motivational theory of instructional design. Classroom observations and interviews as well as examination of existing documents revealed that relevance of ESL materials and tasks was indeed motivating to a wide variety of students but that the other aspects of motivation were of equal if not greater importance. These findings lead to the belief that skills-based ESL courses in content areas of high general interest, in which instructors emphasize the relevance of materials and tasks, can do much to enhance student motivation and academic achievemment in both ESL and content course work.

Curriculum designers, educators, and researchers have long searched for effective ways to facilitate and expedite language acquisition. With the shift towards methodologies focused on language use, such as the language for specific purposes movement (LSP), and away from those focused on language usage, such as grammar translation, the relationship between the content of second language instruction and learners' educational goals has come under careful scrutiny. One recent curricular innovation which claims to achieve this match is content-based instruction (CBI). Underlying both the LSP and CBI movements is the premise that providing language learners with subject matter relevant to their real world needs will motivate them to acquire the language associated with those needs as well.

Proponents of LSP and its English language equivalent, English for specific purposes (ESP), however, have learned the hard way that relevance alone may not always motivate students:

> ... Teachers are realising that purpose-built ESP courses lacking some general components can be boring and demotivating to the very students they were especially designed for. It could well be that teachers, course book writers and programme designers have been guilty of focusing too much on the desired *end-product*, without giving enough thought to the *process* of achieving it. (Kennedy & Bolitho, 1984, pp. 136-7)

This insight from the ESP literature, i.e., that designing curricula around the notion of relevance alone does not guarantee student satisfaction, is an important one to keep in mind when investigating CBI and its underlying premises. The lingering suspicion when noting the purpose of such curricula and the claims made by CBI curriculum designers is that they may well be falling into the same trap. Thus an investigation of the notion of relevance as it applies to CBI is in order.

The American university English as a second language (ESL) setting is a particularly interesting one in which to examine the dimensions of relevance and need satisfaction given the widely varying backgrounds of the current university student population, which consists of significant numbers of both immigrant and international students (Kayfetz, Cordaro, & Kelly, 1988; Zikopoulos, 1990).[1] In spite of such diversity in the university ESL context, instructional approaches such as CBI and LSP assume that meeting student needs (i.e., relevance) is both motivating and attainable. Indeed, proponents of CBI claim that "even though learner language needs and interests may not always coincide, the use of informational content which is perceived as relevant by the learner is assumed by many to increase motivation in the language course. ..." (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989, p. 3). The broad purpose of this paper is to examine this assumption by focusing on the relationship between motivation and instructional design with special attention to the role of relevance.

Motivation and Second Language Acquisition

In the field of second language acquisition (SLA), the study of motivation has been largely limited to variations on the sociopsychological approach of Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972), whose notions of instrumental and integrative motivation have dominated the literature for decades.[2] Instrumental motivation and motivation based on relevance share characteristics of perceived functionality and utility for students who are learning a second language. Nevertheless, Gardner and his followers have generally considered integrative motivation superior to instrumental motivation as a support for second language learning (Crookes & Schmidt, 1989, p. 219). Crookes and Schmidt argue that in the field of SLA, past research emphases on naturalistic, subconscious second language learning and a concurrent lack of classroom-based research on motivation have made the adoption of more instructionally oriented definitions and theories of motivation both difficult and unlikely. They do emphasize, however, that the time is right for a more practical, interdisciplinary approach to motivation in SLA.

Motivation and Instructional Design

From educational psychology, Keller's (1983, 1987) motivational theory of instructional design provides at least a theoretical basis for looking at motivation and relevance in the classroom. Motivation, according to Keller (1983), "is the neglected 'heart' of our understanding how to design instruction" (p. 390). His motivational-design model divides motivation into four conditions: interest, relevance, expectancy, and satisfaction. The most fundamental of these for the purpose of this study is relevance, which Keller claims "refers to the learner's perception of personal need satisfaction in relation to the instruction, or whether a highly desired goal is perceived to be related to the instructional activity" (p. 395). As is evident from this definition, relevance refers not only to the satisfaction of instrumental needs, that is "when the content of a lesson or course matches what the student needs to learn" (Crookes & Schmidt, 1989, p. 228), but also to the satisfaction of personal-motive needs such as achievement and affiliation, or the need to interact with others (Keller, 1983, p. 408). In second language course design, instrumental needs are often ascertained through needs analyses, whereas needs for achievement and affiliation are often part of the rationale for such course activities as individual contracting and group work (Keller, 1983).

Relevance of Content to Student Needs

As previously noted, it is not uncommon for curriculum developers to incorporate the needs of learners into the instructional design of language courses. Most often, this is achieved through formal and informal needs analyses. As we have seen, early practitioners of ESP may have placed too much emphasis on what Hutchinson and Waters (1987) call *target needs* (i.e., what learners need to do in the target situation) and not enough on their *learning needs* (i.e., what they need to do in order to learn). CBI, on the other hand, purports to balance both types of students' needs by combining subject matter instruction with skills-based second language instruction. Indeed, proponents argue that content-based courses are

> … based directly on the academic needs of the students and generally follow the sequence determined by a particular subject matter in dealing with the language problems which students encounter. The focus for the students is on acquiring information via the second language and, in the process, developing their second language skills. (Brinton et al., 1989, p. 2)

In emphasizing both content instruction and second language skills, CBI attempts to meet both students' target and learning needs and to address students' relevance concerns based on instrumental and personal motives.

An Examination of the Relevance Assumption

From the background literature, it appears that several basic assumptions underlie CBI. First, the approach assumes that learners in a given academic setting will have similar linguistic needs. It also assumes that curriculum designers are able to identify those needs as well as create appropriate lessons from content materials to meet them. Finally, as has been indicated from the outset, an underlying assumption of CBI is that relevance is motivating, that is, that meeting the needs and goals of learners through subject matter instruction will motivate students to learn. The two studies reported on in this article examine this last assumption in an actual content-based, university ESL classroom. Specifically, three research questions were addressed: (a) What do university ESL students perceive their academic language needs to be?; (b) Given these perceived needs, to what degree is there a match between the CBI curriculum and students' stated needs?; and (c) Do students indeed find the content-based curriculum relevant and motivating?

Methodology

Setting and Program Description

To investigate the role relevance plays in influencing student attitudes towards a given language curriculum, we chose to examine the advanced level of the UCLA ESL Service Courses, which purports to meet students' real world academic needs through the use of content-based units. Participants in this program are concurrently enrolled students held by the university for an ESL requirement; thus, they are working towards their degree goals while improving their academic English language skills. Given this concurrent enrollment, the program's multiskill curriculum incorporates language skills that are deemed to be most relevant to the students' academic goals, as determined by experience and expert opinion rather than a formal needs analysis. Since the ESL course participants come from a wide range of disciplines, have varying degree goals, and have experienced widely different exposure to academic English, a true adjunct, in which all students are enrolled in the same linked ESL/content courses, is not feasible.

Instead the curriculum, henceforth referred to as the simulated adjunct, combines elements from a true adjunct with those of a theme-based model. It is considered a simulated adjunct in that the academic content-based units used in the ESL course consist of authentic video lectures taken from UCLA undergraduate general education courses, and the actual reading and writing assignments designated by the content professor. For example, a videotaped lecture on media and the First Amendment, from an introductory course in communication studies, combined with the corresponding readings, form an argumentation unit in the advanced-level ESL class. Following practice with listening comprehension, notetaking, and reading strategies based on the videotaped lecture and readings, students write a persuasive essay on a topic relevant to the First Amendment. They also participate in a debate structured around an issue brought up in the lecture. In the advanced-level sections we studied, two academic modules were used: one based on an introductory lecture from a western civilization course, and the second from the communication studies unit just described.

Procedures

Two independent studies were conducted simultaneously in the winter quarter of 1991. Study 1 employed questionnaires, observations, and interviews in four sections of an advanced-level ESL course. The goal was to get an overview of students' perceived needs and their views on the efficacy of the instructional sequence in meeting those needs. Through weekly observations and interviews, Study 2 focused in depth on one section of the same course. The studies are described in more detail below.

In Study 1, three questionnaires were administered to identify students' perceived needs and satisfaction with the curriculum. The first, an open-ended, precourse questionnaire administered in the first week of the course ($n = 88$), collected demographic information, such as degree goal, major, and previous experience with ESL, EFL and CBI[3] and elicited areas of students' perceived needs. Students' responses to the final question, "What academic abilities and skills do you need to be successful in your courses at UCLA?" were tallied, and the most frequently mentioned skills were incorporated into a second, Likert-scale survey. Administered during the second week of classes ($n = 76$), this survey asked students to rate the importance of these skill areas for academic success. A postcourse questionnaire ($n = 65$), in which students were asked to rate the emphasis given in the instructional sequence to these same skill areas and the helpfulness of instruction in meeting their academic language needs, was given the final week of the academic quarter.

Study 2, as noted above, employed both weekly, participant observations and in-depth interviews to investigate the same issues as Study One. However, while Study One broadly surveyed students without a previously stated theoretical frame, Study 2 focused primarily on student needs and reactions ethnographically[4] in light of existing theories of motivation and relevance.

Both studies employed observations as a primary data source. Participant observation allowed the researchers to view the curriculum in use and get a sense for the motivational level of the students vis-a-vis instructional activities. Study 1 focused on how students interacted with course materials and each other. Each of the four class sections was randomly observed at least four times during the 10-week quarter. In Study 2, the second researcher routinely observed one section's class meetings on a weekly basis, in order to monitor general motivational level and student reaction to the curriculum.

In both studies, observations yielded information on student personality type, and were used to identify possible interview candidates. The researchers found that some students were consistently voluble and active during class time, while others participated very little. Taking volubility and activity as a sign of possible motivation and interest (cf. Maehr, 1982; Stipek, 1988), students from both high and low volubility groups were selected for in-depth interviews.

In addition, students were selected on the basis of length of stay in the U.S. to ascertain whether interest and motivation were related to previous exposure to academic English. In Study 1, the researcher interviewed 36 students both individually and in small groups using a loosely structured interview guide derived from observed student reactions to the instructional sequence. In Study 2, eight individual, in-depth interviews were conducted using a highly structured interview guide designed to elicit student needs, reactions to the curriculum, and motivations.[5]

Additional attitudinal information was obtained from students' midterm evaluations and informal journal entries in both studies. The midterm evaluations ($n = 78$), administered during the sixth week of the quarter, asked students to rate instructional activities and materials on a three-point usefulness scale. Students also rated the time spent on global skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening, grammar, and vocabulary) on a five-point scale, ranging from *not enough* (1) to *too much* (5). This midterm evaluation included three open-ended queries on likes, dislikes, and suggestions for improving the course. Journal entries, in response to such instructor generated prompts as "How module #1 helped me to be a success at UCLA" ($n = 21$) and "If you could design an English class for a group of students exactly like you, what would the class be like?" (*n* = 19), were a rich source of student commentary on needs and interests. Both provided valuable information regarding students' perceptions of the relevance of the curriculum to their needs.

Results

Student Needs

Students expressed a wide range of achievement and affiliative needs on a variety of measures. In the academic domain, based on the questionnaire data from Study 1 (see Table 1), the most frequently expressed need was for writing instruction and practice, a finding which was later confirmed in the in-depth interviews. Reading comprehension was the second most highly rated skill area. In addition, reading speed was identified as a *somewhat important* skill, although one not as highly ranked as reading comprehension. A third area of perceived need was for listening comprehension, judged by 76% to be *very important*. It is interesting to note that while this finding is supported by the interview data, a strong endorsement of the need for listening comprehension was more often expressed by international students. Not surprisingly, many immigrant students, given their aural proficiency, felt that listening comprehension was of lesser importance. However, many of those same students felt that study skills, such as notetaking, outlining, and test taking, were more important for their academic success. Another perceived need frequently expressed in student journals and interviews was the need for knowledge of grammar. The following excerpt from a Vietnamese immigrant's journal is illustrative of the attitude many students hold regarding the curricular importance of both grammar and writing:

> If I could design an English class for a group of students who are all equally leveled in all academic abilities as I am, I would specifically focus on grammars [*sic*] and writting [*sic*] abilities. Everyone knows that to be successful in the real world, you must earn your audience's respect by expressing your point of view in good sense and be able to persuade them with your words.

Similar findings were reflected in the questionnaire data (Table 1), with 62% feeling that grammar was *very important*. Another skill noted for its importance was that of speaking, although once again this skill appeared more important to the international than to the immigrant students. A final category to note is that of vocabulary. Although on the first open-ended survey, this skill category was not initially identified by students as being important for academic success, vocab-

Table 1

Student Perceived Needs

SKILL AREA	Importance			
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important
Writing	89%	11%	0%	0%
Reading Comprehension	87%	12%	1%	0%
Reading Speed	47%	46%	7%	0%
Listening Comprehension	76%	20%	4%	0%
Notetaking	64%	33%	3%	0%
Grammar	62%	34%	4%	0%
Vocabulary	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Speaking: Formal	50%	38%	12%	0%
Speaking: Informal	20%	48%	28%	4%

Note: (n = 65)

ulary later proved to be an area of great concern for many of the students, as indicated by observations, interviews and the midterm evaluations.

Affiliative needs emerged as another important area of student needs, primarily through classroom ethnographic observations employed in the second study. Observed student behavior and interview data indicated that the students enjoyed interacting with each other and being part of groups both in the ESL class and out. Indicators of this need ranged from students' preference to be interviewed together to anecdotes of the importance of groups in dealing with university academic life. One Taiwanese international student, for example, told of how classmates would intervene with professors who had difficulty understanding her. She added that this sense of group is particularly important in the ESL class: "We are in the same class and should know each other … make friends with each other." While affiliative needs were vital for some individuals, for the majority of students they were not as highly stressed as the achievement needs.

Student Needs and the Curriculum

Now that the academic and affiliative needs of students have been described, it is important to examine the relevance of the curriculum to these needs, in other words to look at the match between students' perceived needs and the instructional sequence, in order to begin looking at the motivational potential of the curriculum and instruction. Both strong and weak matches were found in the academic domain between students' perceived needs and the instructional sequence, whereas in the area of affiliation, interesting data regarding the role of groups and the instructor emerged.

Strong curricular matches to student needs were found in the areas of academic writing and reading. Eighty-one percent of students felt that the instructional emphasis placed on these two important skill areas was *about right* (see Table 2). There was a similar match between perceived needs and curriculum in terms of notetaking and listening skills. Seventy-one percent of the students surveyed at the end of the course rated notetaking skills as highly emphasized. In the interviews, several students commented that this particular aspect of the course really "helped me with other courses." As for listening comprehension, 79% of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the present level of emphasis placed on listening in the instructional sequence.

Table 2

Match of Curriculum to Student Needs

	Emphasis/Time Spent On		
SKILL AREA	**Too Much**	**About Right**	**Not Enough**
Writing	3%	81%	16%
Reading	5%	81%	14%
Listening	4%	79%	17%
Notetaking[a]	N/A	N/A	N/A
Speaking	1%	52%	47%
Grammar	0%	53%	47%
Vocabulary	0%	40%	60%

Note: (*n* = 78)

[a] Although an evaluation of student perceptions of the emphasis placed on notetaking was not included on the midterm evaluations, an emphasis scale on the third questionnaire in Study 1 (*n* = 65) did include this skill category. Seventy-one percent of the students indicated that notetaking was *highly* emphasized in the curriculum; 25% felt the skill was *somewhat* emphasized, and 4% felt the study skill was *not very* emphasized.

However, weaker matches were found for other areas of perceived needs, namely those of grammar, vocabulary and speaking. Forty-seven percent of the students claimed that there was *not enough* time spent on grammar instruction. The interview data showed a certain level of frustration with the lack of overt grammar instruction, especially among the long-term immigrant students. A second area of frustration was vocabulary: On the midterm evaluations, 60% of the students felt that not enough class time was spent on vocabulary activities. One student wrote: "I think an efficient way of building vocabulary would be very useful, i.e., more direct work on vocabulary." However, during the interviews, a Yugoslavian international student summed up his views of the content-based nature of the instructional sequence as follows: "Writing is most present [and] through that writing I improve vocabulary. ... [there is] maybe less [emphasis on] grammar, but [I] have to pay attention [to grammar] in writing." For this student, who was somewhat exceptional in his understanding of the CBI model, the need for overt grammar and vocabulary instruction was unnecessary. As for the final academic area of speaking, 47% of the students responded that there were *not enough* activities in the instructional sequence to help them improve their oral skills.

Group interaction in the classroom did, however, allow students an opportunity to practice their informal speaking skills and to satisfy their affiliative needs. Classroom observations revealed that group work was an integral part of instruction, although not all students found it to be especially beneficial in terms of academic success. The classroom configuration of six square tables—each seating four students facing one another—marked a sharp contrast to the traditional university classroom with rows of seats facing a blackboard and lectern. This configuration gave the impression that discussion and cooperative work were encouraged, an impression confirmed by both interviews and midterm evaluations. When asked to describe the class in the structured interviews, one student mentioned that "discussion is [the] most important part" of classroom activities and "it's always present." Another interviewee concurred, saying, "We sit in groups and sometimes ... most of the time we talk ...; we discuss a lot".

Students' affiliative needs were further met through the endeavors of the instructor. In many cases, students felt a tie to each other and the instructional sequence through the efforts of the teacher. In response to the midterm query of what they liked most about the class, five students commented about the classroom atmosphere, describing it as "comfortable" and "not boring." In addition, one noted the role of the instructor: "I think it's great the way it is. But in my opinion, it's [*sic*] also depends on the instructor too." This comment was reiterated by another student in her interview: "The teacher influences a lot ... The way I get interested is the teacher." This 'teacher effect' is an important one to note, for it can greatly change students' perception of the relevance of instruction and their interest in it.

Relevance and Motivation

From the above discussion of student needs and the ESL curriculum, one begins to get a sense of the relationship between relevance and motivation. Students clearly expressed appreciation for their new-found ability to put study skills such as notetaking to use in other settings. For example, one student commented in her interview that the goals of the ESL course were to "[give] us skills for our other courses—how to notetaking [*sic*], how to read faster ...," a point expressed by several other students.

In regard to the other academic skills, students also perceived the writing component of the course to be both useful and relevant. Writing-related materials and activities, such as composition handouts, in-class essays, and brief or extended definitions, were rated by more than half of the respondents to be *very useful* (see Table 3). Comments such as "[I have to do] daily work for class— including writting [sic] which is fantastic" and "[this class has] more writing [than the previous course], it's tough a little, but I think it is working," were made in response to being questioned about what students liked most. These kinds of comments further indicate the value and usefulness of the writing component for these students.

Paced and timed reading practice, while not initially rated so highly by students, was strongly rated at the midpoint of the course with 60% of the students indicating that such activities were extremely helpful for them. Furthermore, one Iranian immigrant wrote in her journal:

> This class is more useful than I ever thought it would be. One of my worst problems in studying is my low speed which I never knew how to improve it [sic]. However, this method of speed reading has really helped me to know that I should set a time and try to read in a set amount of time.

This student, demonstrating what McCombs (1984) would call "continued motivation to learn," later reported near the end of the term that the timed reading activities were so beneficial to her studies that she was interested in taking another ESL course which focused specifically on reading skill development. The value of the timed reading activities was also strongly supported in the midterm evaluations, with 10 students commenting that this reading activity was one of the things they liked most about the class.

Table 3

Student Ratings of Usefulness of Skill Area Activities

	Usefulness		
SKILL AREA	**Very Useful**	**Somewhat Useful**	**Not Useful**
Writing			
Writing in class essays	63%	37%	0%
Composition hand-outs	59%	40%	1%
Writing brief/ extended definitions	51%	41%	8%
Journal writing	48%	51%	1%
Reading			
Paced and timed readings	60%	36%	4%
History textbook/ reading activities	45%	45%	10%
Study Skills & Academic Listening			
Paraphrasing/summarizing	67%	26%	7%
Notetaking/outlining	58%	39%	3%
Video lecture	49%	45%	6%
Group/Speaking Activities			
Class discussions	53%	43%	4%
Group work	42%	48%	10%
Group presentations	34%	36%	14%

Note: (*n* = 78)

Sixteen percent of students (12), all from the classroom in which ethnographic observations were conducted, indicated that the category of group presentations was *not applicable*, perhaps reflecting the fact that no presentations had occurred up to that point in the quarter.

The emphasis on study skills was also perceived to be quite motivating by students in the ESL service courses. One particularly salient activity was that of paraphrasing and summarizing, which 67% of the students found to be *very useful*. Notetaking, as we have seen, was viewed by many students as being relevant to their other academic course work, as was the skill of outlining, which a clear majority of the students rated as being quite useful. The response to the video lecture component, the primary source for the listening and notetaking activities, however, was not strong at the time of the midterm evaluation. In fact, in addition to being less highly rated than the study skills, the video component was specifically mentioned by eight students in their open-ended comments as one of the elements they disliked most. As with the history reading activities, this less than enthusiastic response could in part reflect disinterest in the topic of the first content-based unit—early medieval European History—as an additional 10 students commented negatively about that particular unit's subject matter.

In regard to group activities, students generally indicated a liking for group work, but not necessarily an appreciation for its usefulness in their academic work. Indeed, on the midterm evaluations, only 42% ranked group work as *very useful*, but 12 students named group work as the aspect they liked most about the course. In addition, nine more suggested increased or more varied group work in their suggestions for improving the course.

Paralleling the mixed findings concerning the usefulness of group work, certain students seemed to make an implicit distinction in the academic domain between materials and activities that were helpful and relevant and those that were interesting and enjoyable. One student, when asked what she liked about the class, began to talk about how she found that skills like notetaking and outlining "help" but are "boring" and later expressed her opinion that "this course is something you have to learn, you need to learn. ..." A second student echoed this "no, but" refrain responding that the aspect of the course he did not like was "writing so often, but I know it helps." Similarly, another international student said the aspect she disliked most was "writing papers" and then, laughing, responded immediately thereafter that the aspect she found most helpful was "writing papers." Lack of student interest certainly played a role in the relatively low rating of the history textbook and reading activities. Taken as a whole, such findings again emphasize that there is more to student motivation than mere relevance of instruction to student needs.

Discussion

Face Validity: Meeting Student Perceived Needs and Expectations

As was previously indicated, grammar and vocabulary were the skills most often listed by students as not having been given enough curricular emphasis. From our observations, we found that virtually all of the skills that students perceived as fundamental to academic success could be found in the curriculum as it stands; the problem perhaps stems from students' confusion over the form, structure, and goals of a content-based approach to language teaching. Only one student seems to have fully grasped that through the writing process in this CBI model, grammar and vocabulary instruction take place indirectly. For many students, however, it was difficult to get beyond expectations of a traditional language skills curriculum with an overt grammar component and weekly vocabulary lists. In an effort to deal with these expectations, we feel that it is fundamental for the students to have a clear understanding of the CBI model, and that the instructor must overtly state the rationale for each classroom activity. It also may be necessary and useful to include more explicit grammar and vocabulary instruction, perhaps through incorporation of a grammar reference book within the content-based instructional context.

Relevance Versus Interest in Instructional Design

Keller's (1983) instructional design theory of motivation distinguishes between *relevance* and *interest.* Instead of personal need or goal satisfaction, interest "refers to whether the learner's curiosity is aroused and whether this arousal is sustained appropriately over time" (p. 395). In this research, the distinction between perceived relevance and interest became apparent through findings that some instructional activities were perceived to be helpful, but not necessarily interesting or enjoyable. This was particularly the case for writing and study skills such as outlining and notetaking. Furthermore, in light of students' negative reactions to the European history module, the notion of student interest appears to have particular bearing for CBI in that a poor choice of topic seems to greatly undermine student motivation based on interest and, to some extent, relevance. When selecting courses for a CBI model such as this simulated adjunct program, curriculum designers must consider the students' general interests, backgrounds, and educational goals. For this particular program, broad, introductory courses which captured student attention and fostered discussion, such as those in Communication Studies and Psychology, greatly enhanced student interest and general motivation.

Affiliative Issues: Group Interaction and Instructor Role

As we have seen, Keller's notion of relevance refers to the satisfaction of not only instrumental needs, but also "personal needs," such as affiliation. The use of group work and the role of the instructor were found to be key variables in the affective and motivational reactions of these students to the instructional sequence. While it was not always viewed as relevant to academic success, group interaction in the course was highly valued by significant numbers of students because it seemed to offer them an opportunity to speak and get to know one another in a protected, culturally tolerant environment. Not surprisingly, the instructor was often a key player in setting the tone for this classroom environment. Our research findings also indicated that students prefer occasional restructuring of groups in order to get to know all class members. A final variable to note is that of instructor conviction about the efficacy of CBI: Observations of different instructors using the same materials revealed that variations in approach led to differences in student perceptions of interest and motivation. This demonstrates the importance of instructors' beliefs in the validity of CBI as well as the significance of instructor interest in and experience with the topic areas.

Thus, while support was found for CBI's claim that the instrumentality and relevance of instructional design are motivating to students, other factors such as student interest, expectations for language learning, and need for affiliation also heavily influenced student motivation. In the ESP context, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) have already noted the complexity of motivation as well as the importance of motivational factors beyond the scope of traditional notions of instrumental relevance:

> Motivation, it appears, is a complex and highly individual matter. There can be no simple answers to the question: "What motivates my students?" Unfortunately, the ESP world, while recognising the need to ask this question, has apparently assumed that there is a simple answer: relevance to target needs. ... But ... there is more to motivation than simple relevance to perceived needs. ... [If] your students are not fired with enthusiasm by the obvious relevance of their ESP materials, remember that they are people not machines. The medicine of relevance may still need to be sweetened with the sugar of enjoyment, fun, creativity, and a sense of achievement. ... In other words, they should get satisfaction from the actual experience of learning, not just from the prospect of eventually using what they have learnt. (p. 48)

As these ESP specialists have advocated, CBI must go beyond a mere reliance on relevance to motivate students. In addition to emphasizing skills that students find imminently helpful in their academic coursework, the model should also address such additional motivational concerns as student interest and satisfaction through appropriate content choice, recognition of students' perceived language learning needs for grammar and vocabulary, careful instructor development and training, and the effective use of such instructional techniques as group work and cooperative learning.

Conclusion

Relevance is Relevant, but ...

In summary, based on our findings, relevant instruction is important and motivating to students in the university ESL setting. Content-based instruction that simulates a university course while emphasizing authentic academic writing, reading, and study skills such as notetaking and lecture comprehension can be both meaningful and quite powerful in motivating students. However, the lack of traditional and therefore expected ESL activities such as grammar and vocabulary instruction, content topics which do not address the majority of students' background experiences and interests, and affiliative concerns such as group interaction and instructor role play additional, mitigating roles in student motivation and perceptions of relevance. ■

Footnotes

1. Classified on the basis of length of stay in the United States and residency status, working definitions and refinements of these two groups as used in this article are as follows: *international* students have tourist or student visas and have been in the U.S. less than two years; *short-term immigrant* students have permanent resident visas or citizenship and have been in the U.S. from two to five years; *long-term immigrant* students also have permanent resident status or citizenship and have been in the U.S. longer than five years.

2. Integrative motivation refers to an orientation in which the second language learner's goals "are derived from positive attitudes towards the second language group and the potential for integrating into that group." Instrumental motivation, by contrast, "refers to more functional reasons for learning a language" such as getting a job or passing a required examination (Crookes & Schmidt, 1989, p. 219).

3. Additional demographic data were obtained from the departmental student information sheets, which are filled out at the beginning of each quarter. These forms include data on native country, languages spoken, length of time in the United States, and a self-rating of proficiency in 10 English skill areas.

4. Watson-Gegeo (1988) notes the growing popularity of ethnography in educational and ESL research "... because of its promise for investigating issues difficult to address through experimental research, such as ... how to gain a more holistic perspective on teacher-student interactions to aid teacher training and improve practice" (p. 575). In order to obtain just such a holistic perspective of motivation in the university ESL classroom, ethnographic field observations were chosen for the current study. To satisfy another requirement of ethnographic research in ESL as outlined by Watson-Gegeo (1988), that of attempting to understand the situation "from the perspective of the participants" (p. 579), a decision to use in-depth interviews with students was also made.

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5. According to the ESP literature, the "structured interview has several advantages over the questionnaire" in identifying the nature of learners' needs, such identification of needs being one of the basic research foci of this study. From an ethnographic perspective, the greatest advantage of the interview comes from the fact that "the gatherer can follow up any avenue of interest which arises during the question and answer session but which had not been foreseen during the designing of the structured interview" (MacKay, 1978, p. 22).

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Creating Content-Based Language Tests: Guidelines for Teachers

■ **The problems that language teachers face in developing their classroom tests are especially complex in content-based programs. The eight-stage guidelines for test development presented here outline the steps that test writers should follow to create appropriate, content- and context-specific tests. A broader benefit of the guidelines is that student progress in different classes and programs can be compared with reference to how the guideline activities were completed. This allows language educators to address important issues such as the instructional value of various content areas and the overall effectiveness of a particular CBI program in comparison to other CBI programs or different types of language instruction.**

The responsibility for developing tests to measure students' progress in their ESL classes usually falls to their teachers. Commercial tests, such as those that accompany textbooks, are occasionally available and appropriate, but often ESL teachers find themselves alone on a dark and dreary night, writing tests to be given the following day. This is a frustrating task; the other demands of teaching often seem much more urgent, and few teachers have received training in writing tests. In content-based language instruction (CBI), where the characteristics of the content and the content instruction determine to some extent the nature of the language instruction, developing suitable tests of student progress can be even more frustrating and complex. For example, teachers doing theme-based language instruction find that they must create a new test for each topic. The tests a teacher creates for a class centered on a particular current event, such as the reunification of Germany, are not going to work for classes that are centered on different issues. In sheltered and adjunct language programs, in which the content is taught by a content expert rather than the language teacher, there are even greater demands on the teacher developing the language tests.

The test-development guidelines presented here serve several purposes. Their most immediate purpose is to outline the relatively simple steps that test writers should follow to create consistent tests that truly measure the extent to which students learned what they were taught. However, careful execution of the outlined steps produces more than consistent, appropriate tests; the test-development process also promotes more integrated, effective instruction because the guideline activities require the language teacher to consider both language and content objectives, or—in the case in which language and content teachers work together—they require the cooperation of the team members to clarify the purposes of their CBI program. A broader benefit is that the results of tests developed for different classes or programs can be compared with reference to how the guideline activities were executed. This allows language educators to begin to form answers to important questions such as which content areas and classes lend themselves most effectively to CBI programs. It also allows teachers to make judgments regarding the effectiveness of a particular CBI program compared to other CBI programs or other types of language instruction.

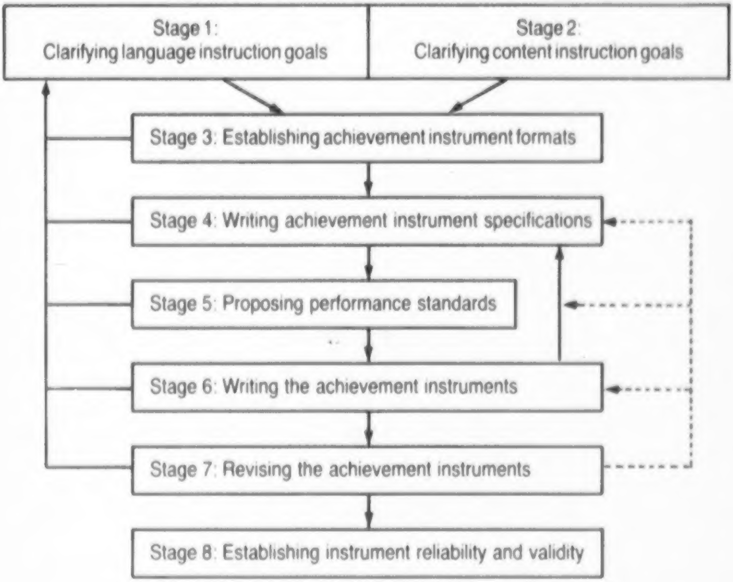
Overview of the Guidelines

The guidelines are a condensed version of the context-adaptive model for developing language achievement tests for CBI language programs (Turner, 1991). The model and the guidelines are adaptive in the sense that the manner in which the stages are completed and the nature of the tests that are written are determined by the characteristics of the class or program for which the tests are developed. The guidelines reflect sheltered- and adjunct-model CBI designs but can be used to guide the development of tests for use in theme-based programs as well.

The eight stages and the iterative nature of the test-writing process are summarized in Figure 1. The proximity of Stages 1 and 2 in the figure represent the high degree of cooperation that is required in CBI programs in which there are both language and content experts. The solid lines and arrows connecting Stages 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 allow, if necessary, a return to Stage 1 for clarification of the instructional purposes of a program and repetition of stages which follow. The dotted lines and arrows indicate that revision of a test includes revision of the specifications, and possibly, revision of the performance standards. A detailed, illustrative discussion of each stage follows.

Figure 1.

The Adaptive Model for Developing Measures of Language Achievement

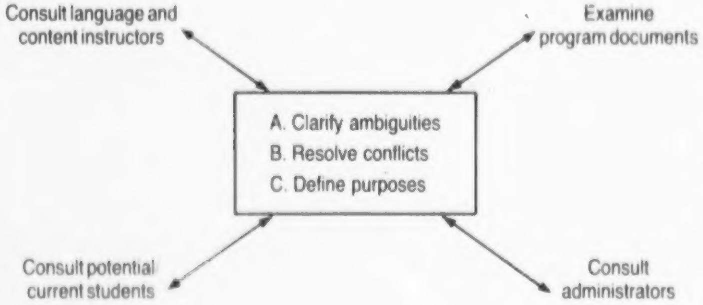

Stage 1:
Clarifying language instruction goals
Stage 2:
Clarifying content instruction goals
Stage 3: Establishing achievement instrument formats
Stage 4: Writing achievement instrument specifications
Stage 5: Proposing performance standards
Stage 6: Writing the achievement instruments
Stage 7: Revising the achievement instruments
Stage 8: Establishing instrument reliability and validity

The Eight Test-Development Stages

Because tests created through this process are based on specifications derived from the instructional purposes of a particular class, it is critical that the purposes of the language and content components be clear. It is also critical that the purposes be understood and agreed upon by all participants. Stages 1 and 2, summarized in Figure 2, guide clarification of the instructional purposes. These stages may initially seem unnecessary to teachers/test writers—they already know what they want their students to learn. However, other participants in the program might have different notions of the instructional purposes. The procedures included in these two stages provide an important check of these various perspectives, revealing misunderstandings or ambiguities that should be resolved. The procedures also establish a channel of communication among the information sources, allowing negotiation of a consensus regarding the instructional goals. The two-directional arrows in Figure 2 represent this interactional quality of the guidelines.

Figure 2.

A Diagram of Stages 1 and 2 Procedures
Clarifying Instructional Purposes


Consult language and content instructors
Examine program documents
A. Clarify ambiguities
B. Resolve conflicts
C. Define purposes
Consult potential current students
Consult administrators

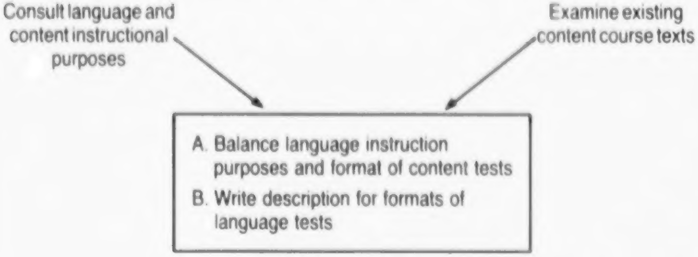
The teachers in a CBI program are perhaps the most important source of information regarding the instructional purposes of a program and should certainly be consulted to resolve any discrepancies among the information sources. As shown in Figure 2, other sources include program documentation, such as the curriculum, class descriptions, instructional materials, and existing tests. Program administrators are consulted to confirm their understanding of the purpose of the program. Students' impressions of the instructional purposes also represent an integral component in the process of clarifying the purposes and negotiating a consensus. When students' understanding of the purpose of a CBI program is different from that of the teachers, problems arise. Consider the frustration and confusion that would develop among students who believed they were studying to improve their conversational skills when the course tests reflected their teachers' belief that the purpose was to improve academic reading and writing. Reaching a consensus regarding the instructional purposes requires an exchange of information among the various sources and often results in some sort of adjustment in one or more of them. On a program level, this might involve teacher training, student orientation, or modification of program documents.

Stage 3 guidelines direct the teacher/test writer's decisions regarding what the tests will look like; for example, they might involve multiple choice items, writing an essay, or less traditional tasks such as structured story telling or problem solving. To complete Stage 3, the teacher/test writer compares the clarified instructional purposes for the language and content components and reviews any content tests. (This process is simpler in theme-based CBI programs in which the content is usually taught by the language teacher.) Stage 3 is especially important in sheltered- and adjunct-model programs because the premises on which these CBI approaches are based include the notion that language instruction should reflect the eventual uses the learner will have for the language. Students in these kinds of classes have immediate use for language; thus, it makes sense for the language tests to mirror, to whatever extent possible, the format of the tests used in the content class.

The teacher/test writer must keep in mind, however, that the format of the content class tests cannot simply be copied over into the tests for the language class. For example, if the focus of instruction for a particular adjunct language class is improvement of expository writing and the exams for the adjunct content class are multiple choice, it makes no sense to write multiple choice language tests. Instead, the situation calls for language tests which require the students to demonstrate their improved ability to produce expository writing. Figure 3 summarizes the procedures that teacher/test writers perform to define the best formats for their CBI language tests.

Figure 3.

A Diagram of Stage 3 Procedures
Establishing the Test Formats


Consult language and content instructional purposes
Examine existing content course texts
A. Balance language instruction purposes and format of content tests
B. Write description for formats of language tests

At Stage 4, test plans (specifications) for the language tests are prepared. Writing specifications involves a little more work for the teacher/test writer than simply writing tests, but having specifications to serve as a guide can help a test writer stay on track when writing tests. Specifications act as blueprints; having them means that the teacher/test writer does not have to invent or reinvent each test activity, but can simply refer to the carefully developed, clearly articulated plan. Specifications are also useful because they can be used more than once; for example, they might be used to guide the development of additional forms of a particular test.

Specifications have four components (Popham, 1978, 1981):

(a) a *general description* of the skill(s) that the test will measure;

(b) a *passage description* that shows what the text or passage that the questions are based on will look like;

(c) an *example question* or *example task* that shows what the test questions will look like and how the students will answer; and

(d) a *scoring procedure description* that specifies the characteristics of acceptable and unacceptable responses.

The test specifications developed by Macdonald (1991) to determine whether ESL students were ready to participate in a sheltered high school science class are presented below to demonstrate what these four components might actually look like. (See Appendix for the complete test developed by Macdonald.)

1. *General description:* The purpose of this test is diagnostic, that is, to determine if students are capable of participating in the sheltered science class. It measures the students' ability to read and write. It is based on observation of activities that are conducted in the sheltered science class.

- The student should be able to read the passage and demonstrate recognition of the main ideas.
- The student should demonstrate the ability to apply the main ideas to information not specifically given in the text.
- The student should be able to understand vocabulary from the context.
- The student should be able to write a one-paragraph essay that is organized, addresses the topic given, and follows basic rules of capitalization and punctuation, and, although it may contain some errors, they should not interfere with meaning.

2. *Passage description:* (The source for the test passage is a science lesson presented by the science teacher.) The criteria for the passage are as follows:

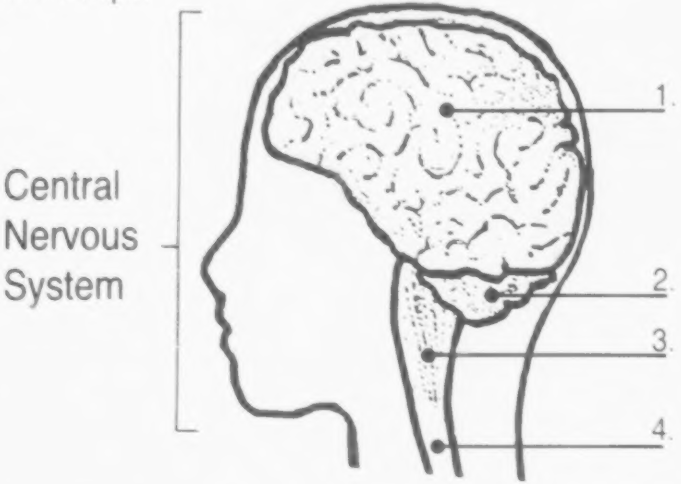
- The passage should contain all of the information that the student needs in order to complete the test, even if the student has no previous knowledge of the topic of the passage.
- The topic of the passage should be a topic that ESL students actually study in the sheltered science class.
- The passage may contain detailed, scientific information, but this information should be explained and paraphrased using terms that the students are likely to understand.

3. *Example questions and tasks:* (There are four types of items on this test.)

Type 1: Labeling

Using the diagram below, label the four major parts of the central nervous system.

For example:



Type 2: Matching

Draw a line from each part of the central nervous system to the activities that it controls.

For example:

Central Nervous System Part	Activity
Example:	Walking
Cerebrum	

Type 3: Vocabulary

Complete the following sentences using the most correct vocabulary word from this list.

For example:

coordination
memory
paralyzed
involuntary
to control

(a) In order to play sports, you need good ____________________.

Type 4: Essay

For example:

Write a one paragraph essay explaining what parts of the brain are most important when you a playing a sport. You may choose any sport—soccer, tennis, swimming, basketball, football, and so forth.

4. *Scoring Procedure Descriptions:*

Type 1 items: Objectively scored (right or wrong) based on an answer key.

Type 2 items: Objectively scored (right or wrong) based on an answer key.

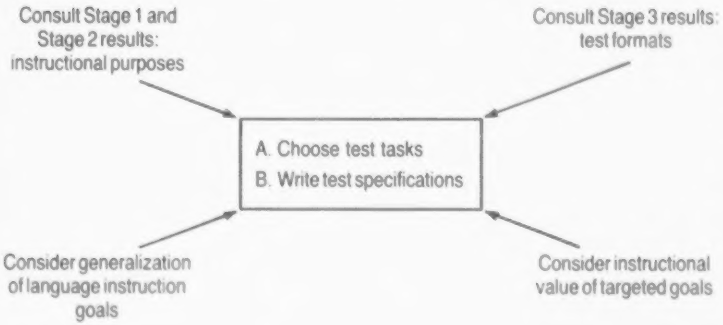
Type 3 items: Objectively scored (right or wrong) based on an answer key. Spelling and word form must be accurate to be considered correct.

Type 4 items: Subjectively scored using a holistic approach. The essays should be read twice and rated holistically for: grammar (5 points); vocabulary (5 points); mechanics (5 points); and content (5 points). Students receive one point for following the instructions and attempting to respond to the essay.

Like all tests, careful review might reveal areas that could be improved; thus Macdonald's test specifications (and test) are included here not as a model for developing CBI tests, but rather as an example of how an individual teacher/test writer applied the test-development methodology presented here to create an appropriate, context-specific test. A teacher/test writer developing tests for a different type of content-based class or a different purpose (e.g., an achievement test vs. a diagnostic test) might create tests quite different from the test developed by Macdonald. Figure 4 summarizes the main steps a teacher/test writer should follow in writing specifications for a test.

Figure 4.

A Diagram of Stage 4 Procedures
Writing the Test Specifications


Consult Stage 1 and Stage 2 results: instructional purposes
Consult Stage 3 results: test formats
A. Choose test tasks
B. Write test specifications
Consider generalization of language instruction goals
Consider instructional value of targeted goals

As indicated in Figure 4, the clarified instructional purposes for the language and content components of a given program should be held in mind when writing test specifications. In addition, the teacher/test writer must consider the generalizability of potential test tasks. For example, if a teacher wanted to measure students' improvement in expository writing, measuring their ability to write isolated sentences would be inadequate. Although the formation of individual sentences is a component of expository writing, it cannot be assumed that students who write acceptable sentences can also write acceptable paragraphs.

In addition to the generalizability of tasks, the teacher/test writer must also consider the instructional value of tasks (Popham, 1981). Test plans should specify tasks that both the teacher and the students understand and perceive to be important. It is also critical that the teacher and students understand and agree upon the characteristics of successful accomplishment of the tasks. The students should know what successful completion of the tasks looks like (or sounds like) even if they are not yet able to produce acceptable renditions. When writing test specifications, both the generalizability and instructional value of potential tasks are weighed with the results of Stage 3 in mind, in which the format of the tests is determined.

At Stage 5, how students' test performance will be interpreted is decided. This is called proposing or setting a performance standard. The procedures at Stage 5 help the teacher/test writer answer questions such as:

1. When tests yield numerical scores, what do particular scores mean; for example, is 85% correct a passing grade?

2. When letter grades are awarded, what is the correspondence between numerical scores and the letter grades that are given—is 85% an *A*, a *B* or a *C*?

When tests yield profiles or other nonnumerical assessments and translation into letter grades is necessary, Stage 5 activities also help the teacher determine the correspondence between the profiles and letter grades.

Many teachers postpone setting a performance standard for a test until after they see how their students do. However, if one waits until after tests are given to plan how to interpret students' performance, the purpose for giving the test might be subverted. Using the labeling section of Macdonald's test to illustrate (Appendix), the teacher might decide that students must answer all four items correctly to demonstrate an acceptable level of understanding of the main idea of the passage. That is, the students should be able to perform this task perfectly if they are to be considered able to read and understand the main idea of the class texts. If the teacher finds that not one of her students answers all four correctly, it may be that none is ready for the sheltered science class. Lowering performance standards after giving the test would not change the science teacher's expectations for the students, but rather give the false impression that the students have the ability to understand the main idea of science texts.

Figure 5.

A Diagram of Stage 5 Procedures
Proposing Performance Standards

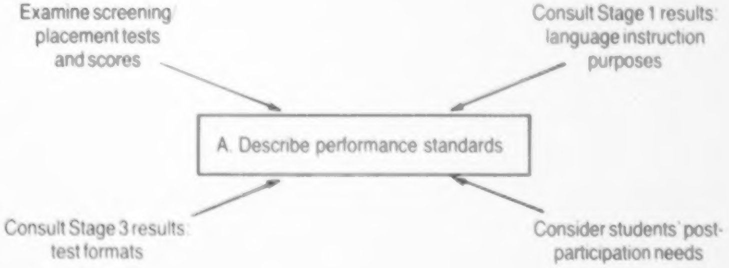
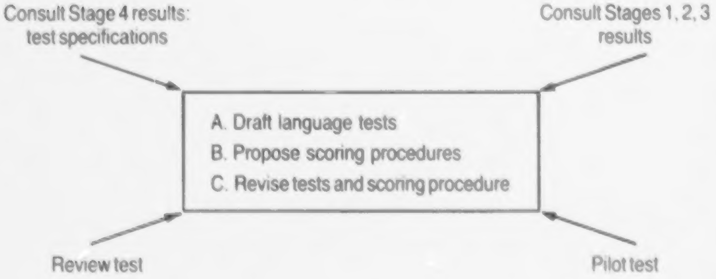

Examine screening/ placement tests and scores
Consult Stage 1 results: language instruction purposes
A. Describe performance standards
Consult Stage 3 results: test formats
Consider students' post-participation needs

Figure 5 displays the procedures that should be used to determine performance standards. Deciding what performance characteristics or numerical score indicates an acceptable performance depends on not only the instructional goals of a particular language class, but also what students are expected to be able to do in subsequent language classes or language-use situations. This is true from the entry-level perspective as well. When defining what students should be able to do as they progress through a course, it is important to have a clear understanding of what they can do as they enter it. Consequently, the important steps in defining the performance standard for a test include determination of students' skills as they enter the class (usually through examining students' scores on whatever screening or placement test is used) and consideration of the language instruction goals and of students' language needs in situations for which the language class prepares them. Of course, the performance standard should reflect the format that was determined in earlier stages to be most appropriate for the particular CBI context in which the tests will be used.

Figure 6.

A Diagram of Stage 6 Procedures
Writing the Tests



The sixth stage of the guidelines (Figure 6) includes not only writing the test but also revising it. The results of either pilot testing or a critical review can guide revision. Pilot testing is the best way to collect information for revising a test. This procedure provides evidence to determine if the test instructions and tasks are clear enough, if the administration time is adequate, and if students actually interpret the items and tasks as the test writers intended. On objectively scored tests, item statistics such as *item difficulty* and *item discrimination* can easily be calculated. Finding a suitable group of may be difficult, but the information the process supplies makes the effort worthwhile.

Sometimes, however, pilot testing is simply not feasible. In these situations, the teacher/test writer should conduct especially thorough preadministration test review and revision. Ideally, a test should be reviewed by a language teacher (other than the test writer) who is familiar with the particular situation for which the test is developed. Very often, colleagues are willing to exchange review responsibilities. When this is not possible, the test writer should review the test after allowing several days of objective distance to transpire. The reviewer should examine the items or tasks, making sure that they are appropriate and clear. The directions should be reviewed to be certain that they accurately delineate what the students have to do. Obviously, both pilot testing and test review require that the dark and dreary test-writing nights occur several days before the test administration date.

Stage 7, revising the tests, is performed after the tests are given and before scores are calculated or performance reports prepared. Despite the careful development procedures and the review process, there might be items or tasks which simply do not work—items or tasks that are confusing, ambiguous, or flawed in some other way. If problematic items or tasks are identified, they should be eliminated from the test. The results of those items or tasks should not contribute to students' scores or performance profiles. Although this means that the number of items or points might be changed from the original plan, it is only fair that students' test performance be assessed on the basis of good items rather than poor ones. Sometimes this results in an unexpected number of items—for example, a test that was intended to have 100 points might end up with 99 or 98. However, teachers who are troubled by a feeling of lost symmetry should be consoled by the fact that they have actually created more accurate measures of their students' abilities by eliminating poor items before calculating test scores.

Stage 8, the final stage of the guidelines, directs the teacher/test writer's efforts to determine the reliability and validity of the new test. An important consideration in this process is whether the test or test sections are objectively or subjectively scored. Objectively scored items are those which have only one correct response. In the matching section of Macdonald's test, for example, "dancing" can only be matched with "cerebellum," so one can say that this section is objectively scored. The essay, on the other hand, is subjectively scored. There is more than one correct answer—in fact, any individual's essay might be awarded the full 20 points even though each essay might be quite different. Both approaches to scoring are equally valuable although they are useful for different types of tasks.

Establishing the reliability of the scoring procedure is especially important for tests that are subjectively scored. One way to do this might be to ask the colleague who reviewed the test before it was given to score the tests as well. A correlation between the teacher/test writer's scores and the reviewer's scores establishes *interrater reliability*, an estimate of the consistency of scoring procedure across different scorers. Another way that consistency can be examined is to estimate *intrarater reliability*. To do this, the teacher/test writer scores the entire set of tests once, then scores them again perhaps the next day without consulting the first rating. While the teacher/test writer might not find perfect agreement between the first and second ratings (a correlation of 1.00), the scoring procedure should be clear enough to yield a high degree of consistency. Intrarater reliability lower than approximately .80 indicates that there is a serious problem with the consistency of the teacher/test writer's scores. The scoring procedure should therefore be modified to improve the consistency before reporting the students' scores.

Stage 8 also outlines steps to ensure the validity of a test; that is, whether it measures what it is intended to measure and measures it comprehensively. Expert review is one manner in which the validity of a test is estimated. The same reviewer who examined the test directions and content can be asked to make judgments regarding the appropriateness of the test content and the extent to which the test measures enough of whatever concept or skill it is designed to assess. For example, Macdonald indicates in her specifications that the test is intended to measure students' recognition of the main ideas in a reading passage. Does the first section of the test, the labeling task, require students to have understood the main idea of the passage (the name, position, and function of the four main parts of the central nervous system)? Not really, since the students do not need to understand the function of the parts to find and label them correctly. If this were the only task on the test, the test's validity would be weak. While the labeling task might require recognition of these four important parts and their location in the central nervous system, in terms of comprehensiveness, the test would fall short because it does not measure the students' understanding of the function of these parts. Inclusion of the second (matching) and fourth (essay) tasks increases the validity of the test with regard to its comprehensiveness. These tasks require the students to demonstrate their understanding of the function of the various parts of the brain as well as their location and labels.

Conclusion

Writing appropriate content-based language tests that are reliable and valid demands a commitment of time and care. The guidelines outlined in this article are not a shortcut to test writing—they do not produce instant tests. Teachers who follow the guidelines will devote long hours to creating their tests, just as they did before using the guidelines. However, they will be able to feel a greater sense of assurance in their tests' appropriateness, reliability, and validity as well as in the extent to which the tests measure their students' progress in both language and content mastery. ■

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Appendix

Sample Content-Based Language Test

Instructions: Read the following passage carefully. As you read, you may want to make notes or circle important information that is in the text. When you have finished reading, you may begin the test. During the test, you should feel free to go back and reread the passage. Most of the information that you will need to answer the questions is in the passage itself.

The Central Nervous System

The central nervous system controls the human body. It's like the captain of a ship. Our brain is part of the central nervous system. It directs and controls everything that the human body does. There are four parts of the central nervous system: (a) the cerebrum, (b) the cerebellum, (c) the medulla, and (d) the spinal cord. The cerebrum, the cerebellum, and the medulla are all located in the brain. The spinal cord goes from the base of the brain down one's back. All of the different parts of the central nervous system have different functions.

The cerebrum is the largest part of the brain. It is the part of the brain that controls the senses, that is, seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, and touching. It controls thinking and memory. People with good memories can remember many things. It also controls voluntary movement. Voluntary movement is movement that you choose to make. It is movement that you can control. Walking and talking are examples of voluntary movement.

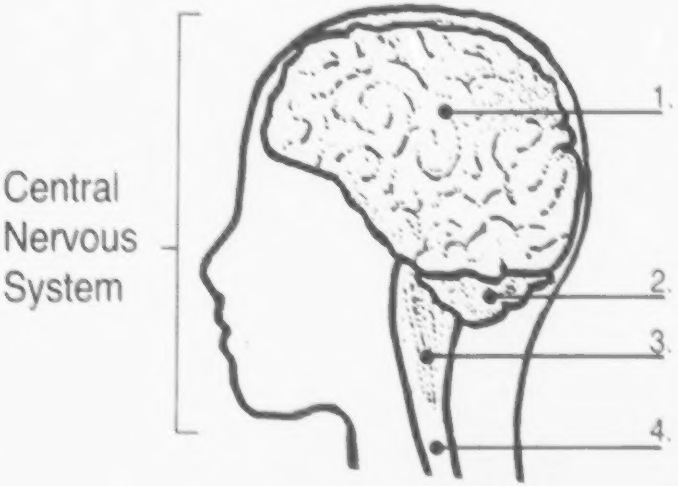
The cerebellum is located at the base of the cerebrum. It controls our sense of balance. If we didn't have balance, we would fall down. The cerebellum also controls coordination. Coordination is the ability to have all the different parts of one's body move and work together. Dancers and athletes, for example, must have good coordination.

The medulla controls involuntary movement. It is found in between the cerebellum and the spinal cord. It controls things that your body does without thinking. For example, it controls how you breathe, how your heart beats, and when you blink your eyes.

The spinal cord is the part of the central nervous system which carries information and messages to and from the brain. The spinal cord goes from the base of the neck, down the back. It is like a telephone wire. The messages and information that it carries are called impulses. These impulses must go through the spinal cord in order to get to the brain. The brain is able to send messages back to the body. These messages from the brain also must go through the spinal cord. If messages cannot go through the spinal cord, then the person is paralyzed. Often people who are paralyzed cannot move or talk.

Instructions:

1. Using the diagram below, label the four major parts of the central nervous system.



2. Draw a line from each part of the central nervous system to the activities that it controls.

Central Nervous System Part	**Activity**
Example:	Walking
	a. Talking
Cerebrum	b. Feeling cold
	c. Breathing
Cerebellum	d. Dancing
	e. Solving a math problem
Medulla	f. Sweating
	g. Telling a story
Spinal cord	h. Carrying impulses

3. Complete the following sentences using the most correct vocabulary word from the list.

voluntary
coordination
paralyzed
to control
to be located
memory
involuntary

a. In order to play sports, you need good ________________ .

b. The medulla ______________ in between the cerebellum and the spinal cord.

c. Movements that you control are ______________________ .

d. Coughing is an example of __________________ movement.

e. People whose spinal cords are damaged are often _________ .

f. A student who has a good ________ usually gets good grades.

g. Messages from the brain are carried through the spinal cord and ______________ the body's activities.

4. Write a one-paragraph essay explaining what parts of the brain are most important when you are playing a sport. You may choose any sport—soccer, tennis, swimming, basketball, football, and so forth.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Realbooks: Literature as Content In ESL Classrooms

ESL instructors at Los Angeles City College have developed a literature-based curriculum for their intermediate and advanced students. This paper examines this curriculum as well as the theoretical premises which inform it. The theoretical support for teaching literature in the ESL classroom comes from a variety of sources: Stephen Krashen, Frank Smith, George Dillon, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Augustine. This paper also examines the work of Brinton, Snow, and Wesche as well as Collie and Slater, who have directly addressed the classroom issue of literature as ESL content.

Finally, this paper discusses how literary texts like *Island of the Blue Dolphins, Rumble Fish*, and *The Red Pony* are incorporated into the community college ESL reading and writing curriculum and ends with some insights derived from this literature focus. Questions which still need to be examined are discussed.

In the past decade, reading has become a central focus in theoretical discussions in and out of the classroom. In critical theory, deconstructive, reader-response, and hermeneutic theorists have foregrounded the activity of reading. In linguistics, Stephen Krashen (1985) has formulated the reading hypothesis to explain how learners develop writing competence. In cognitive psychology, Frank Smith (1988) has demonstrated just what it means to "read like a writer" (p. 25).

As ESL teachers, we have studied this theoretical material and have attempted to develop appropriate pedagogical translations. During the past decade, the faculty of Los Angeles City College has developed a curriculum founded on the assumption that literature provides a powerful medium for ESL instruction. The first part of this paper examines those theoretical tenets that have most influenced our pedagogical decisions to foreground the use of literature in our ESL classes. The second part of this paper describes the curricular implications of these tenets.

Stephen Krashen and Frank Smith

Much has already been written about ways that Krashen's input hypothesis speaks to the ESL classroom. We have been interested in applying to our ESL classrooms Krashen's concept of comprehensible input. Krashen's notions translate into an ESL classroom in which discipline-specific materials are used to provide students with an enriched linguistic context inside which both language acquisition and language learning can take place. As a result, our curricular focus has been to immerse our students in engaging literary texts and to encourage our students to respond to what these texts have to say to them.

Our approach suggests that we enrich the context around which a particular literary text is examined in the classroom. To engage our students in the reading of literature, we have concluded, is to facilitate comprehension of written English. Krashen provides theoretical justification for his concept of teaching in enriched literary contexts:

> First, since the input is concentrated around one subject matter, the acquirer has the advantage of a familiar extra-linguistic context. ... Familiarity with context can be a tremendous facilitator of comprehension and thus language acquisition. The more one reads in one area, for example, the more one learns about the area, and the easier one finds subsequent reading in that area. In addition, each topic has its own vocabulary, and to some extent its own style . ... (Krashen, 1985, p. 73)

Enriching the context around which a particular issue is examined has allowed our students to improve their ways of both reading and writing. If, for example, they are studying "nature versus nurture," we encourage the building of readings, both literary and expository, that respond to each other. Some of our teachers focus on a particular theme like nature-nurture throughout their course; others focus on a particular genre (children's literature, the American Western, etc.) to develop this theme. In all of these teaching instances, though, we encourage our students to continually reconsider what a particular issue or genre means to them. Revision becomes both a reading and a writing activity. Structural and stylistic features of written English are investigated along the way.

This focus on enriched contexts in the teaching of ESL reading and writing is further supported by composition studies which have examined schema theory and top-down writing perspectives. George Dillon (1981) speaks for a composition pedagogy that sees language learners as constantly re-examining the knowledge which they bring to texts. Students, he argues, do not bring single parts of this knowledge to reading and writing but complex, interconnected verbal relationships (schemata) to textual understanding. Further, all readers, Dillon contends, move from a general understanding of a text to an understanding of its particularities; that is, readers and writers always move from the "top down." These language learning givens drive all of Dillon's classroom speculations. In regard to vocabulary teaching, for example, he concludes that it "should be taught by examining words in fairly large contexts and discussing the way the word plus the networks of meaning surrounding it contribute to the construction of meanings that are greater, more particular, than the sum of the series of individual words" (p. 154).

We have translated this top-down notion of language instruction to the ESL classroom where vocabulary is consistently seen in its verbal contexts, not only in its sentence and paragraph relationships but in the word's relationship to the entire text. We thus encourage students to respond to how a word is used and reused in the changing contexts of the literary text they are examining. In our view, it is the literary text which provides students with probably the richest source of verbal context. When students encounter a word in the literary work it is enriched in a complex of meaning-generating relationships. It exists in relation to not only an abstract definition, but a network of cognitive-specific interstices. Furthermore, the familiar narrative schema, the most common rhetorical pattern in fiction, helps students comprehend what they are reading.

As ESL teachers, we have also responded in several ways to Frank Smith's (1988) psychological justification for why reading and writing are profoundly interconnected activities. Smith has provided us with a wealth of discussion regarding just what literary texts our ESL students will respond to favorably. Smith describes the reading-writing interconnection in this way:

> To read like a writer we engage vicariously in what the author is writing. We anticipate what the author will say, so that the author is in effect writing on our behalf, not simply showing us how something is done but doing it with us ... bit by bit, one thing at a time, but incalculably over the passage of time, the learner learns through reading like a writer to write like a writer (p. 25).

Clearly, in order for reading to enrich writing, readers must respond to the voices that the text discloses, to be shown by these voices other ways of writing. If the encounter between reader and text manifests a degree of intimacy, then readers will develop more enriched writing voices because they will want to embrace what the text has to say, often in the way it is said. In our ESL classrooms, we encourage our students to respond in several ways to what the text is saying to them—to the authors' and characters' motivations in order for them to see the ways in which they are like or unlike them. Our intent throughout each ESL course is to engage our students with the topic in question, and we have found that an incidental, yet intended, result of this encounter is our students' improved writing and reading strategies.

Influences from Classical and Critical Theory

Some of us are responding to the ESL classroom from our knowledge of literary and rhetorical theory rather than a linguistic and psychological perspective. Interestingly, the conclusions many critical theorists have come to are similar to those made by Krashen and Smith. Our knowledge of classical pedagogy shows the significant role that imitation played for theorists like Quintilian and Augustine. Appropriating the classical Greek educational model, both Quintilian and Augustine speak for the importance of learners to read and respond to the texts of their culture. In Roman education, children from the age of seven read and analyzed texts like the *Illiad* and the *Aeneid* in order to become better readers and writers. In the classical mind-set, invention always preceded and informed arrangement; that is, what writers had to say determined the way they said it. In his *On Christian Doctrine* (397-426 A.D./1958), Augustine echoes much recent language theory:

> For we know many men ignorant of the rules of eloquence who are more eloquent than many men who have learned them or heard of the disputations and sayings of the eloquent. For boys do not need the art of grammar which teaches correct speech if they have the opportunity to grow up and live among men who speak correctly. Without knowing many of the names of the errors, they criticize and avoid anything erroneous they hear spoken on the basis of their own habits of speech. ... (p. 120).

In the ESL classroom, our intent is to see reading as the powerful medium by which our students acquire eloquence, or facility in the reading and writing of texts. Rather than just using the *Illiad/Aeneid* sources for this literacy development, we face a more complicated task because so many more texts are available to us and to our students. Yet we maintain Augustine's attitude toward the activity of reading: that through this particular experience, a reader's facility with the language of texts develops.

Recently, critical theorists have also turned to the theory of hermeneutics to explain what it is that readers and writers do. Philosophers like Hans-Georg Gadamer (1975) conclude that hermeneutics (interpreting the unknown or strange in texts) is not merely the technical activity of textual scholars but the fundamental way by which any reader interprets texts. For Gadamer, textual understanding becomes the significant meaning making activity of the human being. Because texts can be preserved intact through the ages (unlike buildings and pictorial art works), Gadamer sees reading as a heightened, exacting interpretive activity. It is this concept of reading as a special and powerful mode of understanding that many of us have brought to the ESL classroom. And in particular, it is the literary text which can foreground the value of active interpretative reading.

Why Literature?

Why read literature? Our experience as ESL teachers has shown consistently that particularly at the intermediate level, narratives speak powerfully to our students. And our intuition has theoretical justification. Dillon (1981) shows that among language users "there is a preference for or bias toward narrative" (p. 65). Narratives are what children first learning to read are drawn to, and it is narratives that seem to dominate the ways that humans organize experience. Further, literature speaks about human concerns that often transcend their cultural contexts. Our second language students can thus more fluently respond to what the text says and to how its meaning can be applied to their own lives. If textual understanding involves some degree of self-understanding, then reading literature allows our ESL students the optimal opportunity to understand themselves and, along the way, to understand the possibilities for using the English language.

The justification for using literature in the ESL classroom also comes from two other sources: Collie and Slater (1987) and Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989). Collie and Slater emphasize that literature addresses basic human concerns which transcend cultural and generational gaps, so that literature can "speak directly to a reader in another country or a different period of history" (p. 3). What the second language learner specifically learns in this reading experience is "an understanding of life in the country where that language is spoken" (p. 4). They further contend that literary texts contain the structures, functions, and discourse features of the language in its natural context. Finally, Collie and Slater emphasize that literature-based ESL classrooms encourage students to develop complex reading strategies which serve them in the reading of other types of academic material—guessing meaning from context, making inferences based on linguistic clues, and so forth.

Brinton, Snow, and Wesche make similar points regarding how the use of content in the ESL classroom makes the learning experience more authentic: "Content-based instruction aims at eliminating the artificial separation between language instruction and subject matter classes which exist in most educational settings" (p. 2). Further, they note that content is an effective teaching medium because it often "builds on the students' previous learning experiences" (p. 2). Literature as content deals with life experiences, and students, both ESL and native English-speakers alike, are encouraged to respond to some aspect of the literary experience which is familiar to them. These authors finally suggest that a content-based ESL curriculum creates an environment conducive to language acquistion: "Classroom experience and second language acquisition theory both tell us that rich second language input in its relevant contexts is the key, where the attention of the learner is focused mostly on the meaning before we analyze the text's discourse and grammatical structures.

Community College Realbooks ESL Program

The ESL program offered by the English Department at Los Angeles City College evolved gradually, its changes reflecting philosophical shifts in second language teaching. In the 20 years that the department has offered the intermediate and advanced levels of ESL, it has been department policy to allow instructors freedom of choice in texts and approaches with an emphasis on outcomes.

Today as in the past the department allows for a variety of approaches. Some instructors use one text for the entire semester, basing all writing assignments upon it and supplementing with additional photocopied handouts. Others adopt a reading-for-pleasure "shotgun" approach and choose three or four books without any necessary thematic connection which they think will interest and involve students. Still others choose books which are thematically related to each other. The most carefully structured approach relies on an expository reader about United States' culture as a bridge between authentic texts: a chapter or two of the textbook is then followed by a "realbook" (the departmental nomenclature) concerned with the same subtheme (e.g., American cultural values).

Course Descriptions: Intermediate ESL

Students in the lower intermediate class can read four texts in one semester. They don't always know this. Coming from a beginning program where the emphasis has been on grammar, or testing into the lower intermediate class upon entry to college, they are often justifiably nervous at the prospect of so much reading. Some have never read a full-length book before in English. The instructor explains during the first meeting and stresses throughout the semester that there is probably no better way—other than complete immersion—to acquire the language, vocabulary, and grammatical structures necessary for standard speech and writing. Students are reassured that formal study of language will be a part of the course but that the majority of the class will consist of reading, writing, and speaking in English for the purpose of developing greater fluency.

After a week or more of getting acquainted exercises—introductions, perhaps writing a paragraph introducing a classmate to the class, and writing an introductory letter to the teacher (who responds with a letter of her own in which she quotes some of the more interesting student observations), students bring the first book, Scott O'Dell's *Island of the Blue Dolphins* (1960) to class. Before starting the book, the instructor tells students a little about the culture and fate of the Chumash Indians. (A class may go to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles and view the Native American artifact collection there.) Then she shows them the first 15 minutes of the film based on the book and perhaps asks them to write about what they saw. The emphasis for this and other "quickwriting" assignments is on communication of thoughts and impressions to the instructor; writing a lot—fluency—is emphasized over grammatical correctness.

The instructor then walks students through the first few chapters of the novel, reading aloud and pausing to discuss the events of the book. The next few chapters might be assigned for homework but students are told to read each chapter quickly several times and to consult the dictionary as little as possible. They are reassured that they do not have to understand everything they read or know every vocabulary word. All they must bring to class is general understanding of what has happened in the book. Some instructors may provide study guides with emphasis on the content points that the students should know, perhaps in the form of questions. Instructors develop their own materials for each realbook. Chapters or groups of chapters assigned for reading are often supplemented with study questions dealing with issues of content and motive, as well as inferencing. Instructors attempt to vary class activities and alternate reading aloud to the class with small group discussions. In the latter, students are assigned to groups of four, five, or six, with an attempt made to separate same-language speakers, if possible. They are encouraged to discuss the text in these groups and perhaps answer questions together. The teacher is available to clarify difficult points and spends some time with each group. Students who have a clear understanding of what they have read often explain the text to those who feel lost. This is clearly of benefit to both speaker and listener: The speaker gets practice in explaining the text in English, and the listener gets comprehensible input in a nonthreatening situation. Close friendships form in these groups. Often students have never spoken English before in any circumstance because of either fear or lack of opportunity.

After general discussion, the groups choose one question to answer in detail in a report to the class. They are told to use their own words in the explanation and not to simply read the words of the book. At first they may write down the answer, practice it with their group, and then present it to the class. Over the course of the semester, the emphasis shifts to taking notes and speaking more spontaneously from them rather than reading. Shy students are not forced to talk, and the reports at first are given by the more assertive. Gradually, more and more students are willing to report.

The first chapters of *Island of the Blue Dolphins* are difficult for students, but the book becomes easier as students continue to read. Vocabulary, as in most authentic texts, is repeated by the author. It is worked with frequently in class and becomes part of the students' active lexicon. Discussions are supplemented by informal writing assignments, by letters to the instructor giving opinions about character, action, and situation. More of the film is seen each week.

This initial text may take four or five weeks to complete. By the time students have finished the book, they are quite capable of writing a long four-to-five page paper analyzing an aspect of the novel: Karana's relationship with animals, or the wisdom of her choice to leave the island in the end, or the skills she has that enable her to survive. These are formal papers comprising introduction, body and conclusion. Composing processes are discussed and revisions are allowed for content, organization, and language. Students read and react to each other's work.

Other books at the lower intermediate level might include three more children's books and a book for young adults: *Journey Home* (1978) by Yoshiko Uchida, the story of a family returning from a U.S. relocation camp at the end of World War II; *Martin Luther King, The Peaceful Warrior* (1968) by Ed Clayton, and S.E. Hinton's *Rumble Fish* (1975). The King biography is supplemented by videos; Francis Ford Coppola's film version of *Rumble Fish* is shown. The books need not be presented in order of difficulty but in order of time period covered. These books provide students with an introduction to U.S. history and culture. The first three give an overview of patterns of discrimination in U.S. history. On the other hand, *Rumble Fish* presents insight into a dysfunctional white family in which children have been driven to gang membership, a topic of great concern to immigrant students. While the overall picture of the country is not a cheerful one, each book stresses survival, courage, and compassion.

By the end of the class, students have often broken the dictionary habit, can infer meaning from context, have greatly increased their active vocabulary, and can write a formal academic paper.

The midlevel intermediate class continues this approach. Children's books are still used, but by now ongoing students, who have read at least one text at the lower level and often as many as four, are more at home with the process. Students who have tested into this level may be intimidated at first, but veteran students help them in their small discussion groups. The books many teachers use at the intermediate level are not significantly more complex than those of the lower intermediate, as students need time to consolidate reading skills and vocabulary. Those who do not need this time have usually been referred to the high-intermediate course. There is little complaint about the emphasis on children's and young adult texts. The students have enough difficulty with content to realize that they are not ready for adult books, and they apparently find the issues dealt with in the children's books of sufficient interest.

Realbooks for this level might include the highly imaginative and fast-moving *Mrs. Frisby and the Rats of NIMH* (1986) by Robert C. O'Brien; James L. and Christopher Collier's *Jump Ship to Freedom* (1981), an exciting narrative of a young black slave's accidental involvement in some of the key events of U.S. constitutional history; *Homesick, My Own Story* (1982) in which author Jean Fritz describes her painful girlhood transition from China to the United States; and John Steinbeck's *The Red Pony* (1965) with its close study of family life in early 20th century California and its closing meditation on the thrill and heartbreak of the American frontier.

The format for the midlevel intermediate class is similar to that of the previous level: careful review of opening chapters, reading aloud, group discussion and reports, study guides, formal papers. Here, however, questions become more challenging. Now students are asked to demonstrate in a 15-minute quickwriting that they have read the assignment. Again the texts can be thematically related by issues such as family life, self-sacrifice, and exploration of U.S. cultural values.

In the high-intermediate level, adult books are introduced. Louis L'Amour's *The Californios* (1974) set in Malibu and Los Angeles, provides a look at mid 19th-century California history, with side glimpses at Chumash Indian and 19th-century Mexican culture. Jack Finney's *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1978), set in northern California, gives a detailed account of small-town 20th-century life in the context of a truly chilling invasion from outer space. One or both movies of the *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* can be shown—the 50's version, an allegory of U.S. anticommunist paranoia, or the '80s film, a startling contrast in which human forces lose out to "pod people" in the end. *Ordinary People* (1976) by Judith Guest once again examines the dysfunctional family, not in the inner city low-income context of *Rumble Fish*, but in the affluent middle class. By the end of the semester students can read Barbara Kingsolver's *The Bean Trees* (1988). With this, they have graduated from popular fiction to "serious literature."

The format of group reports, letters, and formal papers can continue in the high-intermediate class. But there is more emphasis on editing—as not only fluency but the ability to correct surface errors become increasingly important. It is the combination of the two skills which will determine the students' placement the following semester: After the high-intermediate class, the student will be mainstreamed into either a lower level developmental class or the class which serves as the prerequisite for freshman writing. In the high intermediate class, therefore, instructors start to add more examples of expository writing. Articles on writing and second language acquisition might form the introduction to the class followed by an assignment in which students interview successful language learners and write a paper reporting their results. Other expository pieces include articles on the frontier, the small town, the family.

At the end of the high-intermediate ESL class, students take the same departmental examination as the students from the lower developmental class for native English-speakers, a short narrative followed by directions to briefly summarize the selection and to relate it (in varying ways as specified by the question) to the students' own life. These are skills they have practiced in previous intermediate ESL classes. The majority of high-intermediate ESL students are ready by the semester's end for the course prerequisite to freshman writing. Many of these students complete the two semesters of freshman writing offered by the English department.

Insights and Questions

Our focus on authentic whole books (realbooks) has led to both interesting pedagogical insights as well as perplexing questions. Most importantly, we as a department have realized that the bulk of what our developmental writing teachers do in their composition courses for native English-speakers is to a large degree similar to what goes on in the ESL classroom. Both developmental composition teachers and ESL composition teachers encourage students to respond critically to longer texts, and we have found that the ideas that emerge from teaching all levels of writing enrich the teaching of all classes.

Because so many of us make literature the content of our composition courses, we confer each semester to revise the lists of realbooks used in all of our reading and writing courses. This list is an eclectic mix of popular, young adult, and children's literature as well as the occasional classic. Interspersed as well are theoretical texts like Frank Smith's (1988) *Joining the Literacy Club*. Why these texts work or don't work provide for enriching departmental discussions. Further, many of us compose and share materials for the books we use: prereading and prewriting questions, vocabulary activities, reading and small group activities, and essay questions.

We still have many unanswered questions. We continue to ask just how to appropriate Krashen's concept of comprehensible input to our reading and writing concerns. Should our courses have a thematic basis? Should they be organized around genres? Or is a less focused syllabus of titles for a particular course equally effective? We also ask whether the use of audio tapes of particular books is beneficial to our students, or whether it subverts the act of reading by providing a crutch. One of our instructors is even considering whether the use of closed captions for viewing of films will enrich his students' understanding.

Though we as a department cannot provide others with a neat model for effective teaching, we do feel that we have found a pedagogy that has both theoretical and practical justification. The bulk of the students, at all levels of ESL instruction, end each course reading and writing more fluently and with more confidence. Finally, the questions that we continue to ask about our whole-books pedagogy are an insistent reminder to us all of the necessary ambiguity surrounding any significant language experience. This sense of mystery (often even messiness) emerging from the critical and creative uses of language is what we as teachers continue to experience in the classroom and what we are confident our ESL students are beginning to appreciate as they attempt to understand and use the English language. ■

Footnotes

A complete list of the realbooks used in various courses is available from the authors.

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The CATESOL Journal
CATESOL EXCHANGE

What is the Relationship Between Content-Based Instruction and English for Specific Purposes?

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When I was initially asked to answer this question, I felt that I could sum up the relationship in a sentence: *English for specific purposes (ESP)* is a superordinate term for all good ESL/EFL teaching, and content-based instruction (CBI) is a central force in this movement. However, after some reflection and a review of several recent articles on CBI and ESP (see, for example, Johns, 1991; Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991; and Snow, 1991), I concluded that there's more to this relationship than a single sentence can express.

My purpose here, then, will be to discuss the ESP and CBI movements in a more complete manner than my original response allows. First, I will discuss in what ways the two movements appear to be similar. Then, I will examine some of the features of the two movements that appear to make them different, that separate them in the minds of researchers, curriculum designers, and practitioners. My text is constructed by my own experience and reading; no doubt other would—and perhaps will—take issue with my arguments.

I would like to begin with the similarities between ESP and CBI, for they are the most obvious to me. Both movements stem from practitioners' unease about the separation of language instruction from the contexts and demands of real language use. We worry that general purpose language instruction, or TENOR (Teaching English for No Obvious Reason), cannot prepare students for the demanding linguistic, rhetorical, and contextual challenges of the real world, for example, the workplace or the academic classroom. And there is considerable evidence for our concerns, as Mohan (1986) notes:

> A language is a system that relates to what is being talked about (content) and the means to talk about it (expression). Linguistic content is inseparable from linguistic expression. *But in research and in classroom practice, this relationship is frequently ignored* [italics

> added] . . . In language learning we overlook the fact that content is being communicated. (p. 1)

In both movements, then, there is an effort to discover and use genuine discourse from the real world in the language classroom, to ensure that classroom content reflects the target situation. There is also an effort to engage students in meaningful use of language, rather than in activities that focus upon the language itself. Thus, as Johns and Davies (1983) put it, language becomes a "vehicle for communication" not merely a "linguistic object," studied in isolation in an ESL grammar class, for example. Practitioners in both movements recognize that language classroom activities should be designed to assist students in interacting with content and discourse in cognitively demanding ways, or at the very least, in ways that are similar in use to those in the target language situation.

How do we determine what is authentic language and what are authentic activities? We work closely with experts in the target situation, people who know what students must do and who understand the purposes of content and discourse in their particular contexts. In CBI, there are models for working with content experts (e.g., adjunct and sheltered classes—see Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989); in ESP, there are related models, for example, team teaching (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991). Thus both ESP and CBI strive to encourage the transfer of language skills and content to real life by bringing genuine language and authentic classroom activities to students.

What is more interesting—and perhaps disturbing—to me are the perceived dissimilarities between the two movements. One of these differences relates to the scope of each movement's influence. CBI is generally limited to the English as a second language (ESL) setting, in places like the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. ESP, on the other hand, prides itself in being an international movement; in fact, much of the interesting ESP work takes place in countries in which English is a foreign language (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991; Swales, 1985). This difference in instructional setting has resulted in the use of a variety of labels to describe courses in which language and content are integrated. Thus, ESP is the conventional term used to designate specific purposes language programs in the English as a foreign language (EFL) setting. In the ESL setting, however, terms such as *content-based instruction, workplace ESL, vocational ESL,* and *sheltered English* are preferred.[1] Judy Colman (personal communication) recently wrote from Australia that there is "a degree of resistance to using the term ESP" in ESL situations "down-under" as well. Instead, Australians employ terms such as *technical and further education for immigrant students (TAFE)* and *English in the workplace (EWP).*

We don't find the same resistance to using ESP in the EFL setting, as evidenced by the publications and conferences with ESP in the

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titles coming out of Latin America, China, the Middle East, and Africa. Subscriptions to *English for Specific Purposes*, a journal which John Swales, Tony Dudley-Evans, and I coedit, evidence the international nature of this movement: Half of our contributors and considerably more than half of our subscribers live in EFL contexts.

CBI is distinguished from ESP in other ways, as well: Though CBI can cover a number of specific purpose contexts and be designed for a number of populations (Mohan, 1986), in California and most of the United States, it has perhaps become most closely linked to sheltered English and the education of children in the K-12 setting. Other models of CBI in the ESL context (such as theme-based and adjunct instruction) are less well known.[2]

ESP, though traditionally focused upon the advanced, adult academic students (Swales, 1985, 1990), still claims to encompass all teaching of specific groups of adults with identifiable needs. This is the reason, I'm convinced, that the ESP Interest Group, which will probably be instituted by TESOL in 1992, originated with workplace ESL professionals whose populations and language classes are quite distinct from the content-based programs in public schools.

There are other contrasts, at least in the minds of EFL curriculum designers and teachers. Whereas CBI is generally a multiskill approach, integrating the four skills in order to make the language learning experience authentic and draw from the learning styles and strategies of the variety of students enrolled (Chamot & O'Malley, 1987), ESP has often been limited to one skill, reading, because this is what students in foreign countries badly need in order to access texts in science and technology. In fact, there are so many ESP reading courses in EFL settings that Mohan (1986) likens the movement to "reading in the content areas" (p. 15). For those interested in this phenomenon, Hudson (1991) provides a useful discussion of a well-developed overseas ESP reading program.

Finally, there are theoretical and research-related differences in scope and focus. ESP has a long research tradition, dating from the early 1960s (Swales, 1985)—a tradition that has drawn from linguistic analyses, from discourse studies, from pragmatics, and recently, from studies of discourse communities (Swales, 1990). *English for Specific Purposes* has published many articles that could just as well have appeared in journals such as *Discourse Processes* or *Applied Linguistics*. Especially in overseas environments, for example, at the Latin American ESP Colloquia, there are many more papers about text-based research than about pedagogy. This is because ESP researchers, particularly those concerned with reading subject texts, are convinced that a thorough and systematic analysis of written discourse is essential to creating a successful curriculum. Over time, this research has expanded from item counts to form/function analyses (Robinson, 1991) and recently into examining a text's uses of authority and the values that underlie its discourse (Benson, 1991). CBI, on the other hand, seems to be much more concerned with the classroom, with student affect, with instructional strategies, and with models. No doubt each tradition can benefit from the research and curricula of the other.

I teach in a CBI program at San Diego State, and I find the contributions of the CBI experts valuable. However, I still consider myself primarily an ESP person, for I find that the movement more specifically illuminates my research and, not incidentally, has enabled me to travel and exchange ideas with colleagues throughout the world. ■

Footnotes

1. Peter Master is a notable exception. Through his column in the *CATESOL News*, he continues to insist that ESP is a term that is appropriate and relevant to EFL contexts as well as ESL teaching/learning situations such as here in California—and I would agree.

2. In foreign language teaching, CBI is typically associated with the immersion education of native speakers of English in Canada and the U.S. However, we are beginning to hear about "content-enriched" foreign language in the elementary school (FLES) programs as well (Curtain & Pesola, 1988).

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What Are Some Considerations for Teacher Training in Content-Based Instruction?

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As content-based instruction (CBI) increasingly replaces language-based syllabi (e.g., grammatical, notional/functional) in the teaching of English as a second language (ESL), the question of how to train teachers to implement this form of instruction effectively gains importance. CBI requires an adjustment on the part of the ESL teacher, who may be intimidated by the prospect of having to teach subject matter with which he or she may not be familiar. This fear of subject matter is well known to English for specific purposes (ESP) practitioners, who have long had to deal with the same issue, but for ESL it raises questions about teacher training for new teachers and teacher development for those who have been teaching ESL for some time.

To the content-area classroom teacher (henceforth, the content instructor), the term *content-based instruction* may seem redundant for, after all, on what else would instruction be based? In fact, this term derives from the term *content-based* language *instruction*, originally within the realm of ESP, but now more broadly linked to ESL instruction. Its primary purpose is to differentiate the more traditional language-based language instruction, that is, the study of a language itself as subject matter (with its parts of speech and verb tenses and sentence structures) from language instruction that uses content as a vehicle for achieving language mastery.

The melding of subject matter and language—two conventionally distinct areas of instruction with different instructor-training techniques—is no longer seen exclusively as an ESL methodology. The reason is that, especially in the United States, large numbers of non-English proficient (NEP) or limited English proficient (LEP) students have entered the mainstream curriculum. Thus, content instructors, who could once presuppose the students' mastery of the language of instruction, are now increasingly faced with students who have difficulty understanding their lectures, the textbooks, and the mix of formal and informal language with which they have enlivened their classroom presentations over the years. As they gain experience with this new student population, these mainstream instructors are realizing that many of their "poor" students are not poor in the sense that native speakers might be so labeled but poor solely in their mastery of the language of instruction. In other words, content instructors have had to become aware that language is fundamental to their students' grasping of content, just as language instructors have had to realize that students need the ability to perform and succeed in subject areas, not just to learn about the language.

Although content-based instruction is the foundation of language across the curriculum, immersion education and ESP, the present discussion is limited to teacher training issues in theme-based, sheltered, and adjunct language instruction as these are more directly relevant to the ESL curriculum.

Theme-Based Language Instruction

Theme-based language instruction is the codification of a practice that many experienced ESL/EFL teachers have come to spontaneously and independently. Even in the heyday of the grammatical syllabus, a class could not do grammar all the time. Reading was the most logical alternative, and what to read was either selected randomly by the teacher or selected with input from the students. Reading (and writing) in depth, that is, using several texts within a single theme, seemed preferable to reading and writing on many different topics (see, for example, Raimes, 1983) because it allowed the necessary schemata for that theme to be developed and topic-specific vocabulary to be recycled and enlarged upon. This led to the idea that all ESL instruction could be based on themes, which would not only allow the development of all language skills and subskills (e.g., reading, listening, grammar, oral skills) simultaneously but also foster the higher order critical thinking skills such as separating fact from opinion. Themes can be either random selections, chosen and ordered with student input (e.g., education, nuclear energy, the drug problem) or subsets of a larger unifying theme (e.g., product development, advertising strategies, and consumer behavior as a subset of marketing).

Theme-based instruction requires teacher training in curriculum and materials development, particularly in regard to the conducting of needs assessments to insure that the selection of themes is based on students' interests. This requires much work on the part of the ESL teacher, but as publishers become aware of this type of instruction, more commercial theme-based texts are becoming available. However, teachers need to exercise great care in selecting these texts and the themes contained therein, for they must have the support of the students for the themes chosen and not blindly rely on those selected by a publisher or author.

Sheltered Content Instruction

Like all content-based language instruction, sheltered content instruction is addressed to nonnative speakers. However, it is taught by a content instructor, not an ESL teacher. Students are "sheltered" from their native English-speaking peers, almost always in a high school, community college, or university setting, and given instruction in a specific subject such as biology, history, and so forth. The idea is that such a setting provides a low-anxiety environment for these students, who would otherwise be competing with native speakers. (See the article by Glaudini-Rosen in this volume for a more in-depth discussion of sheltered instructional strategies.)

Sheltered content instruction requires considerable teacher development. In addition to knowing their subjects well, being successful teachers in their regular content classes, and being able to choose texts that are accessible to students because of their clarity or organization, sheltered content teachers must learn how to adjust their speech in the classroom to compensate for their students' developing listening skills. For this reason, sheltered content instructors are usually experienced classroom teachers who have come to recognize the kinds of problems that LEP students have had in their regular content classes. They often display an extraordinary humanistic commitment to helping these students, coupled with an uneasy recognition that their hitherto successful teaching techniques are not sufficient for LEP students. Since the means to develop the necessary teacher competencies for sheltered instruction are the same as those required for the content instructor in the adjunct model, these will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

Adjunct Language Instruction

One of the most successful means of implementing content-based instruction is through adjunct language instruction. In this model, a language teacher works in tandem with a content instructor. The language teacher usually attends the content class, which guides the syllabus for instruction in the language class. Concomitantly, the language class provides the necessary language skills for students to be able to perform successfully in the content class. This naturally requires close cooperation between the content and the language instructors.

For historical reasons, content has always seemed more important than language instruction. It is thus generally thought that the language instructor must be subordinate to the content instructor in the adjunct relationship. This attitude is described in Johns and Dudley-Evans (cited in Swales, 1985) as "that suspicion and even hostility which language teachers often report encountering when attempting to set up some sort of cooperation with subject teachers" (p. 152). Experience with the model is beginning to show, however, that it is the content instructors who usually have to make the larger adjustment, usually by altering their lecture style, textbook selection, test formats, written assignments, and expectations, all within the limits of the course since such adjustments should not result in a watered-down version of the original syllabus.

While language instructors may initially be intimidated by having to deal with an area of knowledge they are not familiar with, they very quickly see that their language teaching experience serves them well in helping their students deal with new subject matter. No one expects them to be experts in the content area, and they can ask the students or the content instructors if necessary if they find they do not understand something. In fact, the language teachers usually enjoy learning the new material. The content instructors, on the other hand, often come to the adjunct model with the feeling that their teaching methods are somehow inadequate. Their tried-and-true techniques do not work with the LEP students in their classes, but simply failing these students is not an acceptable solution. Their adjustment requires a reevaluation of their entire method of teaching, which is usually very teacher centered. Once they realize how to implement more student-centered teaching practices—that is, by becoming more culturally sensitive, avoiding the use of colloquial idioms (e.g., the following samples from a biology lecture: *chew the living heck out of you, mess around with, lickety-split*), using the blackboard more frequently, encouraging more language use in the classroom through hands-on activities and group work, and sometimes even incorporating ESL techniques such as journal writing and role play into their own classrooms—they usually come to sincerely appreciate the teaching strategies of the language teachers they work with. They often find, once the initial hurdles are crossed, that they become better teachers as a result (Aguirre, Brinton, Master, Phillips, Steidel, & Sutherland, 1991; Cummings, 1991; Wesche & Ready, 1985).

One of the first issues to be dealt with in adjunct language instruction is thus the relationship between the language instructor and the content instructor. The best way to improve the relationship is to communicate, and communication is best fostered through preservice and in-service training. A workshop at Cañada College in Redwood City, CA serves as a good example of such training. It involved a preprogram discussion of potential problems that instructors could foresee—with ESL teachers and content instructors meeting separately—followed by an extended role play of a coordination meeting (cf. Snow & Brinton, 1990) in which both content and language instructors were asked to take on roles reflecting the various situations that might arise in an adjunct relationship (e.g., students giving more attention to the content class than to the language class because they are doing poorly on exams, content teachers being unwilling to adjust their original syllabus for the LEP students, language teachers receiving insufficient cooperation from content instructors, the administration wanting proof of effectiveness to justify funding of such a class).

The next phase of the preservice workshop required a content instructor to give a sample lecture in a content area. Prior to the lecture, the instructor left the room while the remaining participants discussed issues such as frequency of blackboard use, using group work for content-based tasks, using hands-on experiences and visuals, defining terms, and relating material to the culture and experience of the students, concerns discussed in Crandall (1987). During the lecture, the participants were asked to note potential student difficulties in two columns, one devoted to content matters (terms, explanations, definitions, etc.), the other to language matters (rate of speech, idiomatic phrases, cultural metaphors, grammatical structures, etc.). After the lecture, the participants discussed the problems that students were likely to have with the material and the workshop leaders led a discussion on language issues in an adjunct program, including study skills, grammar, reading/writing, and listening/speaking.

In the next phase, the group broke into specific content areas (e.g., social sciences and western civilization, mathematics, science). The content instructors met with their ESL counterparts to discuss instruction. In the social sciences and western civilization content area, King, Fagan, Bratt, and Baer (1987) suggest, for example, that content instructors use both oral and written activities in the content class, relate new material to the lives of the students, break down content information into manageable chunks, and make frequent checks for comprehension. Language instructors in the same content area should focus on vocabulary, use social science textbooks with a lower reading level in the language component, teach map and chart reading, and devote time to preparing oral and written reports in class.

In the mathematics content area, Dale and Cuevas (1987) suggest that content instructors communicate—not just present— mathematical concepts, provide extensive hands-on experiences to allow native English-speaking and ESL students to interact with each other and the teacher, provide activities based on students' real-life experiences, and allow students to develop their own word problems. ESL instructors in the same content area should teach math vocabulary (e.g., *column, rational, equal*), syntax (e.g., prepositions, comparisons, the passive voice, logical connectors) and semantics (e.g., the referents of variables); teach up-and-down as well as left-to-right eye movements for reading mathemetics texts; and provide word problems with too little, too much, and just enough information, which students must identify and correct.

In the science content area, Kessler and Quinn (1987) suggest that content instructors present new terms in science contexts rather than isolated lists and provide numerous hands-on activities. They also suggest that correction be focused on accuracy and interpretation of truth, not accuracy of language. ESL instructors in the same content area should teach vocabulary more than morphology and syntax and be willing to handle basic science concepts and the processes of scientific inquiry.

In the final phase of the preservice workshop, the content instructors convened separately from the ESL instructors so that each group could discuss what they had learned. Then the entire group met together to consolidate their experience (Brennan, 1986).

The purpose of the preprogram workshop was to acquaint future adjunct language instructors with some of the issues they were likely to encounter in their content-based classes. After the workshop, meetings at Cañada College were held every two to four weeks. In this way, adjustments could be made as the program evolved. This helped instructors to decide, for example, whether the number of hours in each segment (content and ESL) were sufficiently balanced for the proficiency level of the student population, whether more counseling was required to boost motivation, and whether the chosen materials were working effectively. More importantly, it provided a forum for the ESL and content instructors to voice their concerns and maintain good communications with each other.

Conclusion

Content-based instruction represents a shift away from "many existing methods, in which language skills are taught in isolation from substantive content" (Snow, Met, & Genesee, 1989, p. 201). The sheltered model requires that content teachers become more familiar with the kinds of language problems that LEP students have and adjust their classroom language and techniques to better meet the needs of all students in the classroom. Similarly, in theme-based instruction, ESL instructors infuse the language class with interesting, relevant topics or incorporate content areas from their students' other classes into the ESL curriculum. This job is more equitably shared in the adjunct model. Within this model the two teachers concerned can retain their strengths in their areas of expertise, whether language or content, but they must make adjustments in their teaching so that they move towards the area of expertise of their coteachers. Collaboration must take place in some form or another for content-based adjunct instruction to succeed. If the funding is not available for extensive preprogram and in-program workshops such as the one described above, collaboration has to take place on the teachers' own time. Without it, one can expect only the rancor that stems from stereotypical notions of what and who is more important, and this does nothing to serve our students. ■

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How Can ESL and Content Teachers Work Effectively Together in Adjunct Courses?

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The ESL teacher must develop a good working relationship with the content instructor if an ESL adjunct course is to be successful. There will be more opportunities for collaboration if colleagues are flexible, caring, and concerned. ESL instructors face many challenges in doing this for any number of reasons: content instructor unfamiliarity with second language learning; disregard for ESL as a discipline; or hidden agendas to have the ESL class serve in a tutoring function rather than as a language acquisition class. However, most content instructors who agree to work in an ESL adjunct situation are sensitive to language issues. How can we develop a good working relationship with the content instructor? Allow me to describe the modified adjunct course I teach at Glendale Community College and explain how I fostered that important relationship.

In 1990 the College Access Program at Glendale Community College proposed the creation of a number of *special paired classes* or *connected courses*, which were meant to improve the performance of students in content classes. This presented the opportunity for the creation of a content-based ESL course in which the ESL students were separated from the general student population in the classroom. In this sheltered adjunct class, we decided to pair the advanced reading and composition class, ESL 165, with a course in social science, Social Science 123—Asians in America. We limited enrollment to 25 students and arranged our class schedules so that the students would go to their ESL class on Mondays and Wednesdays from 9 to 11 a.m. and then immediately to their social science class from 11 a.m. to noon on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Since this was the first attempt at Glendale College to implement an adjunct class in this area, I felt that an analysis of student needs in the social science class had to be done before the ESL class materials development could begin.

Hutchinson and Waters (1987) state that a needs analysis must determine the "necessities, lacks, and wants" of learners as well as the course objectives. Such an analysis brings the learners into the design of the syllabus and materials development. The *necessities* of the course were the required instructional objectives which had been predetermined by the course outlines used at Glendale Community College. The *lacks* could be defined as skills, knowledge, or abilities that the students lacked as determined by someone other than the learners. To determine lacks, I created a questionnaire for the social science content instructor, Mako Tsuyuki, to complete (see Appendix for a copy of the questionnaire). His answers helped me determine what skills and areas to emphasize in my syllabus and materials. Additionally, I attended three of his class lectures to determine lacks. The *wants* were determined by questionnaires given to all students (native English-speakers as well as nonnative speakers) in his regular Social Science 123 classes.

The needs analysis got my relationship with the content instructor off to a good start. Our meeting to discuss the results of the questionnaire presented an excellent opportunity to get his comments and correct any misunderstandings or omissions in regard to his responses. The questionnaire revealed the instructor's concerns in a number of areas. The first lay in the area of speaking skills. He felt that students needed to ask questions about the readings and respond to questions in class. Listening skills were important because of the rapid speech in lectures. Reading skills needed were for understanding vocabulary and main ideas. Writing clearly was also very important. After meeting with Mako Tsuyuki, I realized that new information presented in his lectures was very important, and I responded to his needs by incorporating exercises to develop skills he felt were necessary to get good grades in his class. I believe that being responsive to the content instructor's needs from the very beginning was an important first step in building mutual respect. It showed him I was on his side.

The meeting also gave me the opportunity to inform the content instructor of the instructional goals of my class and how I proposed to integrate the language skills of writing, reading, listening comprehension, and speaking with a focus on content. I asked him to let me review essay topics from past exams so I could use them for practice essays in my class. I assured him that I would alter these questions and that I wanted them so that students could practice writing in the same discourse modes. For example, comparison and contrast were frequently used, as in this prompt: Describe the similarities and diffferences between early Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Descriptive questions were common, as in this question: What were some "push and pull" factors affecting the early immigrants?

Because we jointly built the foundation of the ESL class, Mako Tsuyuki and I developed a team spirit and reached mutual goals. In our subsequent meetings, Mako Tsuyuki asked me questions about student progress, ESL methodology, and language acquisition. I, of course, asked him to clarify content information and had opportunities to further sensitize him to specific language issues in his classroom. These meetings also helped to build trust in each other and respect for our two very different disciplines. When he asked, I explained ESL techniques used to foster language acquisition, such as discussion groups or peer correction, and offered suggestions about how to use these techniques in his class. However, I felt that it was important to offer only when asked because my suggestions could be taken as a pedogogical criticism rather than a sharing of teaching techniques.

Additionally, we both realized the need to maintain frequent communication by having weekly or biweekly meetings. In my modified adjunct, I used the content text from the social science class as the reading text. This required me to keep pace with the content instructor's lectures so that I wouldn't go too slowly or too fast in our content-related class discussion and writing activities. While we tried to have regular weekly meetings in the beginning, we found that these weren't always necessary, and so we met informally as needed. Sometimes the meetings would last much longer than we had expected (2 hours) or they would be no more than 10 minutes. During the meetings we caught up on what we were doing in our respective classes and discussed the progress of the class in general and of particular students in need of help. We also used these opportunities to share information about our respective disciplines.

At about the middle of the semester, we met to discuss student progress and restate our goals for the remainder of the term. This was important because it allowed us the opportunity to negotiate a balance between the remaining course objectives of our respective classes and what the the students could realistically complete. The midsemester and subsequent meetings helped strengthen ties. Developing ties can take many forms, from strictly business—that is, discussing students—to more personal ones, such as inviting the content instructor out to lunch or to have a cup of coffee. Informal meetings give both instructors the opportunity to meet in a neutral setting without pressure to be strictly professional. This was another important means to build a working relationship.

At meetings, I tried to guide Mako Tsuyuki into seeing educational issues in terms of language rather than content mastery alone. When we could agree on some issue being language based rather than content based, I could affect his class. Meetings which were held after his tests provided excellent opportunities for this. After his first test, we met to discuss the problems the students experienced. I was quite frank with him about comments from the students. Most said that vocabulary on the test was difficult or unfamiliar and that they simply hadn't had enough time to finish it. In other words, they spent more time trying to understand the questions than answering them. I suggested using simpler vocabulary and sentence structures in the explanations and test items, giving more examples, grouping similar test-question types together, and especially, allowing enough time for ESL students to finish what would take native English speakers less time. For example, a later test included a multiple choice section and an essay section. I let him know that most students did poorly on the essay because of time limitations. I suggested splitting such a test into two days because ESL students need more time to write. He agreed to do this with later tests. Of course, constructive criticism is a two-way street, so it was important to always ask the content instructor what I could do better in my class. How could I have helped the students prepare for that test better? What weaknesses did the content instructor see that might be language related?

When teaching in an adjunct framework, the language teacher should expect that ESL students will ask questions about the content. I handled this by stating from the beginning that I was the ESL instructor, not the content instructor. While I became familiar with enough content material to correct factual student errors, I made it a point to stress that the students were the content masters. If the students disagreed about information, I asked them to speak to the content instructor. It was important to follow up on these questions, and I always asked him what they had asked. This process served to keep a professional separation between content and ESL. The content instructor knew I wasn't treading in his area of expertise, and I believe that this helped strengthen our relationship.

Content-based instruction is, in my opinion, ideal for ESL instruction at the community college level. Students at this level are above survival ESL needs. But the academic demands placed on them in regular content classes, which are usually taken in addition to ESL classes, are taxing. While traditional ESL classes serve to bridge the linguistic gaps between the students' first and second languages, they focus on language, not content. Content-based ESL classes, where language is the vehicle to content mastery, is an effective way to assist students with the transition to regular content courses. It necessitates, however, many practical considerations—one of the most critical being the need to build a strong working relationship with content instructors. ■

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Appendix

Instructor's Needs Analysis

Instructions: Please respond to the following items by checking the appropriate column. Only think about your students who are NOT native speakers of English in SS 123.

There are *weaknesses* in these *speaking skills:*	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
1. Participating in class discussions	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Participating in small in-class groups	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Formulating questions clearly	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Responding to questions	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Interacting with the instructor via comments/questions	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Giving oral presentations	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Pronunciation	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Other (specify) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐

There are *weaknesses* in these *listening skills:*	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
9. Following oral dictation	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Understanding lectures in class	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Understanding comments/questions of classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Understanding films/videos shown in class	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Other (specify) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐

There are *weaknesses* in these *reading skills:*	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
14. Vocabulary	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Reading speed	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Making connections between important ideas from reading assignments to lectures	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Distinguishing facts from opinions	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Interpreting charts, graphs, statistics	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Making logical inferences	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Understanding the writer's biases/ positions on issues	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Other (specify) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐

There are *weaknesses* in these *writing skills:*	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
22. Grammar (e.g., subject-verb agreement)	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. Mechanics (e.g., punctuation)	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. Proper essay form (e.g., indentation)	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. Organization of ideas (i.e., orderly presentation of ideas)	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. Essay development (i.e., enough supporting details)	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. Clearly stating main ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Being specific enough (i.e., not overgeneralizing)	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. Summarizing and synthesizing	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. Explaining/defining ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. Comparing and contrasting	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. Arguing/defending a point	☐	☐	☐	☐
33. Describing events in order or a process	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. Showing causes and effects	☐	☐	☐	☐
35. Classifying/grouping together related ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐
36. Other (specify) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐

There are *weaknesses* in these general *academic skills:*	**Often**	**Sometimes**	**Never**	**N/A**
37. Coming to see the instructor for help	☐	☐	☐	☐
38. Using available resources (e.g., library, tutoring)	☐	☐	☐	☐
39. Taking efficient lecture notes	☐	☐	☐	☐
40. Completing reading assignments on time	☐	☐	☐	☐
41. Completing writing assignments on time	☐	☐	☐	☐
42. Coming to class late	☐	☐	☐	☐
43. Plagiarism	☐	☐	☐	☐
44. Reading interactively (i.e., marking in text, outlining)	☐	☐	☐	☐
45. Time management	☐	☐	☐	☐
46. Other (specify) ________________	☐	☐	☐	☐

Instructions: In this section, DON'T think about language problems. Only think about course requirements. Please rate the importance of the following for ANY STUDENT in SS 123 to get a good grade. *Circle* only one number per item.

	Degree of Importance				
	Low				**High**
47. How important is writing essays?	1	2	3	4	5
48. How important is asking questions?	1	2	3	4	5
49. How important is making comments to lecture/reading?	1	2	3	4	5
50. Writing argumentation/persuasion	1	2	3	4	5
51. Writing comparison/contrast	1	2	3	4	5
52. Describing	1	2	3	4	5
53. Explaining events/processes in logical order	1	2	3	4	5
54. Showing causes and effects	1	2	3	4	5
55. Classifying/grouping together related ideas	1	2	3	4	5
56. Analyzing and summarizing ideas	1	2	3	4	5

	Degree of Importance				
	Low				High
57. Synthesizing ideas drawn from many sources	1	2	3	4	5
58. Drawing main ideas from readings	1	2	3	4	5
59. Drawing main ideas and details from readings	1	2	3	4	5
60. Reading critically and arguing with author's ideas	1	2	3	4	5
61. Thinking critically and arguing with instructor's ideas	1	2	3	4	5
62. Giving oral presentations	1	2	3	4	5
63. Participating in whole-class discussions	1	2	3	4	5
64. Participating in small-group discussions	1	2	3	4	5
65. Other (specify) ____________________	1	2	3	4	5
66. Other (specify) ____________________	1	2	3	4	5

Note. From a survey reported in *Assessing and Meeting ESL Learner Needs Across the Disciplines*, by Kate Kinsella, March, 1990. Paper presented at the meeting of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, San Francisco, CA. Adapted by permission.

The CATESOL Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

What is the Relationship Between Workplace Literacy and Content-Based Instruction?

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Workplace literacy has been defined as

> *... more than just knowing how to read. It's also more than having the narrow skills for a specific job. When we use the term "literacy" we include the full array of basic skills that enable an individual to "use printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential." (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1985, cited in Sarmiento & Kay, 1990, p. 3)*

In this general definition, the authors conceive of workplace literacy as a benefit to both native speakers and nonnative speakers of English. In this short article, we focus on workplace literacy as it applies to the ESL population. The vignettes that follow give the flavor of two such situations.

> *The room contains long tables placed end to end. Large tinted windows look down over Market Street where tiny pedestrians and cars speed on their way. At 10 minutes before the hour, a few students have already arrived for class, dressed for the work day that will begin at the end of their two-hour block of English for the workplace. The students come from a myriad of language backgrounds and represent a variety of departments and employment positions within this large bank; the one thing they share is a common need to improve their English language skills. By doing so, employees believe they will improve their current job performance and increase their opportunities for advancement. During the class, they will focus on increasing their proficiency using content drawn from the workplace environment—the company newspaper, interactions among employees and between employees and managers, telephone protocols, computer mail. Les-*

> *sons are based on these real-life uses of language. The two instructors are independent contractors hired by the bank to provide 10 week-long blocks of instruction.*
>
> *In another part of the city, a small but growing bakery known for its rich desserts made with fresh ingredients employs a production workforce that is Hispanic, Vietnamese, Indonesian, and Chinese. While most of the time employees are involved in actions—weighing, mixing, baking, decorating—they also need to be able to use English language skills. They need, among other things, to understand instructions, acquire the ability to read a work order, and follow safety instructions and maintenance work procedures. In worksite-based classes designed on the basis of a "literacy audit," workers develop English language proficiency in areas directly related to the needs of their jobs. Classes are offered in six-week segments, provided by Project EXCEL, a workplace literacy program funded by the U.S. Department of Education as a training program offered by the Career Resources Development Center.*

Though a great deal of variation exists among workplace literacy programs, these two serve to illustrate some of the points which we make about the relationship between workplace literacy and content-based approaches. In order to clarify this relationship, we compare the two approaches in terms of several key dimensions: audience, location, purpose, content, and teachers.

Dimensions

Who Is It For? Workplace literacy programs such as the EXCEL program are designed for adults who are working. As we mentioned, the participants may be native speakers of English or they may be in various stages of acquiring English as a second language. Content-based ESL instruction, on the other hand, can be designed for any age group all the way from elementary school children through college students. The participants are by definition acquiring English as a second language.

However, the differences in the two audiences go beyond age and native language. Though rarely articulated, there is an essential class difference in that workplace literacy programs are most often geared for workers such as those in the dessert company example, while content-based instruction is typically designed for students pursuing an academic program. When and if these students eventually join the workforce, they will probably not be working at the lowest levels of the production force. In this sense, the distinction betweeen the two types of programs reflects the vocational/academic split which runs through so much of our educational system. (This is not limited to the U.S. Many if not most other countries make a similar or stronger separation.)

Where Does It Take Place? Workplace literacy programs may take place at a worksite or at a site near the workplace. Content-based ESL programs generally take place in a school or university setting.

What Is the Purpose and Content? Both types of programs make the same basic assumption—that it is better to teach language-related skills in context than in isolation (Mohan, 1986). Thus the purpose of both is to integrate language development with content so that language and/or literacy will be learned in a more meaningful context. In the case of content-based approaches, the content is usually math, science, history, or other academic disciplines. In the case of workplace literacy, the content is the knowledge and skills needed for particular jobs. For example, some of the bank employees needed to learn how to write more effective memoranda. Others needed to improve their skills at decoding and sending computer mail. Still others, customer service representatives, needed to work on telephone protocols for handling customer complaints. All of these employees were working on language set within specific workplace contexts.

How Is the Content Determined? In content-based ESL, academic needs and state frameworks determine the content to be taught, though individual teachers do usually have some flexibility in adapting these frameworks to the proficiency levels and needs of individual classes. In workplace literacy programs, on the other hand, the determination of content depends on two major variables. One of these is the linguistic demands of the particular workplace. To determine these linguistic demands, an instructor or curriculum specialist studies the particular job to find out what kinds of language employees need in order to function effectively in that environment. For example, in the second job situation described above, EXCEL curriculum developers conducted a literacy audit to determine what reading, computation, and communicative skills were required for workers to perform job tasks effectively. EXCEL staff collected all printed materials and observed the working environment on several occasions. They also videotaped and audiotaped the working environment, including workers' performance and communication. These data provided an exhaustive inventory of language functions in the workplace. The other major variable is the level of participants' communicative skills, usually determined through some form of needs assessment at the beginning of the program. The literacy audit, then, provides a specific description of the communicataive demands of the workplace, while the needs assessment looks at students' skills in relation to those workplace demands.

Who Teaches It? Both content-based ESL and workplace literacy programs use similar teaching configurations. In some cases, a language teacher teams with a content or skills instructor in either the same classroom or separate ones. In other cases, a content or skills instructor who has been trained in language and literacy development assumes responsibility for both content and language. In a third configuration, a language teacher who has a background in a skill or content area assumes full responsibility. No matter what configuration is used, both types of programs require some cross-fertilization of teachers who are skilled in language development and teachers who are skilled in the particular work or content area.

Conclusion

ESL professionals need to consider the relationship between content-based ESL and workplace literacy because the ESL workplace is itself changing. Older stuents are coming into programs, the numbers of immigrants and refugees are increasing, and employers are beginning in some cases to take over the responsibility for training their workers in language skills. We need to be aware that opportunities exist to work with employers as ESL professionals and to consider the role we as ESL professionals want to play in workplace literacy. Is there a place for us outside of schools and colleges? This brief foray into the world of workplace litracy suggests that there is. ■

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What Do VESL and Content-Based Instruction Have in Common?

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Vocational English as a second language (VESL) has, in general, been defined as English language instruction that concentrates on the linguistic and cultural competencies requisite for employment. If we assume the definition of content-based instruction to be "the integration of particular content with language-teaching aims" (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989, p. 2), then the connection between the two should be obvious. In fact, VESL serves as an excellent example of content-based instruction.

Basically, there are three types of VESL instruction: (a) general VESL, (b) occupational-cluster VESL, and c) occupation-specific VESL.

General VESL refers to language instruction related to finding a job, maintaining a job, and advancing on the career ladder. Known also as prevocational ESL, it is content-based language instruction in so far as it focuses on teaching English in the context of employment. General VESL courses normally introduce language—communicative skills, grammatical structures, vocabulary—and cultural information, all relating to the world of work. For the most part, students enrolling in general VESL have an array of occupational interests. The unifying element is that all of the students seek general work-related language and content. A typical class covers such topics as reading and interpreting want ads, filling out job applications, answering questions for job interviews, and reading and interpreting transportation and schedule information. Other topics might include understanding and giving directions, clarifying information, making excuses, and apologizing.

Developing cultural competency in a general VESL course is as important as developing linguistic competency. Instructors must provide students with pertinent information regarding the workplace culture as an integral component of instruction. The possible areas covered in teaching cultural competency include understanding work schedules, time sheets, paychecks and deductions, benefits, employee forms, safety rules, and unions. This cultural information is taught through discussions or readings in English and followed up with other language activities for reinforcement. It may also be communicated in the students' native language when concepts are too complicated to be explained in English at the particular ESL level being taught. These types of cultural notes may also be presented in written form for students who are literate in their first language, as they are in the VESL textbook, *English That Works* (Savage, How, & Yeung, 1982).

The second model of VESL instruction, *occupational-cluster VESL*, provides instruction for a group of occupations that are bound together by common language needs, technical skills, and work culture. VESL for health workers, VESL for restaurant workers, VESL for service workers all fit into this category of occupational-cluster VESL. As an example, VESL for service workers may cover linguistic competencies and cultural competencies relevant to work in stores, restaurants, hotels, gas stations, and repair shops (see, for instance, Wrigley, 1987). A course such as this one aims for students to gain mastery in communicative language skills, reading and writing skills, grammatical structures, and terminology that are basic to survival in all service work. In addressing cultural competence, the instructor would also teach content, including job interviewing, job performance, on-the-job expectations, customer relations, employee evaluations, and critical thinking for the workplace, all specific to service work.

The primary objective of the third type of VESL instruction, *occupation-specific VESL*, is to develop linguistic and cultural competence in a specific occupation. Occupation-specific VESL enables students to enter or continue in a vocational training program, find employment, and function on a job. The linguistic and cultural competencies parallel what is taught in occupational-cluster VESL. However, the focus is much narrower, such as VESL for janitorial workers or VESL for electronics workers.

VESL bridge classes, such as those offered at City College of San Francisco, are a variation of this occupation-specific model. These bridge classes were instituted primarily because limited English proficient (LEP) students were not succeeding in mainstream vocational courses and programs, even though they had reached the recommended ESL level for entry into such courses. Bridge classes involve the application of various ESL instructional techniques to teach a specific vocational skill. Although commmunicative language skills, certain grammatical structures, and vocabulary are taught, the instruction emphasizes gaining proficiency in the content (i.e., vocational skill). VESL bridge instruction employs many of the techniques typically used in sheltered content instruction. In order for students to gain competency, the instructor incorporates oral, aural, and visual ESL teaching strategies to teach the content. Students are asked to repeat information and answer as in a choral language activity, and the instructor solicits constant verbal feedback from students to check their comprehension of the content. Because of the teaching techniques involved, VESL bridges have historically been taught by ESL instructors who are also competent in the vocational skill, such as use of the computer and computer applications or typing. Ideally, vocational instructors should receive training in ESL teaching methodology, especially when teaching sheltered content sections in which LEP students are taught in a homogeous grouping.

VESL instruction arose out of the need for LEP adults to become employed. This targeted population has found it difficult to succeed in traditional vocational training programs and, moreover, to find actual employment because of limited language skills and cultural knowledge critical for job success. General VESL, occupational-cluster VESL, and occupation-specific VESL have all evolved as instructional models to answer the content-specific language needs of this LEP population.

In order to understand VESL as it relates to content-based language instruction, it is important to examine the delivery systems (the settings) through which VESL instruction is currently being offered. The four types of delivery systems include: (a) the ESL program approach, (b) the vocational program approach, (c) the work experience approach, and (d) the workplace approach.

In the *ESL program approach*, courses are offered in general VESL, occupational-cluster VESL, and occupation-specific VESL. These courses may or may not have direct links to vocational training programs, in the sense that they directly relate to the content covered in existing vocational courses. Their development is often a precursor to the implementation of the other approaches that will be discussed below and comes from the sheer numbers of requests by students to institute such courses because they cannot enter existing vocational programs or because they cannot find employment due to their limited language proficiency. General ESL classes may also include VESL units on employment, emphasizing work-related language and cultural competencies.

The *vocational program approach* usually prepares LEP students for entry-level positions in a particular field of work, such as office occupations. It is essential that along with vocational training, students receive VESL instruction of the general VESL, occupational-cluster, or occupation-specific type. For the most part, VESL in this setting usually focuses on language and cultural competencies specific to the occupation or occupational cluster. Instructional materials used in the VESL component are based on content in the designated occupation(s). The vocational instructor and VESL instructor work closely together so that there is continuity between their respective courses. Drawing from the materials and language used in the content class, the VESL instructor is, thus, able to develop language activities that facilitate the students' assimilation of the content as well as further develop their language skills. In addition, it is important for the vocational instructor to obtain feedback from the VESL instructor as to what adjustments must be made in teaching content and skills to LEP students, especially if the vocational course is taught as a sheltered class of all LEP students as opposed to a class combining both LEP and native learners.

The third delivery system for VESL is the *work experience approach*. In this approach, a student is placed at a work site for on-the-job experience, in addition to receiving VESL and vocational instruction in the classroom. As with the vocational program approach, general VESL, occupational-cluster VESL, or occupation-specific VESL are the types of VESL instruction implemented. However, what makes this approach unique is that VESL and vocational instruction can be directly applied to a real work situation and vice versa. Hence, VESL instructors can draw upon actual experiences on the job to structure classroom activities. Moreover, students are introduced to experiential language learning via their direct immersion into the working world. This kind of exposure allows them to build communicative language skills in a natural setting with native speakers as well as gain pertinent occupational and cultural knowledge.

The last approach which incorporates VESL instruction into its design is the *workplace approach*. This system of delivery provides VESL instruction (occupational-cluster or occupation-specific) to LEP employees already on the job. The purpose of VESL instruction in this setting is to facilitate the adjustment that LEP employees must make in an English-speaking work environment. The intended outcome is that they, in turn, will become more productive workers. (See the article by Henze & Katz in this volume for further discussion of issues in workplace literacy.)

VESL shares many of the same concerns as other content-based language instructional models. As far as staff development is concerned, there needs to be training for vocational instructors in how to better accommodate LEP students and for VESL instructors in strategies for working with vocational instructors on content course development. Content information and materials need to be gathered from both vocational instructors and industry to develop appropriate VESL curriculum and materials. VESL instructors, like other content-based language instructors, must insure that language instruction relates to language in the content course (i.e., vocational training or the workplace). A third concern is the need for administrators and industry (as in the examples of the work experience approach and workplace approach) to support VESL. Without such support, this type of instruction will never have the opportunity to develop. This development brings to mind the last concern—the financing for such programs. In this age of budget cuts and fiscal restraint, those of us in the field need to seek out creative opportunities for collaborative efforts between not only education and private industry, but also ESL and vocational programs within our own institutions.

The purpose of this article has been to examine VESL as an example of content-based language instruction. In explaining the types of VESL instruction, the intention has been to illustrate how language and content teaching mesh. It was also explained how VESL delivery systems can, in fact, supplement content-based language instruction. Finally, the common concerns that VESL holds with other models of content-based language instruction were discussed. It is hoped that readers of the Exchange have gained a better understanding of VESL and its individual approach to content-based instruction. ■

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Is Whole Language Teaching Compatible With Content-Based Instruction?

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The answer to this question is, "Yes, absolutely!" A whole language approach is appropriate for teaching second language through content-based instruction for learners of all ages and in all subject areas. However, in order to understand how whole language supports content-based instruction, it is necessary to recognize two things: (a) Whole language is not limited to the teaching of reading and writing in lower elementary school grades, and (b) whole language is an approach to teaching and learning rather than a method or a series of materials. Teachers who use a whole language approach with second language learners realize the importance of teaching language through subject area content.

Roots of Whole Language

Whole language has its roots in the 18th-century writings of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, both of whom encouraged a holistic approach to all education. They believed that learning moves "from concrete, sensory experience" and should not be "drilled through rote memorization and corporal punishment" (Miller, 1988, p. 7). Shannon (1991) points out that the current whole language movement is based on two historical traditions: student-centered education and social reconstruction. In whole language classes, teachers teach "to and from the experiences of their students" (Olsen & Mullen, 1990), and they involve students in critical assessment of their social reality (Freeman & Freeman, 1991). These goals can best be accomplished in whole language classes that offer solid subject matter teaching.

Current whole language practices in the U.S. are the result of a grassroots movement of elementary teachers who were dissatisfied with being forced to teach reading from carefully structured materials such as basal readers and writing from grammar rules and language workbooks. The research in first language reading and writing by K. Goodman (1986), Y. Goodman (1985), Harste, Woodward, and Burke (1984), Smith (1971), and Graves (1983) and in second language literacy by Edelsky (1986) and Hudelson (1984) supports an approach that uses authentic reading materials, process writing, and organization around theme cycles (Edelsky, Altwerger, & Flores, 1991).

However, whole language is not limited to the teaching of literacy or the use of theme cycles in the lower grades. Whole language has also been successfully implemented in upper grade content classes, including classes with second language students (Freeman & Freeman, 1989a, 1989b). Content area teachers in the 1990s realize that their students are socially, economically, and ethnically diverse and that any one set of educational programs, textbooks, and workbooks cannot meet their needs. By 1995 there will be 1.5 million second language learners in California, and the challenge is to help these students succeed academically. ESL students need more than language drills or exercises designed to develop communicative competence. They do not have years to practice English before they acquire academic knowledge. They need to be offered an education that allows them to learn English through meaningful content so they can achieve academic and social success, and that is the goal of whole language teachers for their second language students.

The Questioning Lesson Plan: Whole Language Content Planning

Content-based instruction for second language students involves students in reading and writing in all subject areas. Content area teachers using whole language often organize around themes that come out of the students' own questions. These themes engage students in meaningful activities that move from whole to part, build on students' interests and backgrounds, serve their needs, provide opportunities for social interaction, and develop their skills in oral and written language as they use their first and second languages.

Clark (1988) has pointed out that curriculum should involve students "in some of the significant issues in life." He therefore encourages teachers to design their curriculum around "questions worth arguing about" (p. 29), suggesting questions for different age groups, such as: "How am I a member of many families?" (grades K-1); "What are the patterns that make communities work?" (grades 2-3); "How do humans and culture evolve and change?" (grades 4-5); "How does one live responsibly as a member of the global village?" (grades 6-8).

Sizer (1990) draws on the same idea by suggesting that organizing around *essential questions* leads to "engaging and effective curricula." In social studies, teachers responsible for teaching U.S. History might begin with broad questions especially appropriate in our diverse society, such as "Who is American? Who should stay? Who should stay out? Whose country is it anyway?" (p. 49). Sizer suggests larger questions for long-term planning and smaller, engaging questions to fit within the broader ones. For example, an essential question in botany might be, "What is life, growth, 'natural' development, and what factors most influence healthy development?" A smaller engaging question might be, "Do stems of germinating seedlings always grow upwards and the roots downwards?" (p. 50).

In all of the above examples, the goal is to make the curriculum student centered rather than teacher centered by involving students in answering relevant, real world questions that they help to raise. Whole language teachers often organize curriculum by using questions for day-by-day lesson planning. It is important to point out that in learner-centered classes, the questions come primarily from the students; however, as a member of the learning community, the teacher can also raise questions.

A method for planning consistent with whole language and suitable for content classes is the following *questioning lesson plan*.

This lesson plan format is designed to help teachers reconceptualize a curriculum as a series of questions generated by the students and the teacher as they explore topics together. This format also encourages teachers to keep in focus the broad concepts they are studying. It asks them to consider how each lesson might connect to broader themes. It also asks them to consider specific ways they can make the input comprehensible for their second language students. Planning lessons with this format is one way teachers can put whole language theory into practice with second language students. In addition, teachers have found that the whole language checklist, drawn from whole language principles (Freeman & Freeman, 1988), is useful to help them evaluate their content lessons.

Questioning Lesson Plan

1. **What is the question worth talking about?**
   Can the topic for this lesson be formulated in a question? What is the engaging smaller question that fits into your broader question for your overall theme?
2. **How does the question fit into your overall plan?**
   What is the broad question/theme that you and your students are exploring over time? How does the smaller, engaging question support the concepts you are working on with this broad question?
3. **How will you find out what the students already know about the question?**
   What are different ways your students might show what they already know about answering the question? You might brainstorm, do an experiment, interview someone, and so forth.
4. **What strategies will you use together to explore the question?**
   What are ways the question might be answered? You and your students might read, do an experiment, brainstorm, ask an expert, work out a problem together, and so forth. Ask the students if they have ideas about how to answer the question.
5. **What materials will you use together to explore the question?**
   List the resources, including people, that students might use to answer the question. Again, ask the students if they have ideas about this.
6. **What steps will you and the students take to explore the question?**
   In order to be sure that you are keeping in mind principles about learning, consult the *whole language checklist* below.
7. **How will you observe the students' learning?**
   What are some different ways to evaluate the process of your students' learning? Be sure to consider alternatives to traditional tests including group presentations, a group-produced book or newspaper, the results of an experiment, a drawing or schemata, and so forth.
8. **What specific techniques will you use to insure that the input is comprehensible for your second language students?**
   Have you planned to use sheltering techniques including visuals, gestures, group work, and first language support?

Whole Language Checklist

- Does the lesson move from the general to the specific? Are details presented within a general conceptual framework?
- Is there an attempt to draw on student background knowledge and interests? Are students given choices?
- Is the content meaningful? Does it serve a purpose for the learners?
- Do students work together cooperatively? Do students interact with one another or do they only react to the teacher?
- Do students have an opportunity to read and write as well as speak and listen during the lesson?
- Is there support for the students' first language and culture?
- Does the teacher demonstrate a belief that students will succeed?

Conclusion

The popular view that whole language means literacy instruction for elementary students is too narrow. Whole language extends to math, science, social studies, and all the content areas and to secondary as well as elementary education. Whole language means instruction that centers on students' needs and interests. Teachers applying whole language with second language students teach language through content because they recognize the importance of their students' developing not only language but also academic competence. Whole language without content instruction is not whole language. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

How Are Content-Based Instructional Practices Reflected in Sheltered English?

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Every teacher has experienced both the thrill and satisfaction of finding exactly the right vehicle for conveying a difficult concept. When students are not able to grasp an idea through a conventional lecture, the teacher who is learner-centered seeks an alternative method to turn on the light of understanding. Whether with an illustrative example, an anecdotal digression, a graph, or chart, the teacher works to modify the delivery of the material to turn the concept into comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982). This act of modification is what *sheltering content material is all about.* In sheltered English, the teacher seeks to match the appropriate activity to both the language and cognitive level of the student. The thrill for the teacher occurs when the flicker of understanding lights the student's face.

> *"I felt like an astronaut in a rocket looking at the constellations."*
>
> *"... I learned a whole lot about outer space. Mr. Dorff was amazing. It was a very exciting experience."*

So say the students of a fourth grade sheltered science class at Edison Elementary School in Glendale, California. They had just spent an entire day and evening at school with Tom Dorff, a local astronomer, who had spent time sharing slides, telling stories, and giving students and their parents an opportunity to view the night sky through telescopes. The reactions of these students is what can be heard from the majority of second language learners in sheltered situations.

What did these students understand? They brought to this experience their schemata, a basic background knowledge of sky and stars, to grasp conceptually the thrust of Dorff's lecture. Through visual aids, he expanded their schema; they focused on the slides and viewed the visual images as they listened in the dark to an explanation of the constellations. Being in the dark and having their attention focused on the content rather than on language or themselves allowed them to relax and so lower their affective filters (Krashen, 1982). In this relaxed, but charged atmosphere, students were able to learn without worrying about the language barrier. They were excited and involved in the activities. Second language acquisition was taking place.

Prior to Tom Dorff's visit, teachers had prepared their ESL students with a variety of hands-on science activities: They made star charts and models, used flashlights to demonstrate a variety of astral phenomena, and measured and drew the sun and planets to scale on the playground. A star scavenger hunt was held, in which the students located and shared information through the use of reference materials. With colored paper, paints, and chalk the students also made artistic stellar representations. This lesson is but one example of sheltering content in a science class. Tom Dorff not only used outstanding visual techniques, he also created a context in which what was stated verbally reinforced content that had been previously taught. In creating both a relaxed atmosphere and a content-enriched context, the visiting astronomer provided the supportive learning environment which enables the ESL learner to be academically successful (Sasser & Winningham, 1991).

Glendale Unified School District has designed a program to meet the needs of limited English proficient (LEP) students in social studies and science. The Title VII Academic Excellence Program, now in its second year, provides support to students through a combination of materials and instructional strategies. There is an emphasis on the use of visuals and hands-on activities. Such strategies as cooperative learning and student pairing are built into the integrated curriculum. The program publishes the *SEA* (Sheltered English Approach) *News*, in which teachers are invited to share specific activities they have successfully implemented.

Other programs throughout California are adopting similar methods for helping LEP students study the content areas. Denise Evans, who works in the Emergency Immigrant Education Assistance Program (a federally funded program within the Los Angeles Unified School District), teaches her LEP students history and science with popcorn. Speaking slowly and articulately, she explains that the idea of popping corn was discovered by Native Americans; she has students duplicate this ancient procedure. After the students have completed the process and are contentedly eating popcorn, Evans draws them into a discussion of how the fusion of heat and moisture forces the popcorn to pop. Understanding has been enhanced by both demonstration and firsthand experience, two sheltered English strategies (Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992).

In the Los Angeles Unified School District, Sue Friedman, a teacher at Polytechnic High School, teaches aerobics in her health class. Even beginning ESL students are able to follow the teacher as she leads them through a variety of physical exercises. As they work out, they listen to American music and are thus provided with the language of our current pop heroes. They learn, through graphing, the importance of increasing heart rate. They are able to check their pulses and compare, on a visual chart, the increased efficiency of the heart muscle. They are also better able to comprehend how increased breathing speed positively affects the pulmonary system. In sweat pants, head bands, and aerobic shoes, students experience a sense of membership in the adoptive culture, a secondary benefit of the sheltered health lesson. After participating in the aerobics class, one student remarked, "Now I know why all those people at the park are running. Before, I thought they were going somewhere!"

These students have been served by sheltered instructional techniques used in content-based instruction. In looking at K-12 students being served today, we see an exploding population arriving in the United States—all needing to learn English, academic skills, and the adoptive culture. Although every teacher is not an ESL teacher, language minority students sitting in content classrooms force the realization that a certain degree of understanding of the second language acquisition process is critical to all teachers—language and content alike. The content teacher can use sheltered English techniques to successfully bridge the gap between ESL methodologies and content-based instruction. Borrowing from strategies once used exclusively in language classrooms, content teachers modify their modes of instruction to better serve the LEP student. The teacher maintains the level of content previously taught but modifies the language structures so that the language is not an obstruction to the student learning about a given topic. For each concept, the teacher searches for the best method of conveying the concept. Consider what the teachers described above did to teach content to students with limited English proficiency:

(a) created a relaxed and welcoming atmosphere;
(b) provided hands-on experiences with content material;
(c) used visual materials rather than printed text when possible;
(d) used charts and graphs;
(e) demonstrated procedures using realia
    (real objects and materials);
(f) set up group discussions for students to interact;
(g) spoke more slowly;
(h) taught the same concept in a variety of modes;
(i) prepared students by expanding background knowledge; and
(j) contextualized concepts.

These classroom modifications immediately serve the language minority student but are merely a beginning list. There are an infinite number of techniques for making content comprehensible. (See Richard-Amato and Snow, 1992).

In addition, content lessons that include sheltered English techniques—visuals, realia, and interactive strategies—teach a host of cultural concepts that rarely surface in the traditional textbook-reading scenario. And going beyond routine classroom procedures to reach out to language minority students sends a message to these students that they count as learners. Often, students respond with greater motivation.

Making content and language more accessible to language minority students requires a stimulating cognitive and affective environment. Sheltering content lessons is not an easier way of teaching; it demands creative thinking and careful planning. But the results are gratifying. One of the benefits sheltered English has brought about is a lively dialogue among teachers seeking to share approaches that have worked. LEP students benefit from what these teachers share as they continue to develop a store of sheltered content lessons to meet the needs of their particular learning group. In California, teachers are busy creating a wide array of inventive activities that allow students to comprehend high-level content in a rich learning environment. ■

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The CATESOL Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

What Are the Benefits of Cooperative Learning in Content-Based Instruction?

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In a cooperative learning classroom a teacher can deliver powerful subject area content while effectively accommodating the diverse language skills, academic knowledge, and cultural backgrounds that today's students bring to the classroom. There is a considerable body of research (Johnson & Johnson, 1974; Johnson, Johnson, & Maruyama, 1983; Kagan, 1986; Slavin, 1983) showing that cooperative learning classrooms not only accommodate but benefit from a mix of student needs, talents, and learning styles. Extensive research (De Vries & Slavin, 1978; Slavin, 1983) clearly shows the effectiveness of cooperative structures in raising students' scores on standardized tests of basic skills. Several major studies (Kagan, 1986; Slavin, 1977, 1983) which examined student achievement gains on standardized basic skills tests in cooperative and in conventional classrooms found that students in cooperative classrooms gained more than their counterparts in conventional classrooms. In addition to academic achievement, cooperative learning has proven effective in prosocial development and race relations (Kagan, 1987).

Cooperative learning establishes an environment in which students gain an understanding of content as well as prepare to interact in a social and economic world characterized by rapid change. Slavin (1978) provides steps to implement instruction focusing on the achievement of K-12 academically and racially diverse students. Johnson and Johnson (1975, 1984) developed cooperative learning methods that focus students on the collaborative and social skills required for effective group work. Their work provides the general principles and procedures of a cooperative learning classroom. Kagan's (1987) practical classroom application of cooperative learning structures is extensive and provides an excellent resource for planning content area instruction. All of the above studies provide strong evidence of the effectiveness of cooperative learning. The question posed, however, is to what degree this learning tool can benefit content-based instruction.

Students Benefit

Students in the cooperative learning classroom interact more than in a conventional classroom. The teacher selects and combines structures that involve students in a cooperative learning environment: (a) peer tutoring in which teammates help one another to learn specific subject matter; (b) individual accountability, in which each team member is given responsibility for mastering a portion of a learning unit and later teaching the assigned information to teammates; (c) cooperative projects in which students collaborate to produce a product such as a class book, an oral presentation, an art work, or video production; and (d) learning experiences in which students and teacher assess learning goals—the ability to speak and write clearly about the content area, gather information, use it effectively to solve problems, and analyze and think logically about complex situations.

Teachers find that cooperative learning enables students to work, teach, and learn together. They use cooperative learning structures like *color-coded coop cards*, *numbered heads together*, or *student teams achievement division (STAD)* to provide immediate and frequent tangible and social feedback to students regarding their improvement. *Color-coded coop cards*, which emphasize peer tutoring, are designed to facilitate mastery of academic content (Kagan, 1987). The specific steps to using the cards include a pretest to identify information that is known or unknown to the student, e.g., vocabulary words, the multiplication tables, spelling, scientific terms, or factual historical information. The information is written on cards which students use as study cards when later working in dyads using well-established principles of learning, including frequent positive feedback following repeated rounds.

Jigsaw structures involve students in five- to six-member home groups that are given a unique piece of information on a topic the whole class is studying. Within jigsaw and its modifications (Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978; Slavin, 1977), the task is structured to make individuals accountable for their own learning gains, as well as assist team members on their mastery of content. For example, a teacher planning a science lesson might jigsaw the curriculum materials (four to six chapters covering the circulatory, glandular, nervous, etc. systems of the body) and assign each member of a home team one chapter. Team members then meet in an "expert" group composed of other students with the same topic to read and discuss. They master the material and decide how they will teach members of their home group the information. The class may then take a test to check for comprehension of the areas of expertise presented.

The *learning together* method (Johnson & Johnson, 1975, 1984) also structures learning so the contributions from each member must be respected for the group to reach its objectives. In the cooperative learning methods developed by Johnson and Johnson, students often receive grades based on their group's performance. Students using cooperative structures like learning together and jigsaw learn to value the contribution of each of the members of the group recognizing that together they form an effective educational community.

Teachers Benefit

Teachers find cooperative structures like the *group investigation model* an effective means to incorporate both academic content and social skills. In essence, students in group investigation progress through consecutive learning stages (Sharan & Sharan, 1976; Sharan, Hare, Hertz-Lazarowitz, & Webb, 1980). Students first identify a research topic of interest and organize the classroom into a group of research groups. Student members of research groups take substantial reponsibility for deciding what they will learn, how they will organize the learning task, and how they will communicate with their classmates what they have learned. The class and the teacher are involved in evaluating group products and assessing the learning experience.

Students can be led through their educational experience in a way that promotes greater understanding of content and fosters the transfer of learning. There are various ways to achieve this: The teacher may ask students to consider how they did in accomplishing the academic assignment; students may share their thoughts with peers in their small group or with the class as a whole; or students may reflect on their learning experience by writing journals. Questions that assist students in evaluating and processing their learning experience (Moss, 1991) may be incorporated throughout each phase of the cooperative lesson: first, in experiencing new information or skills; next, in sharing perceptions, interpreting, generalizing, applying, and finally, extending the application by making it a part of their personal lives. For example, questions appropriate when new information is introduced include: If you could guess the answer, what would you say? What do you need to know to ...? As students later work toward generalizing from the specific content they have studied and knowledge they have gained about themselves or their groups, they might process: What did we learn/relearn/discover? Through processing their own learning students gain a sense of control over and participation in events (Dishon & O'Leary, 1984).

School Community Benefits

Cooperative learning establishes an effective school community, assists teachers in providing instruction that builds the student's command of language, and facilitates the use of language as a vehicle to learn content. Cultural and linguistic diversity, rather than being

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perceived as a learning handicap or deficiency, is recognized as a positive element from which student groups profit. Students explicitly recognize the importance of culture as instruction requires them to draw on their background knowledge to interpret the information presented in subject matter lessons. Cooperative structures focusing on peer tutoring very efficiently increase the amount of comprehensible input, directly fostering increases in students' language mastery and understanding of subject matter.

Conclusion

The advantages of using cooperative learning structures for effective content area instruction are shown in the benefits gained by the students, the teacher, and the school community. The research suggests that when the learning process and the instructional system emphasize cooperative group achievement, the values of the community shift and all students, including students from traditionally under-achieving groups, get involved in school, participate in the learning process, and succeed according to criteria established by the school. There is extensive research showing that cooperative learning methods contribute "significantly to student achievement—to an equal extent in both elementary and secondary schools; in urban, suburban, and rural schools; and in diverse subject matter areas" (Slavin, 1981, p. 659). ■

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

What Is the Role of Teaching Culture in Content-Based Instruction?

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Culture lessons in most ESL classrooms, from preschool through college or adult level are, in principle, pretty much the same. We share and celebrate the holidays, food, and music of our students' various native cultures. We also give brief lessons on American holidays as they come up: a unit on the pilgrims in November, some Christmas carols (and possibly a chorus of "Dreydl, Dreydl, Dreydl") in December, and valentines in February. All of this is done because most of us are committed to the notion that "language cannot be taught apart from culture" and that "to learn a language is to learn a culture." However, most of us would be hard pressed to actually explain let alone defend either statement.

This notion of *culture* which is often reflected in classroom lessons is undoubtedly interesting and helpful to newcomers. Because of it we help orient students with procedural information and probably make them feel more comfortable in an alien culture because we acknowledge their own. We would like to argue, however, that this aspect of culture needs less attention than it currently enjoys because it is not particularly problematic. Holidays and music may be the focus of curiosity and interest, but they seldom become the source of misunderstanding, at least of the sort that can systematically distort the dynamics of a classroom. There is, however, another aspect of culture—another level, if you will—which is very problematic and potentially quite disruptive to the multicultural classroom. This aspect of culture is less visible, and, as a result, less intelligible to teacher and student alike. Following the work of early 20th-century phenomenologists and of more recent sociologists and sociolinguists such as Goffman (1959, 1963), Garfinkel (1967), and Ochs (1988), we would like to invite ESL teachers to rethink their definitions of culture in light of the evidence that culture is a far more powerful and potentially disruptive force than most of us imagine. Moreover, we would like to argue that culture, in this sense, deserves consideration as content in any discussion of content-based instruction.

The aspect of culture which interests us most is not obvious differences in food, music, and dress, but rather the mundane, the ordinary, the everyday stuff of which reality, especially social reality, is made. It is that which "everyone knows" or which is common sense. It is never (or rarely) up for question, but it differs, sometimes dramatically, from one cultural group to another. It is part of the background of our lives, the setting, the given. This aspect of culture is very much like a pair of contact lenses. That is, we look through it, we experience reality in terms of it, but we do not see it, except under the most unusual conditions. This transparent aspect of culture, however, is vitally important because it is the shared understanding inherent in our daily practices that determines how we slice up, organize, experience and (perhaps) constitute reality. It determines what we experience in life. As a result, people from various cultures may experience the same situation in markedly different ways depending on how, when, and by whom they have been enculturated.

That people experience or constitute reality in different ways and that they cannot see the lenses through which they look is not in and of itself particularly alarming or problematic for the multicultural classroom. However, according to Garfinkel (1967) there is more to this aspect of culture than its near invisibility, and we think this is very important: There is evidence that this aspect or level of culture also has a moral status. That is, cultural breaches are treated as if they were moral breaches. Our reactions to such cultural breaches are the same as they might be to someone who lies to us—but when someone lies, we know what is wrong. When someone breaches a cultural expectation of the sort we are talking about, however, we do not see what is being breached (because it is transparent to our daily activity), yet we may feel outraged—often in staggering disproportion to the gravity of the transgression committed.

A good example of this might be the case of a student "cheating" on an exam. In some cultures, cheating is viewed positively, as a sign that one is willing to share and is not so arrogant as to refuse help from others. Students who grow up in societies with such an interpretation are faced with generations of cheating in which their teachers, and their teachers' teachers before them assisted each other on exams, often in clever and ingenious ways. Now imagine these same students at an American university. When they put these same deeply ingrained strategies to work in a new environment, their professors react quite differently. Even when teachers know that such behavior is acceptable in the students' native country, they still react emotionally. Often the response involves moral justification: "People just shouldn't do that! It isn't right!"

Plagiarism is another example of a potential cultural misunderstanding. In some countries, using the words of others is considered good scholarship, a way to demonstrate that one knows the words of authorities (Gadda, 1991). In American schools, though, such an act flies in the face of our own deeply embedded understanding of what constitutes acceptable scholarly behavior. When students plagiarize, teachers feel personally insulted and betrayed.

These two examples involve acts that, from a western point of view, are unambiguously immoral. For this reason they can be misleading because the level of culture to which we hope to draw attention is really much broader than issues such as plagiarism and cheating. It involves those acts which may be unconsciously construed as immoral, even though the standards by which the interpretations are made are not visible to the interpreters. These cultural differences might include how close or far to stand from those with whom one is speaking, what is bad breath or offensive body odor, what is the proper way to look at the person with whom one is talking (such as the situation in which a student stares blankly at the teacher even though he or she understands), or what counts as an interruption or rude behavior during class (such as sharpening a pencil during a teacher-directed portion of the lesson or asking fellow students for confirmation of teacher instructions which have just been given orally and written on the board). The problem is that not only do these cultural differences disrupt the teacher-student relationship per se, (for affective factors are unarguably important) but they distort the discursive dynamics of a classroom, that is, all the factors that go with language and how it is used. Teachers and students, from elementary school through university level, can find themselves exasperated, frustrated, and offended but unable to say exactly why, and therefore unable to remedy the situation.

Let us now return to the focus of this volume: content-based instruction. As is well known, the basic premise of content-based instruction for second language learners is that students will learn the target language better and more efficiently if they are taught not the language directly but other subjects in the language. We would like to argue that culture, particularly its moral status and its invisibility, is a critical topic which should be addressed in content-based teaching.

Following the *into-through-and-beyond model* (see, for example, Brinton, Goodwin, & Ranks, 1991) a content-based unit on culture for any level might begin with the obvious, extreme differences in food, dress, language, and custom and then move to the aspect of culture that isn't so obvious but much more problematic.

Elementary School

For elementary school children, a good beginning into-activity might be bringing in pictures from *National Geographic*, *The Smithsonian*, or any other source that has attractive color photos of people from other cultures. As a prereading activity, students could discuss

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different cultural customs that they see in the pictures and their reactions to them. Follow-up questions could include what language the people in the pictures might speak and whether the students have had any experience with languages other than the ones represented in the classroom.[1] The through-phase of the cultural lesson could be centered around any number of children's multicultural texts such as *I Hate English!* (1989) by Ellen Levine or student-generated and illustrated language experience texts about customs, holidays, food, and language from students' native countries.

Finally, the beyond-activity could exploit a natural ability of children this age. Elementary students can (and spontaneously do) imagine "other places" where "up is down and people think differently, and there are no doors on houses and where every home has 17 television sets because the sets usually break, but there are no repairmen."[2] This kind of play helps students to think about the possibility and acceptability of other points of view. Students can imagine other worlds, write descriptions of them, and draw pictures of them. They can share their creations with the class. They can assume the role of someone from the imaginary place they have created, make costumes, and answer questions in character from the teacher and class about their "home." Other students can play the parts of reporters and interview the aliens. The teacher can set the tone and pace of the interviews if necessary, move from descriptive kinds of questions to more subjective questions about feelings, ask about classroom rules, procedures, and tasks: "Do children go to school in your world? If not, how do they learn? If they do go to school, what is it like? Is it very different from here? Does this classroom seem strange to you? Why? Do you have brothers and sisters? How old are they? Do you miss your friends? What are their names? What do they like to do? Do you think they would like it here? Do you like it here? Why or why not?" The final task might include a written summary of the interview and possibly even a class newspaper with interviews and news from other worlds. The idea is that young thinkers get used to the idea that there are deep cultural differences and that these differences seem perfectly normal and commonplace (invisible) for someone who is a part of that group.

High School Students

A very evocative and exciting series of cultural lessons for older students could be organized around an adaptation of *Ways With Words* (1983) or the article "What No Bed Time Story Means" (1986). In these studies, Stanford anthropologist Shirley Brice Heath describes three cultures within the United States with respect to language socialization and literacy and the extent to which this socialization matches the expectations held by schools. An excellent high school into-activity for this text can be based on an excerpt from Clyde

Kluckhohn's (1949) "Mirror for Man", in which the author defines what anthropologists mean by culture and explains culture's influence on how people think, feel, and behave.

The activity starts out with pictures from *National Geographic* (as described above) and then moves to group clustering activities. The first task is to brainstorm on the function of culture and cluster the ideas elicited on the blackboard. The ensuing discussion is eventually led to the significance of items mentioned by more than one group. The class is divided into groups again to repeat the clustering activity, this time using information about a culture which is assigned to them. Following the group clustering activity, groups present their cluster to the class, which decides on the accuracy of information, the existence of stereotypes, and the overlaps between cultures. Class discussion also centers on which characteristics are important or superficial. The final step in this stage is to lead the class to a consensus regarding the benefits of understanding another culture and what potential problems might exist between cultures. Teachers should encourage students to explore how culture can be used to define an individual and if there are any dangers in allowing a culture to speak for an individual.

To help students work through the Kluckhohn reading, they are divided into jigsaw groups, each of which is then assigned a portion of the reading. Group members become experts on their portion of the text. The groups are then reconfigured, with one expert in each group. In these reconfigured groups students construct a complete definition of culture, drawing on the specialized knowledge of each of the experts in their group. This activity can be followed up with other through-activities, including T-graph exercises in which specific examples are taken from the text (e.g., "Chinese dislike milk and milk products") and written in the left-hand portion of the diagram; the generalizations which these examples illustrate (e.g., "Likes and dislikes for food are learned cultural behavior") are written in the right-hand portion of the diagram. A beyond-activity in this unit might be an adaptation of one of UCLA sociologist Harold Garfinkel's exercises. Students can assume the role of a stranger—or even of an alien. In this role they observe and record the everyday academic and social behaviors of their multicultural peers (including native English-speakers) and the reactions of others. Finally they can compare what they see with their own background behaviors. They can keep journals, produce a group report or paper, or put on a television show in which their subjects are interviewed or observed in their natural settings.

University Students

Older students might benefit from a more direct approach. The well-known sociologist, Erving Goffman (1959, 1963) explored some of those aspects of culture that are invisible to us by studying settings

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in which cultural norms did not apply, such as mental institutions. Garfinkel sent out students to purposely breach cultural agreements to illustrate various aspects of culture, including its invisibility and moral status. Lessons organized around portions of these readings and sources cited therein could be a rich source of cultural insight for older students. Like their younger counterparts, they could become investigators themselves in a beyond-activity, observing and describing the multicultural environment of their own classrooms, schools, and neighborhoods. At this level, students could even participate in adaptations of some of Garfinkel's breaching exercises as a way of making what is normally invisible, visible. Students could make a point of standing closer (or further away) than feels acceptable while talking with other students, teachers, parents, and so forth. Afterwards they should explain the experiment to their subjects and note their own responses to the experiment and the reactions of their interlocutors to both the experiment and its explanation. Such observations can be very revealing to those who have not previously thought about the hidden influences of social and linguistic practices. Variations would include having students speak too loudly or too softly, interrupt or avoid responding appropriately, digress or give only short, direct responses, begin each statement with a brief narrative that winds slowly into the main point, and so forth. Writing up these exercises and follow-up discussions regarding how students felt during the experiments as well as open discussion about cheating, interrupting instructors, or people who stand too close (and what *too close* means) would contribute to the students' developing understanding of how cultural differences can distort speech situations, especially between teacher and student. Needless to say, these activities also provide an engaging occasion for the practice of language. (See also Devenney, 1991 for a description of an *observe-and-record approach* used in conjunction with a language class.)

There is, of course, more to be said about the kind of course being proposed here. The main point is to demonstrate that many aspects of culture are invisible to its practitioners, and that breaches of this aspect of culture pack a wallop. Learning these two simple points would empower both students and teachers. Breaches of the sort we have described were relatively unusual in American schools some years ago because they simply didn't arise. Most teachers and students were from the same background: mainstream, middle class.[3] This is no longer the case, and we feel that a knowledge of culture, what it is, and how it is reflected in our own group and in the various groups of our students is essential if we are to truly promote rather than merely tolerate diversity. ■

Footnotes

1. We are grateful to Donna Brinton and the members of the 1989 Teaching Analytical Reading and Writing Program for sharing this and several of the other teaching ideas mentioned in this article.

2. This is part of an actual story recently told to us by a 7-year-old.

3. As Heath (1986) points out, "Terms such as *mainstream* and *middle-class* are frequently used in both popular and scholarly writings without careful definition. In general, the literature characterizes this group as school-oriented, aspiring toward upward mobility through formal institutions, and providing enculturation that positively values routines of promptness, linearity (in habits ranging from furniture arrangement to entrance into a movie theater), and evaluative and judgmental responses to behaviors that deviate from their norms..." (p 123).

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

How Can We Encourage Active Learning Strategies in Content-Based Second Language Instruction?

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As educators of language minority students, we know that schooling does far more than teach academic subject matter. It can dramatically shape students' world views, mold their images of themselves and their communities, and position them in society. Paulo Freire (1973) maintains that a principle purpose of education should be to encourage learners to believe in themselves and convince them that they have valued knowledge and experiences. I believe that second language instruction should go even further and equip students with active learning strategies which will enable them to demonstrate capably their special expertise and provide access to new knowledge. Unfortunately, school often does just the opposite, making language minority students question the existence or value of their knowlege and skills, which in turn contributes to a poor self-image and academic performance.

As an example, a high school student with limited English proficiency (LEP) who has mastered the new vocabulary and concepts in a lesson and studied concientiously may perform poorly on a test because she lacks the academic language to interpret correctly the test directions. If presented with the essay question in a U.S. history class, "Trace the early waves of immigration to the U.S.," she is apt to respond to the phrase "early immigration," completely disregarding the key direction word *trace* and write whatever she can recollect from the unit, with no clear focus or organization.

Essay questions are generally graded on two criteria: what the writer says and how the writer says it. It is not enough, then, for a student to include the correct information in a series of connected sentences. The information must be presented in a logical, organized way—reflecting the task demands of the particular direction words—and must demonstrate the writer's understanding of the subject. Because she lacks the strategy for providing the called-for chronological description, she will most likely receive a grade which doesn't reflect her true understanding of the subject matter.

In order to perform well on standardized and teacher-constructed tests, LEP students need to be familiar with varied test formats and have the language proficiency to interpret accurately a wide range of test directions and questions. They need strategies to effectively answer both objective (e.g., true/false, multiple choice) and subjective (e.g., essay, short answer) test questions.

But where in grades 6 through 12 do LEP students actually have the opportunity to develop crucial academic competencies such as test taking, lecture note taking, or textbook reading and studying—competencies which will enable them to advance successfully through the core curricula and thus have an equal opportunity to attend college?

The sheltered English class would seem the logical place for LEP students to begin this developmental process. Students whose English is newly emerging should properly be placed in content courses taught in their primary language. At the level of intermediate fluency in English students have acquired the receptive and productive skills which allow them to negotiate both spoken and contextual meanings in English. They are then ideally suited for the sheltered classroom and for the task demands of academic skill building in English.

An examination of the principles and practices underlying sheltered English instruction makes it clear why the sheltered classroom is potentially the ideal place to introduce academic skill building and active learning strategies. In sheltered English classes, content-area teachers employ principles of successful ESL instruction which have been greatly influenced by research on second language acquisition. The work of Jim Cummins (1981) has had a decisive impact on methodology by helping us see the distinction between language used for social and academic purposes. Social language (*basic interpersonal communication skills* or *BICS*) enables students to participate in everyday informal communicative exchanges. It is the language students use among themselves on the school playground and in the classroom. More critical to success in secondary and postsecondary schools, however, is academic language (*cognitive academic language proficiency* or *CALP*), which enables students to deal with cognitively demanding language tasks at school: formal lectures; textbooks in social science, science, and mainstream English classes; and both teacher-constructed and standardized tests.

One of the keys to mastery of more cognitively demanding academic material is *comprehensible input* (Krashen, 1985)—in other words, new language and concepts easily understood by the learner. Comprehensibility sets the stage for learning and academic mastery. After planning topically focused lessons that integrate language skills, teachers then provide contextual clues that are embedded in content with realia, visuals, models, and manipulatives. They also enhance comprehensibility for LEP students through the use of graphic organizers such as Venn diagrams, charts, and semantic maps. Sheltered

English methodology reflects additional principles of successful second language acquisition and ESL instruction, which as described by Curtain (1986), include focusing on meaning rather than on form, avoiding excessive error correction, providing students with simplified English to increase comprehensibility of concepts and language, and involving students in meaningful interaction. Richard-Amato and Snow (1992) emphasize the distinction between language skills and cognitive skills and suggest that in sheltered classes instructors take into careful consideration the linguistic demands of their content area and also guide their students in developing the learning strategies necessary for mastering content material.

From this composite description of the methodology employed in sheltered English classes (see also Glaudini Rosen in this volume for additional strategies), it seems reasonable to expect that ESL students are here acquiring the language and concepts they need to advance in core curricula as well as the active learning and study skills they need to succeed in mainstream classes. Frequently, however, in sheltered classes, the focus is placed on providing comprehensible input in the form of vocabulary and concept development to increase ESL learners' ability to understand the particular lesson of the day, not on the development of active learning processes which these students can carry with them beyond the sheltered classroom.

Sheltered instruction has been criticized for watering down the curriculum, though skilled instructors in sheltered classes know that by facilitating engagement and interaction with academic concepts, they enrich and contextualize the curriculum. Nonetheless, we must examine the extent to which we inadvertantly function as institutional "gatekeepers" (Erickson & Shultz, 1982), denying our students social mobility within the school system, when we spend the majority of class time making our lessons more accessible for our students without allocating sufficient time for the development of both the CALP and the active learning processes vital to completion of more complex academic reading and writing assignments or examinations. Our students may very well emerge from our sheltered U.S. history lesson with a deeper understanding of the early waves of immigration to the U.S.; however, they may be no better equipped to tackle the next textbook chapter on their own, take effective lecture notes, prepare for an upcoming exam, or competently answer an essay question.

As advocates of educational equity for language minority students and as agents of social change, we must seek and share practices which enable and extend our students' voices. We cannot wait until our students are ready to enter mainstream classes to develop academic survival skills; in fact, we cannot even safely assume that their mainstream instructors are able or willing to assume any responsibility for this critical skill development. The leadership role lies with the instructors who best understand the learning needs and styles of language minority students. We must therefore infuse our ESL and sheltered English classes with multiple opportunities for our students to acquire a wide range of CALP and to better understand how to learn in and across various disciplines.

We can do this by critically examining the content areas for which we are preparing our ESL students. After identifying key academic competencies for the individual content areas, we must thoughtfully analyze the steps involved in the development of each skill. We should take our students carefully through the steps involved in each skill and provide them with regular, structured classroom opportunities to practice, receive feedback, and ultimately master these skills.

As an illustration, in workshops which I conduct with secondary and college content area faculty, I introduce a process-oriented approach which enables LEP students to develop the vocabulary and active learning strategies necessary to accurately read and respond to short-answer and essay test questions.

A first step in developing students' test-taking competencies is to identify high frequency direction words (i.e., those most commonly used in specific content areas and/or used widely across disciplines). Content area faculty I have worked with generally suggest the following key direction words: analyze, compare, contrast, define, describe, discuss, explain, evaluate, illustrate, justify, state, summarize. The next step is to familiarize students with these terms. However, simply providing LEP students with an extensive list of direction words and their definitions does little to build their test-taking competencies and delivers the message that academic skills will be difficult if not impossible to master.

A more effective way to help LEP students better internalize the distinct meanings of direction words is to provide them with a limited list of high frequency direction words and their definitions, then provide multiple opportunities for them to complete short tasks using these different words to write about topics familiar to them. If students are allowed to write about topics which are grounded in their lives and interests, the focus can be placed on development of test-taking CALP and strategies rather than on a struggle to generate adequate support for the topic. Topics which I have used very successfully with high school LEP students include: "My Job," "My Hobby," "My Study Place," "My Best Friend," "My Favorite Class," and "An Important Decision." For the initial series of writing activities, I assign the topic "My Study Place" after a lively class discussion of criteria for an effective study environment. Students find it to be an easy and accessible topic, one that lends itself to graphic "showing" and that can be discussed in distinctly different ways.

The students then write four paragraphs about their most frequent study place, selecting from these direction words: define, describe, analyze, contrast, compare, evaluate, justify. After completing these short paragraphs, the students exchange papers and try to identify which four direction words their partner has selected, justifying their decisions with clear evidence from the paragraphs. I teach them how to recognize the signals for different paragraph types; for example, a comparison can be identified by paragraph signals such as *similarly* and *in comparison*. These writing samples then provide the instructor with a wealth of material for additional activities, all of which further help the students internalize the distinct meanings of the direction words and develop their analytical reading ability. I use the overhead projector to show a variety of writing samples from the batch to the entire class. I first ask the students to identify response types and to justify their decisions. To do so, I show them a range of the student writing samples, then place them in groups to collaborate on deciding what type of directions the writer must have received. I also ask them to analyze varied responses to specific directions to determine whether the writers have responded appropriately. For example, I might show them three paragraphs in which the writers were asked to evaluate their usual study place, then ask the class to specify what made the individual responses successful or unsuccessful written evaluations.

Another way to regularly recycle test direction words is by substituting them for the simplified terms and tasks used predominantly in sheltered materials. In an examination of the task demands in three sheltered U.S. history texts, I found that all too frequently students are merely asked to list, tell, or answer a *What is/are*-question, when with adequate preparation, they can easily be asked to define, compare, analyze, or describe. A student with limited English proficiency is capable of mastering CALP as vital to academic achievement as the terms used prevalently on standardized and mainstream instructor-constructed exams. We can facilitate this critical language development by introducing new direction words in manageable doses, one or two at a time, and refraining from adding any new direction terms before the students demonstrate genuine mastery of their existing lexicon of test terminology. By introducing a few new direction words at a time, then regularly recycling these directions in homework assignments and classroom activities, students in no time can effectively respond to the distinct task demands. They also can be challenged to engage in integrated language arts activities which are cognitively demanding and which enhance critical thinking skills.

Essay test-taking strategies are only part of the vital repertoire of active learning and study strategies our language minority students must develop to succeed across the curriculum, a repertoire which also includes lecture note-taking strategies, textbook reading and study strategies, and vocabulary expansion strategies.

Many educational researchers and scholars agree that the focus of both equality and excellence in education is maximum development of the personal talents of all students. By merely providing our LEP students with enough comprehensible input to have access to our lessons, we do not sufficiently develop their talents. When language minority students also learn how to learn across the disciplines, they can have access to quality knowledge without our facilitation. We should, therefore, strive to first provide our students with "input + 1" then advance to "sheltered English + 1." That is, we can continue to use our ESL methodology to enrich and contextualize the content area curriculum while we also manageably and steadily build active student strategies. With this language development and vital academic skill building, language minority students can see that they have a genuine chance, that they are indeed prepared to succeed in higher education. ■

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

How Can Thematic ESL Units Be Used In the Elementary Classroom?

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Many California elementary school teachers have the difficult task of juggling different language groups and ESL levels in their classrooms. This article will show how thematic ESL units can be an ideal way to interest and motivate diverse children and can give them varied opportunities to use language. When planning thematic units for classes made up of ESL children or ESL students integrated with native speakers of English, teachers need to give special consideration to choosing suitable themes and language arts methods. I will concentrate on unit planning by presenting example activities and discussing special methodological considerations for classrooms of diverse students.

Thematic (or theme-based or content-based) units in the elementary school are not new. There have always been good teachers who realize the value of tying together language arts, social studies, music, art—and perhaps science and math—in a unit about the ancient Greeks or the founding of the California missions. In 1976 Moffett and Wagner wrote,

> A classroom has to be a cornucopia of opportunities so that no matter which way he looks a student can see interesting connections among things, words, ideas, and people. ... The main thing is to keep practicing language with involved care. So saturating the learner with language reinforces the strategy of going for volume and variety.
>
> A group fascinated by animals can track them for weeks with great interest across folk tales, fables, true memoirs, poems, ... articles, statistics, charts and graphs and maps, photos, animal card games, films, and so on. At the same time they can interweave play-acting of animals, observing and note taking, journals, keeping pets, telling and writing animal

> stories and fables, photographing and drawing and captioning, discussing arithmetical calculation, rehearsed reading of animal stories, and so on. (p. 41)

Today the language experience (Dixon & Nessel, 1983) and whole language (Goodman, 1986) approaches can be guiding principles for thematic units. In the activities which follow, we will see how thematic units have the same benefits for ESL learners as for native speakers of English.

Instruction through thematic units should include clear, appealing content that is relevant to students and clarified through several means: pictures, objects, books, films, visiting speakers, field trips, writing activities, and so forth. Language is used in several fields and across several modalities, all related to the same interesting theme. In other words, thematic units are likely to include comprehensible input (Krashen, 1981) or sheltered English (Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992; Sasser & Winningham, 1991) and to teach ESL through the natural approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Thematic units, also called content-based teaching units (Irujo, 1990), teach language along with content, thus producing "a sum greater than its parts" (Graham & Beardsley, 1986).

To plan a unit, most teachers start out by thinking of a theme that interests their students. Some examples are dinosaurs, food, apples, vehicles in the city, earthworms, Asia, Peter Rabbit, the five senses, and immigration. Sometimes a book or movie is the stimulus that leads to the theme; sometimes a teacher comes up with a theme as a result of conversations with students or by looking at their journals, free writing, or free drawing. The teacher needs to be enthusiastic about the theme herself and skilled at projecting this enthusiasm to draw in some of the less interested students.

Once the theme is settled on, the teacher can gather related resources that are already in the classroom (basals, trade books, art materials, etc.) and other resources from stores, businesses, the zoo, museums, libraries, and so forth. The teacher may then consider how students will be grouped during the thematic units. For whole class activities, the teacher will need to use sheltered English, including visuals and things to touch and do. For instance, Flynn (1991), in a unit on Peter Rabbit, had the children discuss the similarities and differences of a Peter Rabbit stuffed animal and a real rabbit. In Gibson's (1991) unit, "How We Travel in the City," a visitor gave a demonstration on bicycle repair and maintenance.

For activities that are focused on accuracy, students can work in equal-proficiency groups. For example, in "How We Travel in the City," the advanced ESL children and the native English-speakers worked on research projects together. One project was about Metro Rail (public transportation) in Los Angeles. In a second grade unit on rabbits (Crice, 1991) the children first listened to Beatrix Potter's

(1989) *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* and then broke up into three equal-proficiency groups. In the first group, the advanced ESL children and native speakers of English created sentences using assigned vocabulary. The intermediate children retold the story with the teacher and used sentence strips (for details about sentence strip activities, see Dixon & Nessel, 1983). The beginning group retold the story using a flannel board and discussed pictures for some of the vocabulary.

Mixed-proficiency groups are ideal for fluency-based activities (Bell, 1988). In a kindergarten and first grade unit (Frankel-Winkler, 1991) mixed groups of children visited learning centers together and talked about their experiences. For example, at one center the children tasted sugar and salt, as well as other items that looked the same. In a third grade unit on cooking, Allen (1991) had mixed groups of third graders make collages and choose one child to report on the collage to the whole class.

Along with considering ways of grouping the children, the teacher needs to incorporate a variety of the newer language arts aproaches—whole language, the language experience approach and process writing—into the unit. Rich's (1990) fourth grade unit on apples illustrates a whole language approach. She planned two hours per day for three whole language activities: a *theme experience*, a *literature activity*, and *interpretive activities* (terms from Heald-Taylor, 1989). One day, in the theme experience, (or, hands-on experience with the theme of the unit) the children made applesauce. In the literature activity, the children did a choral reading about Johnny Appleseed. They then divided into equal-proficiency groups for interpretive activities. The advanced group compared two versions of the Johnny Appleseed story. The intermediate group completed sentences relating to the story, and the beginning group dictated their own stories about Johnny Appleseed. (For a more detailed discussion of whole language teaching as it relates to content-based instruction, see Freeman & Freeman, this volume.)

The language experience approach, actually one component of the whole language approach, can also be used profitably in ESL thematic units. For instance, in a first grade unit on farm animals, the students might follow this sequence: (a) Listen to a story about cows, while sitting in a circle; (b) take a turn shaking a jar of heavy cream as it comes around the circle; (c) discuss dairy products; (d) spread butter from the jar on crackers; and (e) write a group story about the experience.

Through process writing, children have many chances to write about an aspect of the theme and revise. In Wenger's (1991) unit on animals, children follow these steps: (a) Choose an animal to write about for the class newspaper, (b) write the name of the animal, (c) borrow books about the animal, (d) visit the zoo, (e) receive background information from the teacher about animals, and (f) write about what interests them most about their animal. Of course, cycles of peer editing, revising, and finally publication follow quite naturally.

Another way to check or monitor a thematic ESL unit as it is planned is to make sure that all four language skills—reading, writing, listening, and speaking—are represented in the activities. Let's illustrate this with Ryan's (1991) unit about the farm. The children listen (they see a film, "A Visit to the Farm"), speak (mixed-proficiency groups view farm animal cards, choose a favorite, and present to the class), read (they practice their lines for a play, "The Little Red Hen"), and write (they compose a group story about the play).

An additional check is to make sure that content, along with language arts activities, is an integral part of the unit. In a third grade unit on animals, Wheeler (1990) integrated science (a lesson on animal environments and food chains), social studies (mapping a country and its animals), music (the song, "There Was an Old Lady Who Swallowed a Fly"), and art (paper bag hand puppets of animals).

To sum up, I have made several major points here to help teachers in planning thematic ESL units:

1. In general, adjust the language to the learners (use sheltered English) while adding more things to see, touch, and do.
2. Plan mixed-proficiency group activities. These will supply relevant input for low-level ESL children and will challenge the native English-speakers and high-level ESL children to rephrase their language and tailor it appropriately.
3. Plan equal-ability groups for accuracy-based activities.
4. Check that all four language skills are part of the activities and that some aspects of the whole language, language experience, and process-writing approaches are being used.
5. Check that variety of content material has been incorporated.

The units cited here (all developed by classroom teachers) are intended to supply inspiration more than models. Such inspiration can be helpful because the work involved in designing thematic units is considerable; the units, of course, can be used over and over again. Teachers might also move beyond the approaches here: by planning a unit along with their students (Irujo, 1990) and by choosing themes in light of curriculum frameworks (Gianelli, 1991). The benefits of thematic units will repay teachers for their efforts. In essence, thematic units give teachers flexibility in lesson planning. They lend themselves to high-interest, motivating lessons in which children learn and use English in a variety of ways, while mastering content at the same time. ■

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

How Can Content-Based Instruction Be Implemented at the High School Level?

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Researchers and language teachers have pointed out that there is a strong need for integrated language and content programs for ESL learners at the elementary and secondary level (Mohan, 1986; Cantoni-Harvey, 1987). The chief goal of such programs is to focus on academic competence in addition to language communication skills. Educators such as Gianelli (1991) who have implemented thematic units in their ESL curriculum report positive results. The question which needs to be answered is no longer whether it is effective to implement content-based instruction but how the integration of language and content can take place in school settings.

To investigate this issue, I have chosen to describe a content-based ESL program at Thomas Jefferson High School in Los Angeles, where I currently teach. The official name of the program is ESL Humanitas. The program originated at Cleveland Humanities Magnet High School a decade ago, envisioned and created by teacher Neil Anstead. In 1986, the Los Angeles Educational Partnership received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to fund mainstream English interdisciplinary programs in non magnet settings. Jefferson High School was one of the first eight sites to launch Humanitas. The project has now expanded to 29 schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District, and new teams of teachers are trained each year.

In 1990, the ESL section of Humanitas was established as an experimental program in four Los Angeles high schools: Jefferson, North Hollywood, Monroe, and Gardena. It was designed to utilize content for language acquisition and develop students' awareness of the interconnection in all areas of knowledge. Some of the philosophical premises of the Humanitas program are to break down artificial boundaries between disciplines and to develop written, oral, and critical thinking skills through a writing-based curriculum.

The design of the Jefferson ESL program resembles the adjunct model of content-based instruction, which is more typically found in postsecondary settings. The participating students are concurrently enrolled in coordinated classes of ESL, biology, and U.S. history. The curriculum of each semester is divided into three thematic units, and all language assignments are related to these predetermined themes. The classes are linked through a sharing of the themes, and they complement each other by mutually coordinated assignments. The content of biology and U.S. history is reinforced in the language class; thus, the students use English in the language class to read and write about the topics covered in the two content classes.

All of the ESL students in the program at Jefferson High come from Latin America and have low-intermediate to intermediate levels of English proficiency when they enter the program. They are classified as ESL 3 during the first semester and ESL 4 in the second semester. Classes meet in a four-hour block of instruction every day; there are two periods of ESL instruction, one period of biology, and one period of U.S. history.

The umbrella theme for the two-semester program is human relations. The subthemes, three for each semester, are related to each other, and are recycled throughout the school year. The subthemes are introduced in the following order:

Fall Semester

(a) culture and human behavior
(b) identity and self-awareness
(c) the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism

Spring Semester

(d) immigration and racial prejudice
(e) individual and group power
(f) atomic age—conflicts and resolutions

Key concepts link the subthemes and are addressed in all three classes. For example, the first unit on culture and human behavior includes the following concepts:

1. Culture is the collection of values, beliefs, customs, and language that people share in common and which can be taught to the next generation.

2. Culture is necessary for survival and the existence of human beings as human beings.

3. Human beings are the product of culture and biology.

4. Learning a language involves learning a culture; it is a process of forming one's identity. (The concept of identity introduced here becomes a natural bridge for the next unit on self-awareness and identity.)

The ESL class for the first unit on culture and human behavior covers different components of culture, introduces key vocabulary, and analyzes the process of acquiring a language and entering the cultural domain of human life as exemplified by the life of Helen Keller. In the biology class, the students study the difference between human and nonhuman behavior and focus on how human behavior is culturally determined. The U.S. history class focuses on the cultural roots (Indian and European) of Hispanic populations and sheds some light on historical causes of cultural differences between the U.S. and Latin America.

One of the major challenges of interdisciplinary instruction is integrating the content across participating classes. The students, accustomed to the traditional high school program, have to adjust to this connection between the English and content classes, which they perceive as unrelated. Theme integration is achieved through a variety of assignments, one of which involves the students' presenting a visual-oral self-awareness project in the ESL class in which they explore their Indian-Hispanic cultural roots. In another assignment, the students create a new civilization on an unknown planet with the focus on the biological adaptation of a group of humans to a new environment. In still another integrated activity, students are involved in producing a movie on the basis of the short story, "On the Sidewalk Bleeding" by Evan Hunter, which they have read and analyzed in the ESL class. This video project is the culminating activity of the unit. It follows discussions and written assignments pertaining to life choices and consequences and reflects the students' explorations of their awareness of these choices. This project exemplifies how art can be brought into the classroom to provide students with opportunities for creative self-expression; it also provides a transition to the second subtheme of identity and self-awareness.

Written assignments are another method of integrating our curriculum. The team structure of Humanitas allows all three instructors to work with the students on particular assignments from the very beginning of the program. Moreover, the students are able to work throughout the day on one topic, developing their ideas and written products as they move from one class to another.

As the ESL teacher in this program, I have observed incredible development in the Humanitas students' language skills compared to the students in the traditional ESL classes which I also teach. One of the main areas of growth is in essay organization. As a teaching strategy, I provide students with authentic models of essay writing from primary sources such as Bertrand Russell's autobiography. During the first semester, the Humanitas students are able to produce coherent multiparagraph essays which evidence higher order thinking skills while their peers in non-Humanitas classes are still working on paragraphs retelling their personal experiences. The Humanitas students' essays, on the other hand, discuss such concepts as the loss of Indians' identity under the Spanish occupation of the Americas. The success of such conceptual writing in the content-based program supports the view that content teaching facilitates language learning and that academic progress does not need to be delayed by deferring content-area instruction until students are proficient in the second language (Curtain, 1986).

The fact that the Humanitas students are taught by a team of teachers who simultaneously discuss the same concepts and often disagree about them provides an atmosphere which stimulates intellectual curiosity. It also encourages students to take risks in defining their own point of view. Initially students are often confused when they find out that teachers do not want them to repeat their opinions but search instead for their own. Gradually they sharpen their critical judgment skills and start asking questions. Such questioning of concepts, in my experience, occurs less frequently in traditional ESL classes.

An evaluation of the general Humanitas program was recently conducted by the Center for the Study of Evaluation at UCLA (Aschbacher, 1991). The study reported a significant improvement in students' writing over the course of a year. Furthermore, the study found that: "The impact [of the program] was particularly noticeable on students' conceptual understanding, where Humanitas students made their largest gains and comparison students made virtually no improvement during the year" (p. 18).

At the end of the first year of the ESL Humanitas Program at Jefferson High, we also had a very strong impression that the Humanitas ESL students were ahead of other ESL students in English skills and cognitive abilities. The progress of our ESL students seems to be congruent with the overall progress of the mainstream Humanitas students who surpassed their peers and improved their school performance in such areas as writing skills and grades earned (Merl, 1991).[1]

The current ESL Humanitas program at Jefferson High is designed as a one-year project; its expansion is presently being considered. The possible directions being discussed are post-ESL (students continuing on after they exit ESL classes) and ESL 2 (low-intermediate) entry options. Although the students who leave the current program can function very successfully in regular mainstream classes, the mainstream Humanitas program is still too challenging for them linguistically. The post-ESL section would create an opportunity for them to continue their conceptual development at an appropriate language level. Moreover, it is hoped that a three-year program commencing at the ESL 2 level would prepare these students for the academic rigors of college work.

Our year and a half experience with the Humanitas Program at Jefferson High has revealed several important issues, which can serve others as guidelines for setting up a content-based program. Since the instructional teams are creating an original curriculum, they need various kinds of support. For one, the teams need access to good photocopying facilities, since they teach primarily from teacher-produced materials adapted from a number of resources. Teachers and program coordinators also need support of a different kind—namely release time to develop these teaching materials, to attend training workshops, and to plan and coordinate field trips and cultural events. There are presently three training centers for the district-wide Humanitas Program where the instructional teams are able to receive in-service training. Additional funds are also made available for a two-week Summer Academy, which provides an invaluable opportunity for all teachers who wish to share experiences and refine their programs. Funding for many of the above support services has come from the Los Angeles Educational Partnership, the Rockefeller Foundation, and other private institutions.

Finally, our experience with content-based instruction at the secondary school level has revealed that setting up a team that can work effectively together is a key ingredient to success. It is important, in my opinion, that instructors be allowed to create their own teams voluntarily. Developing a new curriculum, adapting materials to the students' developing language levels, and meeting with team members to coordinate instruction requires a great deal of effort. Being a Humanitas ESL teacher means learning other subjects to integrate the concepts and assignments, taking risks and experimenting with new ideas, and being alert to shortcomings and ready to make changes constantly. If a team of teachers is willing to face these challenges, a content-based program can provide a long-awaited opportunity for tremendous growth both for students and their teachers. ■

Footnotes

1. I am currently attempting to capture this growth empirically in a study which compares the ESL Humanitas and non-Humanitas groups. To this end, I have collected data from the ESL 2 and ESL 4 final exams (mandatory district tests), the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test, and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills and will be analyzing them shortly in my master's thesis.

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

How Does One Go About Developing Content-Based Materials for the Commercial ESL/EFL Market?

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Today's teachers of ESL and EFL seem to be searching for materials that challenge their students—materials that require interaction and creativity, that are exciting, and that focus on meaningful content. Many want materials that more fully engage the minds of readers and are less tightly controlled than those of the "drill-and-kill" variety.

My own attempt to reach such a market is reflected in *Reading in the Content Areas* (1990) and *Exploring Themes* (in press), which I will use as examples throughout this discussion. Because the major thrust of my own content-based materials has been anthologies of selected readings, naturally I feel more comfortable talking about such texts than I do about other kinds of materials. It should be kept in mind, however, that many of the suggestions offered here can be applied to other kinds of texts.

While preparing content-based materials, it might be wise for authors and editors to contemplate the following questions:

For whom are the materials intended? Are they intended for children, adolescents, or adults? Are they for beginning, intermediate, or advanced students? Are these students in ESL or EFL programs? What are their goals? Needs? Interests? Learning styles? Under what time and other constraints will they most likely be working? In sum, the materials must be appropriate for the learner and for the situation.

What do you expect the students to be able to do as a result of reading your materials? If you expect that in the content areas students will use language mainly as a vehicle to learning content, then the focus must be on the content itself. Through this focus the student can be expected to reach progressively higher levels of proficiency in areas such as the following: comprehending intended meaning, internalizing knowledge, applying knowledge, synthesizing experience, and so forth. Much of what is expected will depend upon the cognitive levels, needs, and goals of the students.

What kinds of readings will you include? In *Reading in the Content Areas*, which is intended for international students planning to attend English-speaking colleges and universities, I wanted to include authentic readings from currently used textbooks representing a variety of subject areas. In order to find appropriate, up-to-date readings, I used the university bookstore as my main source. Fortunately, the manager was willing to let me borrow books for short periods of time. If you are doing an edited book such as the one above, other sources of selected readings may be the community or public school libraries. In *Exploring Themes*, which is intended for the same audience, I wanted to include stories, poems, songs, and cartoons that were both relevant and exciting and that related directly to the themes I had chosen. To find just the right inclusions, I poured over numerous journals and volumes in libraries and bookstores; I asked friends and relatives what favorites they might recommend. Even my own dog-eared collections served as sources.

Regardless of the subject area in which the materials are to be prepared, the selections included should be chosen because of not only their content but their general appeal to students. They should be well written, but not too technical (unless, of course, students are ready to deal with technical materials). In addition, they should contain careful explanations of major concepts in the case of expository pieces and visual support of many kinds: clearly constructed graphs and tables, pictures, photos, and so forth. They should avoid an overuse of idiomatic language, which is apt to cause difficulty for second language students. Moreover, the selections need to be long enough to engage the reader to the point at which full understanding becomes likely. Many readings selected for textbooks are too short and too dull to even begin to involve the reader in any meaningful way.

What sorts of activities might be included? As I stated in the notes to the teacher in *Reading in the Content Areas*, "In order that it have the best possible chance for becoming internalized, content must be explored in sufficient depth so that the reader can experience its presence, reflect upon its substance, and expand upon its meaning" (p. x). The activities should aid in this process. Prereading with use of anticipation guides, prediction, and discussion questions relating to prior knowledge and experience is important in providing the schema necessary to understanding the selection. For example, in *Exploring Themes*, a questioning strategy is used to prepare students for a story entitled "Blue Winds Dancing," which is about a person from a nondominant culture returning home.

> *Sometimes people find themselves far away from home and from those they love. Many dream of returning one day. Think about your own situation. Are you now far away from home? If so, what do you think might happen if you returned? What would be the joys? Might there also be some fear? If so, explain.*

Students are to discuss these questions with a partner.

One word of caution here. Prereading activities should not be too lengthy. Sometimes authors, in their attempt to cover all bases through extensive preparation, will put the student into a state of lethargy even before the reading begins. I have found that while students appreciate having their curiosity piqued and a cognitive scaffold established to make comprehension easier, they do not appreciate putting on hold whatever motivation they may already have to read the selection.

Questions following each selection might begin at the knowledge level (What mixed feelings does the main character have about returning home?) and progress toward more cognitively challenging questions (Do you know of other persons who have had experiences similar to that of the main character? How did these persons react? How do human beings usually react in such situations?) Other activities might include role play, interviewing, small group discussions, writing of various types, and so forth, all related directly to the reading selections. Through the activities students should begin to increase their confidence in their abilities to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate what they read.

How should the selections be organized? They may be organized thematically. For example, in *Exploring Themes*, which is literature-based, the readings fall into themes that I thought would be of high interest: "All That Glitters…" (about money and its relationship to happiness), "Between Cultures," "The Search for Love," and others. Or selections may be organized according to subject area. For example, *Reading in the Content Areas* is organized around such subjects as sociology, psychology, art, and so forth. Regardless of the basic organizational scheme, the selections should be arranged to maximize the students' feelings of success in gaining mastery over the language. Essential considerations include: (a) the natural reinforcement of concepts, structures, and skills within the selections themselves; and (b) the difficulty levels, both semantic and syntactic, of the selections. It should be remembered that judgments in these matters are complicated and highly subjective. It must be kept in mind too that the difficulty of any given selection will ultimately depend on the student and on the student's prior knowledge and experience.

How should new vocabulary be handled? In many ESL textbooks on the market today, vocabulary is dealt with in exercises found before

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as well as after the selection. I personally prefer to use carefully prepared glossaries and individualized practice with vocabulary items selected by the student under the guidance of the teacher. Glossaries containing clues and definitions placed at the bottoms of the pages on which the words or phrases are found give students assistance when it is most needed, while they are reading.

Content-based instruction presents many challenges for the selection and adaptation of authentic materials. Although an attempt has been made here to cover a few considerations important to content-based materials development for publication, this discussion is by no means comprehensive. There is still a great deal to be learned about developing materials which integrate language and content instruction. ■

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

What Challenges Do Content-Based Program Administrators Face?

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In 1989 my colleagues Ann Snow, Mari Wesche, and I addressed practical considerations in content-based program implementation in our book *Content-Based Second Language Instruction* (pp. 70-88). The treatment of the topic was not meant to be an exhaustive one, but rather intended to highlight the particular issues and challenges germane to administering content-based programs. None of us had had a great deal of experience administering such programs, and content-based instruction (CBI) was still more or less in its infancy. My experience in the past few years has been more intensively in this realm—that is, I have been involved in administering a year-long content-based ESL program for concurrently enrolled university students at UCLA[1] as well as a summer adjunct program for visiting international students offered through UCLA Summer Sessions. Being in the administrative hot seat for these programs has enabled me to see the issues more clearly than I had before, and it is with this in mind that I share this experience below.[2]

Program administrators wear many hats—regardless of the type of program involved. Most frequently, they spearhead innovation and oversee the implementation of curricular philosophy as reflected in course objectives, syllabus specifications, and course activities and materials. They also assume responsibility for such critical aspects as budgeting, hiring instructors and support staff, selecting and ordering textbooks, scheduling class times and rooms, and providing for duplication facilities and audio-visual needs. On the student end, they produce and distribute promotional materials, contact program sponsors, and recruit and advise students. Finally, they direct ongoing evaluation efforts—student placement and achievement testing, instructor observation, program evaluation, and the like (see Pennington & Xiao, 1990 and Matthies, 1991 for a more detailed discussion of these activities). Carrying out all of the above duties requires a combination of pedagogical savvy, market insight, managerial talent, and crisis intervention skills.

The above picture is a generic portait of the ESL program administrator and does not take into account any of the special challenges of content-based program administration to which I alluded previously. I maintain that Murphy's Law, which prevails in all of program administration, is all the more prevalent in CBI, since in CBI we are mapping new boundaries in general. This redefinition of boundaries entails an accompanying redefinition of the program administrator's responsibilities.

The following insights from my recent administrative experience with the ESL summer adjunct program for international students will hopefully serve to alert others to some of the salient aspects which need special attention if content-based programs are to be effectively administered.[3] I share these experiences with the 1991 UCLA Advanced English Program (AEP) at the risk of being recognized as a novice program administrator, which I openly confess to being. Nonetheless, I believe that the hurdles which I jumped (or as the case may be, stumbled over) during the course of this program are not uncommon ones, and that anyone involved in the administration of content-based programs can benefit from being forewarned as to what may lie ahead.

Our job was facilitated by a supportive sponsor, UCLA Summer Sessions, whose staff understood the issues involved and were committed to the long-range goal of implementing CBI, even if it meant operating at a loss for the first year or two (which, needless to say, we managed to do). My coadministrator and I were fully prepared to deal with the types of problems discussed in the 1989 work cited above—for example, inadequate funding for the program, insufficient compensation for teaching faculty, lack of collaborative spirit among teachers, incomplete faculty understanding of CBI principles, unsuitable facilities, scheduling problems, excessive teacher work load, and the like.

In fact, none of these occurred. Because of the favored status our program enjoyed with the administration, we received priority room scheduling; further, we were able to budget adequately for our material needs (e.g., photocopying, audio-visual supplies) and even received support which exceeded our expectations (such as access to the university's computer lab facilities and tutorial services and a modest entertainment budget which covered an end-of-term student barbecue). We requested (and received) 150% summer pay for the teachers in our program, arguing that since they were working from a reactive curriculum in which they had to respond on a day-to-day basis to what was being presented in the content course, they would be developing most of their own teaching materials. Finally, through a brief but fruitful presessional workshop with the teachers involved, we were able to build on an already existing collaborative spirit and further orient teachers to the most critical underlying principles of CBI.[4]

Challenges

The following challenges, however, caught us more unprepared.

Student Recruitment

We were scheduled to offer two back-to-back six-week sessions, for which Summer Sessions had promised us 150 students each. The reality of offering a content-based program for the designated proficiency level,[5] however, soon became clear, as rosters for the first session showed only 12 students enrolled in the program. Eventually we were able to secure 18 students who both fit our desired profile (i.e., academically oriented with the required TOEFL level) and were interested in participating in the program. The second summer session fared slightly better, with a Japanese client providing the majority of the 88 students who participated. However, this brought with it a problem of a different nature, namely that the Japanese/non-Japanese (i.e., European and South American) mix in this session was extremely uneven, leading to certain cross-cultural problems which impacted negatively on the effectiveness of the program. This was particularly evident in the speech component, in which the oral proficiency differences of the Japanese and non-Japanese students were most evident, and where student needs diverged most radically.

Packaging the Program

We had attempted to communicate the nature of the program through specially designed promotional materials. Where possible (both in Japan and later when students had arrived on campus), we also held a student orientation to present program specifics and answer questions. However, we found that explaining a complex venture like CBI in language which is accessible to students (and especially within the confines of brochure copy) is a near but impossible task. The student orientation session at UCLA was slightly more successful; however, the complete unfamiliarity of students with this model of instruction made it difficult for them to imagine the integrated language and content teaching they would be experiencing. Many, in fact, were puzzled by the information presented, and opted instead to enroll in the more traditional intensive language program also available to them on campus.

Red Tape

Working within a bureaucratic hierarchy has its rewards (such as staff available to assist in various aspects of the program) and its punishments. Because our program was part of the regular summer offerings, our students enrolled through the central office, which also handles drop/add requests and the like. Staff in the Summer

Sessions office did not understand that in our model of linked courses, section changes entailed a change in not one course, but in the entire suite of courses which comprised the program (here, ESL, speech, and the content course). This was but the beginning of numerous red tape snags.

Selection of Content Classes

We wanted to offer a wide variety of content courses. However, in order to facilitate curriculum and materials development efforts, we had to team ESL teachers and attach multiple sections of ESL to a given content area. This limited the number of content courses we could offer. The eventual AEP content course offerings (economics, psychology, western civilization, American history 1900-present, and communication studies) were selected with a view toward allowing students to select from introductory courses across a broad spectrum of disciplines. In selecting these courses, we also considered factors such as the instructional effectiveness of the professors involved and their willingness to include international students in their classes. Unfortunately, we did not always have access to the instructors' syllabuses or reading lists, nor did we know in advance the academic backgrounds and interests of our student population. What in fact occurred was that the majority of students preferred the communication studies course, with far fewer selecting the remainder of the classes.

One of the issues we did not adequately anticipate in content course selection was the degree to which students' prior background knowledge would figure in their content course performance. This in fact proved to be the case in western civilization, economics, and American history. Especially in the American history class, the American students had a distinct cultural advantage over the international students—most of whom had never heard of Malcolm X, the WPA, the New Deal, and so forth. Finally, the six-book course reading load for the American history course (which included a novel and several autobiographies as well as several academic textbooks) overwhelmed the international students and caused several to abandon their attempt to keep up with the content course material.

Cultural Misunderstandings

Cultural misunderstandings are bound to occur in any program, especially those involving recently arrived international students who may be experiencing culture shock. In a content-based program, students not only experience the predictable kinds of cultural alienation, but suffer as well from lack of prior exposure to the university system. Perhaps the most interesting of our summer experiences with this involved a student from France who, misunderstanding the scantron instructions on his midterm psychology exam, designated the *no post* grade column, assuming that this meant the grade would be reported to him personally rather than mailed to him. When he did not find his grade listed on the midterm grade roster, he interpreted this as meaning he had failed the exam. Disappointed, he stopped attending the psychology class. Only through intervention by his ESL instructor, who sensed that something was wrong, was the situation righted. These kinds of misunderstanding may seem somewhat trivial or even amusing when first encountered; however, they clearly undermine students' efforts to achieve their academic goals and thus impact seriously on the program administrator's attempts to maintain the integrity of the program.

Attrition

No doubt all programs suffer from problems of attrition. However, in an adjunct model program, the attrition factor is compounded by the fact that a student who is failing one class is in all likelihood at risk in the linked course as well; thus once the failure factor sets in, it is multiplied over the number of courses involved, and students do not have the usual recourse of doubling their efforts in their "other" courses. This situation was certainly the case in AEP, especially in those courses (e.g., economics, American history) where background knowledge played a larger role. Since these courses were ones with lower student enrollments to begin with, this backwash effect was particularly disruptive to the effective implementation of the adjunct model, and teachers in both the linked courses experienced a high degree of frustration as a result.

Conclusions

Having detailed the above setbacks, which impeded the smooth administration of the program, I'd like to end with several recommendations. First, adjunct programs require a high level of student proficiency. Student recruitment at this end of the proficiency scale is difficult, since there may not be sufficient numbers of students who meet the designated cutoff requirements. Without focused, long-term efforts on the part of the sponsor, such programs will not be realizable. Second, such recruitment efforts need to be backed up by well-planned and professional program packaging. In other words, the program will need to be described in such a way that students understand its purpose and intent. Planning ahead for the future of AEP, for example, we have assembled video footage of participants in which they candidly give their own assessment of the program. This footage, once edited, will be available in enrollment centers to pique students' curiosity and present a more valid picture of what this type of language study entails.

Next, although being a part of a centralized bureaucracy can provide a program with important support services, content-based programs have special requirements which fall outside the realm of the procedures normally followed in the centralized administration. Such programs can therefore definitely benefit from having a decentralized structure (or at least a clearly detailed set of special procedures) to handle admissions, enrollment, and scheduling. This would prevent situations in which students are misdirected or falsely informed and would certainly simplify the administration of such programs. In terms of content class selection and cultural misunderstandings, a more sensitive administration (i.e., one aware of the types of pitfalls encountered in AEP) would be able to more effectively orient students to the U.S. university system and select courses which require less cultural background knowledge on the part of the students. Finally, the likelihood of attrition from the program can be lessened by attending to a number of the above recommendations.

Even in the administratively difficult arena of CBI, the ends do justify the means. Satisfied students and teachers and documented program success are the ultimate administrator's reward, and it is my belief that an effectively administered content-based program, by virtue of the meaningful language exposure and practice which it provides, produces these desired end results.

Students in AEP made measured gains in their writing and speaking skills, and (as measured via a self-assessment instrument) increased in their perceived ability to perform a variety of academic tasks (e.g., ability to take notes from a lecture, read an academic textbook, or ask a professor a question in office hours). They also showed gains in their academic writing skills on a pre/post composition measure. When asked to rate the program's effectiveness, they gave it high ratings in terms of the help it provided in improving their academic writing and listening skills as well as their English conversation and textbook reading skills. The teachers, too, expressed satisfaction in their end-of-term reviews of curriculum, as summarized by the following teacher comment: "My overall experience with the Summer Adjunct Program this year was quite positive—certainly the best of my four summers teaching summer-institute-type programs. Where the content class was concerned, students received clearly presented, comprehensible input . . . As for [the ESL class], the class worked much of the time in an almost magical way. If an ordinary [ESL class] were half as involved with the material and the discussions as this class was, it would still be a good class." Given these kinds of rewards, I would heartily encourage others to embark on the venture of content-based program administration, and I would further urge them to document their administrative efforts, thus building on the groundwork which I lay in this article. ■

Footnotes

1. See the article in this volume by Repath and Valentine for a more complete description of the curriculum in this program.

2. In both of these programs, I was fortunate to share administrative duties with my colleagues Brian Lynch (academic director, UCLA ESL Service Courses) and Jean Turner (codirector, UCLA Summer Sessions Advanced English Program). Though the opinions stated here are my own, I owe a large debt to both Brian and Jean for facilitating the administration of these ventures.

3. This program, like the UCLA Freshman Summer Program (FSP), follows the adjunct model of program design (see Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989). However, it differs in terms of audience (international students studying in the U.S. during the summer, not immigrant freshman students who are regularly admitted to a U.S. university) and in certain of its design elements. For example, students attend two linked courses (ESL and a content area course) plus a general (nonadjuncted) English conversation course, unlike FSP in which students attend only two linked classes.

4. See the contribution by Peter Master in this volume for more information on preservicing and in-servicing teachers in the CBI context.

5. This program was designed for students at the higher end of the proficiency spectrum (TOEFL 500+).

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CATESOL EXCHANGE

What Options Exist for Funding Content-Based Programs?

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Implementing innovative programs at all levels of instruction requires significant resources. Content-based instruction is no exception. While we have seen examples in this issue of individual teachers or teams of teachers who have created content-based courses for their students, the majority of the programs described require both administrative support and funding. Realistically, the implementation of content-based programs requires more than the usual resources, and we must, therefore, seek funding sources to cover expenses such as release time, consultant costs, materials, and other costs typically associated with such initiatives.

In this article, I will discuss options for funding content-based programs, giving examples of agencies which have funded such activities and making suggestions for writing grant proposals. While I will concentrate on external funding options, many of the strategies I suggest apply equally well to securing internal monies, and I encourage those interested to first seek funding sources within their schools and institutions. Even in these tight-budget times, there are funds available for special programs. The key is to devise content-based program proposals which meet the criteria for these special programs or which specifically match the needs of students targeted for such programs. For instance, the Freshman Summer Program at UCLA which Donna Brinton and I have reported on extensively addresses the needs of an administration concerned about persistence rates of high risk students, including ESL students.

Funding Options

When considering funding possibilities, both private and public sources should be taken into account. A number of highly successful content-based projects have been financed by private sources. The high school project reported on by Eva Wegrzecka-Monkiewicz in this issue is funded in part by the Rockefeller Foundation. This past fall, the ARCO and the XEROX Foundations underwrote a two-day workshop on integrating language and content instruction for 30 math, science, and social studies junior high school teachers from the Los Angeles Unified School District. On the East coast, the Carnegie Corporation has actively supported several projects at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC, including the development of the *Prealgebra Lexicon*, a resource manual showing ESL teachers how to incorporate content into their language instruction and sensitizing math teachers to the language of math. Together with the Xerox Foundation, Carnegie funds also made possible the development of the teacher-training video "Communicative Math and Science Teaching."[1] It has been my experience that private agencies are very interested in funding projects in California which serve language minority students as they see our state as a mirror of the country's future. Furthermore, with the current national debate on education and the call in *America 2000* for partnerships with private industry, many foundations and private agencies are eager for the visibility which comes from funding innovative educational projects.

There are, of course, many funding options from public sources, most notably from state and federal agencies. The Cañada College adjunct program discussed by Peter Master in this issue was funded by a grant from the Underrepresented Students Special Project Fund of the Chancellor's Office of the California Community College District. At the federal level, ESEA Title VII funds from the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), U.S. Department of Education, are designated for the improvement of instruction of limited English proficient (LEP) students in elementary and secondary schools. The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE), another branch of the U.S. Department of Education, is another federal funding source. The Fund was established in 1972 to support a wide variety of improvement efforts for disadvantaged students thoughout the whole range of postsecondary education, including: public and private two- and four-year colleges and universities, accredited and nonaccredited; community organizations, libraries, and museums; nonprofit trade and technical schools; unions, consortia, student groups, local government agencies; and nonprofit corporations and associations.

The preceding list is certainly not exhaustive; it provides but a glimpse of the funding options available for financing content-based programs. More information about these and other private and public funding sources is available through district offices and institutional contracts and grants offices.

Proposal Writing: Some Considerations

Writing grant proposals is a tedious, time-consuming process. Most agencies require extensive applications, and award programs are highly competitive. To improve the odds, I've compiled a few suggestions.

Expert Assistance

Seek guidance from specialists in your districts, agencies, or institutions or from colleagues who have had projects funded. Try to get copies of successful applications, and use these as models for your proposal. Even if the projects are conceptually very different, it is useful to look at the format to see how the different sections are laid out and how the objectives have been defined. The applications will also provide ideas about what to include in the implementation timeline and suggest possible designs for the evaluation component of the proposal.

Examine the budgets of these successful applications carefully. They should include cost breakdowns of major items such as consultant fees, instructor release time, secretarial assistance, conference travel, and overhead (most institutions will take a percentage of your grant!). The budget should also contain provisions for less expensive items which are often overlooked but tend to mount up—postage, long distance telephone calls, office supplies, photocopying, and so forth. When preparing your budget, you may also be required to take into account cost-of-living increases or staff and faculty raises which have already been approved or are pending. Finally, many agencies require both a budget and a budget narrative. By looking at sample applications, you can see how the two differ.

When allowed, make contact with the project officer at the agency to which you are applying. Project officers can help clarify technical questions about application requirements and, sometimes, they are even at liberty to make direct suggestions or comment on the strengths or weaknesses of your proposal. Even when this is not the case, they will often hint at the types of projects they or their agency are most interested in funding. A project officer from a federal funding agency recently expressed surprise to me at how seldom prospective applicants actually take her suggestions to heart and revise accordingly. Clearly, good listening skills and the ability to read between the lines are useful attributes in such conversations. In other cases, expert assistance is available through state and local agencies. For example, the Bilingual Education Office of the California State Department of Education provides materials to assist applicants in the writing of ESEA Title VII applications.[2]

Making Your Case

You must construct a case for your proposed project by documenting a critical need, demonstrating how the project meets this need, and detailing how you will determine the effectiveness of the project. In a recent successful proposal to FIPSE, for example, my codirector and I built our case around our campus demographics at CSULA, where 66% of our students come from non-English speaking home backgrounds. We claimed that the majority of these students (who are U.S.-born language minority students) are not served by traditional ESL programs but nevertheless at risk in the undergraduate curriculum. To respond to the unmet needs of this population, we designed "Project LEAP: Learning-English-for-Academic-Purposes" which aims at improving the academic literacy skills of these students by redesigning the syllabi of selected general education courses and developing adjunct study groups which have a content and language dvelopment focus.

In addition to making your case using demographic and statistical data such as achievement scores, attrition rates, and the like, check to insure that your project has the built-in *multiplier effects* and results in the *capacity building* that funding agencies look for. In other words, agencies want to see that your project reaches the widest possible audience and that you insure in some concerted way its long-term impact, such as getting your institution to commit to funding the program after the grant expires. In certain circumstances, you may even try to convince the funding agency that your proposed program has the potential to be a self-supporting, money-making enterprise.

An attempt to achieve the multiplier effect can be seen in a Title VII project which has been implemented at six junior high schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District. The six schools, located in East Los Angeles, primarily serve language minority students from Hispanic backgrounds. In addition to other components of the project such as a peer-tutoring and parents-as-partners program, the project targets both ESL and subject matter teachers, familiarizing them with language development principles and promoting the integration of language and content instruction. Sixty project teachers from each of the six schools have agreed to specialize in specific topics such as cooperative learning, sheltered English, reciprocal teaching, journal writing, or study skills instruction. They attend workshops on these topics conducted by outside consultants, then return to their school sites to train their colleagues. This trainer of trainers model draws on Tharp and Gallimore's (1988) notion of teachers as "critical friends" by building in a peer-coaching component. Similarly, in the FIPSE project at CSULA which I described in the previous section, we are trying to insure the multiplier effect by producing training manuals and videotapes for each of the general education courses we redesign over the three years of project funding.

The objective is to guarantee that the impact of the project will arc beyond the project participants to a wider circle of influence. This serves to satisfy the funding agency that not only will its investment reach a wide audience, but new skills or capacities will be built which will remain well after the life of the grant.

Another consideration in successful grant writing involves decisions about key personnel. Often innovative programs are launched by an energetic individual whose enthusiasm and hard work initially carry the project almost single-handedly. It is important, however, to maintain momentum throughout the duration of project funding. Failure to do so is often the ultimate downfall of innovative programs. In fact, in critiquing the early writing across the curriculum projects, Fulwiler and Young (1990) note that many of these programs, while very effective in the beginning, seemed to lose steam when the person who was the early source of inspiration lost interest, left the institution, or, for whatever reason, was no longer involved in the project. This experience should guide us in designing content-based programs that are as broadly based as possible in their administrative structure.

Collaboration

Most funding agencies look very favorably upon collaboration between institutions such as between elementary schools and the local college or university. In fact, many successful projects build in collaboration as a cornerstone of the program. For example, a FIPSE-funded project at Georgia State University is investigating the academic literacy demands of high school and university courses in the subject areas of history, English, political science, and biology. Once these demands are described, secondary and university faculty from across the disciplines will then discuss the findings in a series of workshops. From these discussions, collaborative teams will make plans for curricular modification at both levels of instruction with the aim of better preparing students for undergraduate course work. Building in this kind of collaboration has several advantages. It insures that the results of the study at the university will reach the high school teachers directly. It also sets up a forum for university and high school subject matter specialists to talk to each other, a rare opportunity indeed.

Clearly, collaboration can appear in many forms. Since content-based instruction, by its very definition, relies on the integration of language and content teaching, building in collaboration should be a central concern of project design. These channels of collaboration will both strengthen the project and increase its multiplier effect.

Evaluation and Research

With the increasing emphasis on accountability, most funding agencies require a comprehensive evaluation plan in the proposal. Even if you are not required to submit a detailed evaluation plan, it is still important to design the evaluation *before* beginning the project, not after the fact. Again, you should seek out experts in your district, agencies, and institutions to assist in the design of your evaluation plan.

I'd like to encourage readers to contribute to the growing research base in content-based instruction, in addition to carrying out effective program evaluations. More studies are needed like the one reported on in this issue by Valentine and Repath-Martos, who examined the needs, interest, and motivation of university students enrolled in content-based classes. Research efforts in content-based instruction recently received a boost at the national level when the U.S. Department of Education awarded a three-year contract to the Center for Applied Linguistics to conduct a descriptive study of content-ESL practices. The study will examine practices and programs for LEP students in which second language instruction is integrated with specific content instruction or throughout the curriculum. The purpose of the study is to identify the range of programs (kindergarten through grade 12) and the salient student, teacher, community, program, and other characteristics which are correlated with the existence and the effectiveness of content-ESL practices. An elaborate data collection program, including questionnaire and telephone and in-person interviews will be launched, in an attempt to discover not only the lone teacher using content-ESL practices but also more broadly based whole-school efforts across the country.[3]

In short, well-conceived and documented program evaluation and research studies will inform our pedagogical decisions and provide the evidence we need to convince both our own administrations and funding agencies of the efficacy of content-based instruction.

Conclusion

We have seen in this issue that content-based instruction as an approach offers the theoretical justification and practical results necessary to merit the investment of both internal and external funds. I encourage you to follow up on the suggestions presented here for seeking funding sources and to attempt the time-intensive, but often rewarding task of proposal writing. ■

Footnotes

1. The *Prealgebra Lexicon* and "Communicative Math and Science Teaching" (and an instructional guide) are available from the Center for Applied Linguistics, 1118 22nd St., NW, Washington, DC 20037, (202) 429-9292.

2. "Preparing the Program Design" is available to assist prospective project directors with applications for a number of different ESEA, Title VII programs. The document describes key areas of program design such as goals, participants, and program rationale, and lists important questions that prospective project directors should consider. A copy of this document can be obtained by calling the Bilingual Education Office in Sacramento at (916) 323-6205.

3. If you or your school is using content-ESL practices, I'd be delighted to hear about them as part of the OBEMLA study. Please write to me at the School of Education, California State University, Los Angeles, 5151 State University Dr., Los Angeles, CA 90032.

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REVIEW

Science for Language Learners

Ann K. Fathman and Mary Ellen Quinn.
New York: Prentice Hall Regents. 1989.

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Science for Language Learners by Ann K. Fathman and Mary Ellen Quinn is a science textbook for second language learners in both the ESL and EFL contexts. It combines science experiences and language activities with the specific goal of developing language. The authors specify that their text is intended for elementary through senior high school students and state that it has been used successfully with adult students. However, the book presents scientific concepts which are strictly elementary, uses simple forms of English, and features only young children in photos, making the text most appropriate for elementary school language learners.

The book is divided into five units, all loosely revolving around the central theme of energy. For each unit the scientific objective and the language objective are clearly stated on the first page. Then the unit is divided into three components: a preliminary scientific demonstration by the teacher, investigating the concepts with a cooperative group, and investigating the concepts independently.

The science content presented in the book is current and appropriate for high-intermediate to advanced students. The language objectives expressly written into the format of the units are functional and include directing, requesting, describing, defining, suggesting, expressing opinions, agreeing, disagreeing, comparing, and classifying. Students practice these functions in both small group and independent work. They do a great deal of listening and speaking in addition to practicing other forms of language included in the unit.

Students must process all of the information presented to them during the teacher demonstration, apply this knowledge during small group activities, and complete the exercises based on this knowledge. However, this student-centered approach promoted by the authors works only if the students are motivated to learn. For this reason the teacher demonstration preceding each of the units is most crucial.

While the authors identify their method as an "integrated skills approach," the program suffers from a glaring lack of content reading material. The only reading students do is in the form of directions for the exercises. A short passage explaining the scientific concept in accessible language could be provided for individual reading prior to the teacher's scientific demonstration. This would allow the student of elementary cognitive and linguistic ability to begin building a knowledge base from which to draw during the demonstration, the small group activity, and the independent work.

Overall, the text is a good one. Particularly beneficial is the hands-on approach to both independent and group work. However, the program could be improved if teachers supplemented the units with short passages describing each type of energy. Such passages might even be adapted or taken directly from the background information in the teacher's guide. ■

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REVIEW

Content Area ESL: Social Studies

Dennis Terdy. Palatine, IL: Linmore Publishing, Inc. 1986.

KARIN AGUILAR
Huntington Park High School, Los Angeles Unified High School District

This book is designed to help secondary LEP students at the intermediate level transition to mainstream classes. The text covers U.S. history and has 18 chronological units, each with prereading exercises, a two-page reading passage, and follow-up exercises. The coverage is generally adequate, although Abraham Lincoln's assassination is not mentioned, and the westward expansion is touched on only briefly.

The materials are presented in an integrative approach. Each unit concentrates on study skills, speaking, listening, vocabulary, reading, grammar, and writing. The prereading activities recognize students' previous experiences, while the writing activities focus on students' reactions or opinions, or ask students to write (e.g., a letter or a newspaper article) from the perspective of a participant of the time period. Although many of the activities focus on comprehension, there are numerous student-centered activities that stretch students' critical thinking skills—such as the exercise asking students to describe how the Civil Rights Movement changed their lives.

The text is well organized and uses subtitles and boldface print to facilitate comprehension. The reading passages, albeit a little stilted, are generally appropriate for intermediate LEP students; however, some difficult vocabulary is unexplained, leaving students on their own to decipher such terms as *boycotted*, *depth charges*, *disadvantaged*, and *space shuttle missions*. The length of the readings remains constant throughout the book, as does their difficulty level. It would have been challenging to have both progressively escalate.

The text also limits students' access by assuming that they have some background in social studies. Map exercises require students to use *north*, *south*, *east*, and *west*, but the maps are not labelled with these directions, and no explanation is provided. Additionally, there are only eight maps in the entire book—seven of the United States and one of Europe. Yet the readings frequently refer to countries in other areas of the world without further identifying their locations.

Apart from these shortcomings, the graphical literacy sections are well designed and include activities with easily-comprehended timelines, diagrams, charts, tables, and graphs.

Two other shortcomings limit the text's usefulness. The first concerns the illustrations, which are black and white and not especially interesting or enlightening. In one instance, there is a photograph of a rundown farmhouse with a man and a boy hurriedly approaching it. The caption states, "Dust storm in Oklahoma, 1936" (p. 106); yet there is no dust storm evident. On the same page there is a photograph of "A failed bank, 1936," but all that is shown is a bank building with some boarded-up windows. There are no people in the picture to emphasize the desperation a failed bank produces.

The second shortcoming involves cultural sensitivity. While the author shows great cultural sensitivity in his treatment of immigrants and Native Americans, he could have reinforced students' cultural pride by including maps and pictures of countries of origin with his texts about immigrants; he could also have included activities that build on students' own experiences as immigrants.

The strengths of this book are its integrated, well-planned activities and organizational strategies that increase students' access to the information. Its main weaknesses—uninspired illustrations and lack of definitions for many words—can be overcome by a teacher who is willing to find supplemental visual texts and explain vocabulary. ■

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REVIEW

Past, Present, and Future: A Reading-Writing Text, 3rd Ed.

Joan Young Gregg and Joan Russell.
Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company. 1990.

JULIA ANN COLLINS
Hacienda La Puente Adult School, El Monte Adult School

The aim of *Past, Present, and Future: A Reading-Writing Text* is for students to internalize the processes of reading and writing by practicing related tasks extensively. The third edition, intended for low- to intermediate-level ESL students at college, contains new developmental material.

Organization is consistent within the three major units. Each has three chapters which present readings and exercises relating to past, present, and future time frames. The introductory activities contain prereading, free-writing, and vocabulary in context. Short reading passages are followed by discussion questions, comprehension checks, vocabulary work, grammar reviews, and composition practice. The chapters conclude with additional readings and exercises.

Closer examination reveals the text's careful construction and variety of tasks. The prereading portion, for example, provides students with varied cognitive and motivational activities. There may be discussion questions about ideas and objects or a pertinent dictionary skill activity. The reading passages, written in a clear, sequential style, cover a broad range of subjects from archaeology to American sign language, water-divining to women's roles, mammals to Malcolm X. Students use inferencing and literal skills as they analyze the reading—noting topics, paragraph patterns, time-and-logic sequences, supporting ideas, and so forth. Illustrations provoke interest, the pages are well laid out, and the type is easy to read.

For writing practice, students outline, summarize, and compose from information given in the readings. Vocabulary and concepts (like general vs. specific information or sequencing of ideas) are reinforced thoughout the text. Neatly inserted into each chapter is a review of basic grammatical structures such as the use of *there is/are*, modals, and the parts of speech. Appendices provide basic terminology for English language study, beautiful maps, and more.

Some attention is given to speaking and listening skills and the affective domain. Provocative questions give ample opportunity for natural discourse as students interpret the reading passages and state their personal experiences or values. Suggestions are given for role-playing, brainstorming, and peer editing.

While noting the careful structure of the text, I'd caution potential users about the overly detailed and numerous exercises. In fact, a subtitle of the book might read "A Grammar and Writing Exercise Book With Some Reading." Students may get bogged down or discouraged and teachers may grow weary of the voluminous correcting responsibilities that result from each chapter's work. Additionally, some of the readings are lackluster and seem textbook-like rather than authentic. For this reason, the text should be used selectively. The units could be edited according to the abilities of the class and the energy of the teacher, who should adjust assignments to fit the time allotted to complete the materials.

With this caveat, I suggest that the text will assist the college student in reading and writing. It should provide teachers with many carefully sequenced activities with which they can plan a meaningful and productive program for second language students. ■

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REVIEW

The English Connection: A Content-Based Grammar and Discussion Text, 2nd Ed.

Gail Fingado, Leslie J. Freeman, Mary Reinbold Jerome, and Catherine Vaden Summers. New York: Newbury House. 1991.

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The English Connection is one of the best grammar books I've seen. Billed as "A Content-Based Grammar and Discussion Text," it is geared to university ESL students, though it is certainly suitable for adult school and high school students as well. The text covers the standard intermediate structural syllabus, but with a difference. Each component is highly contextualized, with enough discourse for students to take advantage of language clues. Moreover, each chapter deals with timely and evocative topics for young adults, such as space, UFOs, the environment, Flo-Jo, the Civil War, and computer dating. Each lesson begins with a taped dialogue and features natural language containing useful idioms and expressions. Grammar rules are presented straightforwardly, in context, and are followed by contextualized exercises which demand progressive degrees of communicative competence. Each chapter concludes with provocative discussion questions (which could also be used as topics for writing at the university level).

To illustrate, the chapter on gerunds and infinitives is organized around the topic of rock music. It opens with a picture of Roger Daltry and Peter Townsend and a dialogue between Arnold Calhoun (one of the text's running characters) and his father. Arnold has dropped out of school to play guitar in a rock band, and his father is trying to persuade him to return to school. In their conversation they use idioms such as *sick of something, drop out,* and *that's that!*, each of which is explained in terms students can understand. The subsequent exercises are varied with paragraphs about Madonna, Michael Jackson, and yes, even Elvis. The possible patterns which gerunds and infinitives can assume are explained and practiced via slot exercises containing rich, substantive language. This gives students a chance to experience grammatical patterns in sustained discourse, strengthening their grammar as well as their reading/listening skills. In the final, communicative task, small groups of students discuss the generation gap, acceptable professions for young people, parental expectations, and tastes in popular music.

An obvious side benefit of *The English Connection* is that it presents an insightful picture of American concerns, interests, and perspectives. From the interactions between Arnold and his father, for example, we find out a great deal about American parent-child relationships. The choices Arnold has made, how he addresses his father, and how his father responds to him are a powerful, albeit an indirect lesson on American culture.

The English Connection is certainly an exciting and well-crafted book, with all the relevance, savvy, and substance one would expect in materials developed by experienced classroom teachers. However, one could take issue with the term in the subtitle *content-based*, since the basic tenant of this approach is that students learn a second language via exposure to subject matter rather than through overt language instruction. In a sense, then, designating the text a "content-based grammar" is an oxymoron, much like the oft-cited *bittersweet*. This should not, however, be construed as a serious criticism. If one is going to teach grammar, there probably isn't a more contextualized, exciting, and timely text around. ■

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REVIEW

Basically Academic: An Introduction to EAP

Pat Currie. New York: Newbury House. 1991.

RECHELLE SCHIMKE DE ALVARADO
California State University, Los Angeles

As the title indicates, *Basically Academic* prepares students for the transition from high school to the more academically challenging world of college or university. It is geared toward intermediate language learners who need to more finely tune their skills in the following areas: reading; taking notes in lectures; giving presentations; and selecting, synthesizing, and shaping required information into clear, well organized prose. Since the author feels that students "need to become more independent, less reliant on the teacher" (p. xiii), the book makes extensive use of cooperative learning activities. Through these activities, students learn to write more efficiently and effectively.

The book is composed of eight chapters, each built around a particular theme such as endangered species or child labor. Each chapter contains several readings with diverse activities that take the students into, through, and beyond the literature. Prereading exercises introduce the readings; these are followed by post reading activities which check comprehension and engage students in challenging tasks involving in-depth, critical investigation of the information contained in the readings.

Because students are generally asked to display their knowledge of a topic in writing at the college or university level, *Basically Academic* includes various writing tasks which assist students in forming and organizing their thoughts. These include writing thesis statements, essays, and letters of concern and are designed with the drafting process in mind. All stages of the writing process are included, offering students a challenge in organizing information and articulating their ideas with clarity and accuracy.

The book serves its stated purpose. Students are exposed to authentic texts taken from many sources. Although some of these sources (e.g., *International Wildlife, Canada and the World*) would not necessarily be assigned at the university, they are written at a level of language similar to that assigned in university courses. These more popular texts provide an important middle ground of authentic prose which intermediate-level EAP students can access, thereby gaining confidence.

Another plus is the variety of exercise formats. The prereading exercises activate students' schemata through written and oral questions. The postreading activities stress skills necessary for text comprehension through several types of assignments: group work, jigsaw activities, discussion questions, and short answer responses. The task-based writing exercises send students to the library and out into the community to conduct interviews. They ask students to make predictions and use their newly acquired information to develop essays.

Though the book requires only an intermediate-level of proficiency, some of the activities and readings appear to be too difficult for students of this level. The use of authentic texts is a superb idea, but one must remember that the vocabulary of intermediate learners remains somewhat limited. Additionally, the author concedes that there is little focus on grammar in the book; an integrated treatment of this area of language and the area of vocabulary development would have enhanced the book's appeal.

In summary, *Basically Academic* is a very good tool for teaching the skills required in the academic environment of higher education. This book would make a significant contribution to any EAP class. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Bridge to College Success: Intensive Academic Preparation for Advanced Students

Heather Robertson.
New York: Newbury House. 1991.

MARGUERITE DUBOIS
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Bridge to College Success is for students attending or planning to attend college. To benefit from this book, students must be advanced ESL learners with scores of at least 475 on the TOEFL. Native English speakers with at least a ninth-grade reading level can also benefit from the text. The purpose of this textbook is to present students with authentic assignments to help them acquire the skills necessary to succeed at the university level. Another goal, specifically directed at ESL students, is to help them adjust to and understand the U.S. educational system.

The book is divided into 10 chapters. It is attractive and well-illustrated. Each chapter focuses on a general educational theme (e.g., social sciences, business) and begins with a detailed outline of specific objectives.

In each chapter, students are asked to: discover key terms, take notes while listening to an authentic theme lecture, read an excerpt from a college textbook and answer questions, and guess meaning from context. While reading, they are encouraged to increase their speed and apply various reading strategies. Students are also guided in writing various types of assignments (research reports, business letters, etc.). They are exposed to individual and group work as well as to class discussions in which the question discussed may have no right answer. Because students are doing real-life college tasks, they are indeed getting ready to function at the university.

The main skills of notetaking, listening, reading, writing, and speaking are continuously reinforced, and different subskills needed to accomplish specific tasks (such as interpreting laboratory reports containing graphs and diagrams) are taught. When a new skill is required to accomplish a task, the skill is pretaught.

At the end of the book, there are three valuable appendices. The first gives the meaning of roots to guide students in guessing unknown words. The second provides detailed instructions for writing research papers. The last is an inventory of skills students might need to review or reinforce. The instructor's manual provides lesson tips, sample midterms and finals, and answer keys. Lecture transcripts are available.

Bridge to College Success is an outstanding content-based textbook. As a former ESL student who has been through five years of university in the United States, I feel its approach is one that maximally prepares ESL as well as native English-speaking students. Since students learn to master listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills through work centered in motivating educational themes, they are effectively preparing for college success. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Lexis: Academic Vocabulary Study

Arline Burgmeier, Gerry Eldred, and Cheryl Boyd Zimmerman.
New York: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1991.

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Increasingly, universities are establishing content- and theme-based ESL curricula. In response to this trend, Burgmeier, Eldred, and Zimmerman have designed *Lexis: Academic Vocabulary Study*. Suggested as a primary, multiskills text, *Lexis* is intended for high-intermediate ESL students who need to acquire academic vocabulary. The book contains high-interest readings and activities which help learners recognize words in related contexts, practice word formation, use words in natural communicative situations, and use a dictionary as a vocabulary-expanding tool. The authors claim that the text is uniquely designed to "incorporate [words into the learners'] passive vocabularies and ultimately into their active vocabularies" (p.viii). All vocabulary building occurs within the context of thematic readings. This contextualized learning creates a cognitive hold on the learner's memory.

The text is organized into eight chapters of four parts each. These are intended to be completed in the prescribed order. Part 1, "Establishing the Context," contains 4 prereading questions and 10 true-false comprehension questions. The exercises titled, "Understanding Words," "Putting Words in Sentences," and "Using Words in Context," are highly grammar-based and dictionary-oriented; they deal with collocations and involve in-text writing. On the average, these sections contain 35 to 40 exercises, which involve, for example, looking words up in the dictionary, writing sentences, completing paragraphs, and describing pictures or graphic information.

Overall, the authors have produced a text which is much needed in the ESL market—one which provides intensive practice with high-frequency vocabulary items students need for academic success. However, there is a definite mismatch between the authors' stated intentions and their execution. First, the authors claim their focus to be the original and productive use of vocabulary in natural situations. Yet, in "Using Words in Context," students are asked to perform such tasks as dictation, chronological ordering, and sentence unscrambling, none of which involve productive use of language. No oral practice is provided, nor are there adequate built-in opportunities for pair or group work. How is the goal of transferring vocabulary from passive to active or original use achieved? How much reworking of the material will be needed for the instuctor—as facilitator of an atmosphere of experimentation, encouragement, and discovery—to create natural situations for production?

In sum, the authors' intent in writing *Lexis* is laudable. The book is generally well thought-out and thorough, with appropriately selected readings. Yet given the above restrictions, I would not recommend it as a primary text for a communication-based vocabulary course. Instead, I'd choose it as a supplemental text or as a guide for individualized, home-based study. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Reading at the University

Linda Harbaugh Hillman. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle. 1990.

LUCY HAHN KAZAKES
Carson High School

Reading at the University, a volume in the Heinle and Heinle "English for Academic Purposes" series, focuses on reading comprehension for advanced ESL/EFL students who are beginning or plan to begin their studies at an American university. With high-interest, authentic selections from college-level texts, it introduces students to the full range of disciplines—and their concomitant discourse styles—that college freshmen are likely to encounter. The fields of anthropology, biology, business, chemistry, computer science, economics, English composition and rhetoric, ethics, history, philosophy, and sociology are all represented.

Hillman says that since "training in reading comprehension is the *sine qua non* of this book" (p. xvii), she aims to train students to understand, not to test whether they have understood, "so all work is done with the book open" (p. xviii). The "student-centered and process-oriented" (p. v) activities are designed to help integrate reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills.

The chapter on cultural anthropology, which presents several short ethnographic studies, is particularly engaging. At the beginning of the chapter, a "Getting Started" section instructs students in study skills, telling them to survey the chapter and then skim the parts of the readings that catch their attention. Next is a schema-activating "Preparation" section with introductory questions designed to reveal the students' prior knowledge and inspire them to learn more. Hillman follows each reading with factual, analytic, and vocabulary-building questions and exercises. The chapter exam after the series of readings includes essay questions which require students to synthesize information and give their own opinions. Finally, in a "Be the Professor" section with a metacognitive angle, students take the point of view of the instructor and write questions for their classmates to answer.

Reading at the University has a thorough and detailed table of contents and a useful index, plus appendices, including a cognitive skills test (based on Ankney and Joyce's Piagetian concrete-operational skills test) which enables students to rate their own problem-solving ability (p. 347). Throughout the book, all pages are perforated so that students can tear out exercises to hand in. There is also a separate instructor's manual with ideas for teachers and answers to exercises.

Because it provides a wide range of genuinely interesting readings and many excellent student activities, this text is likely to be accepted widely in college ESL/EFL programs. ■

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REVIEW

Bridging the Gap: College Reading, 3rd Ed.

Brenda D. Smith.
Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, and Company. 1989.

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This book is designed to help students make the transition—bridge the gap—from general reading to the specialized reading of freshman college classes. It would be a suitable reading text for high school seniors intent on college or for entering college freshmen in an introductory reading course. I would recommend that nonnative English speakers be at an advanced level of English proficiency.

The book is organized into 11 chapters. Each one introduces a new skill, provides short exercises to practice the skill, and then applies the skill to three longer sections which are arranged according to different levels of readability. A section on vocabulary building is included in each chapter after each of the longer reading selections. This section encourages students to guess the meanings of words through context.

In the initial chapters, concentration and study strategies are discussed. The third chapter, "Vocabulary," offers instruction and practice in using context clues and word structure to determine the meaning of unfamiliar words. The recognition of main ideas in a passage and the selection of significant supporting details are covered in chapter 4. In the next chapter, five different methods of organizing textbook information for later study are explained (e.g., summarizing, notetaking, outlining). The remaining chapters teach rate flexibility (skimming and scanning), test-taking strategies, inference (connotation, implied meaning), bias (propaganda, opinion), and graphic illustration. The book concludes with an opportunity to apply all these skills to an actual chapter from a college textbook. This final chapter is an exceptionally good test of the student's ability to transfer the skills learned to the real world of university discourse.

An instructor's manual, which contains the answers to all of the exercises as well as suggestions for additional practice accompanies the book. Other welcome features are scoring guides for the written exercises and chapter-specific test packets. These include short quizzes on each chapter's contents and reading selections with self-test questions for additional practice. Answer keys are also included.

This third edition contains several new features including new readings, new written response statements for the readings, and questions which preview and activate students' previous knowledge for longer selections. Attractive features retained from the previous edition include essay exams for writing practice following each selection, readings on sociology, psychology, business, marketing, and other topics from courses students are likely to take, and perforated pages so that students can tear out and hand in assignments.

I recommend this text to anyone teaching a transition course in reading for nonnative or native speakers of English. It provides students with a broad range of skills that they will need at college and with in-depth opportunities to practice individual skills before actually applying them. *Bridging the Gap* lives up to its name. It is excellent preparation for what lies ahead in university classes. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Insights Into Academic Writing: Strategies for Advanced Students

Margot C. Kadesch, Ellen D. Kolba, and Sheila C. Crowell.
White Plains, NY: Longman. 1991.

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Raimes (1987) proposes that the purpose of writing is to learn about both language and content. Classes designed for that purpose must begin by delineating content. The most prominent aspect of *Insights Into Academic Writing* is its content-driven design. The 10 units give students realistic assignments based on authentic, academic prose. All but the last unit contain at least two content area readings upon which activities and writing assignments are based. Units 1 through 7 are built upon the following areas: social science, anthropology, philosophy, poetry, economics, business, and history/law/political science. Text types for writing assignments include summary/reaction, personal narrative, comparison/contrast, essay test, and critical, opinion, and argumentative essays. The course culminates in Units 8 through 10 with a term paper on the impact of technology on the workplace.

Recognizing that we must prepare students for the realities of academic writing requirements outside of the process approach classroom (Horowitz, 1986), the authors combine process approach techniques with product-based rhetorical goals. Their approach strikes a healthy balance between process and product: The product is always in view, yet the emphasis is on the process and strategies for producing the product.

Different prewriting and revision activities are incorporated into every unit depending on the writing task. For example, in the philosophy unit where students produce a summary/reaction essay, a two-column chart and a list of questions about what makes a person "good" or "moral" lead students to compare their opinions to those of four philosophers before they write. Similarly, before producing a critical essay on literature, students engage in prewriting activities which involve identifying poetic images. In the revision phase, they strengthen their prose by adding direct quotations for support. Other pluses include the teaching of strategies for timed essay examinations—an area Horowitz claims is neglected by the process approach. Throughout the text, organizational planning is taught via simple diagrams illustrating possible paragraph ordering.

The text is not without potential drawbacks. Teachers should be aware that these process approach techniques may not fit every student's individual writing process. Also, because every assignment has different prewriting and revision activities, students may feel a lack of continuity. The specificity of the prewriting activities may also limit the transferability of skills to students' later tasks. To overcome these drawbacks, teachers may wish to remind their students of techniques already learned and demonstrate how they could adapt these strategies for other assignments.

While the book is recommended for use with both native and nonnative English-speakers, the reading passages may prove difficult for second language students. Teachers may therefore need to design additional vocabulary and grammar lessons. Finally, although editing is suggested at the end of each unit, no explicit instruction is provided.

Insights Into Academic Writing emphasizes the synthesis and analysis of cross-curricular material which supports "writing as a mode of learning" (Knoblauch & Brannon, 1983). If supplemented with lessons in vocabulary and grammar, it can help students grow in their language ability and gain important cross-curricular experience. ■

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REVIEW

Writing Up Research: Experimental Research Report Writing for Students of English

Robert Weissberg and Suzanne Buker.
New York: Prentice Hall Regents. 1990.

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Writing Up Research is an excellent instructional guide, which helps ESL students gain authority over their own research writing. Since instructional materials in this text are geared toward fine-tuning both organizational and linguistic skills in writing research reports, this resource will most benefit students who are already both proficient researchers and writers of English. The authors' goal is ". . . to provide a straightforward, readable guide to the conventions followed by English-speaking researchers in writing up their work" (p. 203). Primarily a genre-based instructional guide drawing on the work of Swales (1990), the book provides logical explanations of and appropriate exercises in the most frequent, relevant, linguistic and rhetorical items used in writing scientific research. Instruction is designed to guide students through writing research and encourage them to examine their reasons for choosing particular rhetorical forms, grammatical structures, or vocabulary items. Model research reports from the social sciences, natural sciences, physical sciences, and engineering are included, so the book is useful for students from a variety of disciplines.

Chapter 1 provides an overview and an outline of the sections of the typical experimental research report: abstract, introduction, method, results, and discussion. The remaining chapters deal with each section in depth and provide students with the necessary linguistic support to master this genre. Each chapter strikes an appropriate balance between grammar instruction and opportunities to apply germane lexical, rhetorical, and writing process information. "Information Conventions" provides examples of different organizational patterns for each section of a research paper. "Language Conventions" presents high-frequency linguistic elements needed to effectively articulate research in writing—including noun phrases and signal words. "Guided Writing" and "Writing Up Your Own Research" (included within "Integration") provide written activities which allow students to practice and apply the conventions learned to their own research report. Other parts of the book acquaint students with aspects of research such as using the library and proper citation of bibliographical sources.

Although the activities and explanations provide appropriate instruction in elements essential to each part of a paper, the introduction is given inordinate attention (70 pages), particularly compared with treatment of the the discussion (24 pages). Hopkins and Dudley-Evans' (1988) research demonstrates that discussions are the most difficult sections to write because they require writers to (a) construct a complex argument, (b) compare and validate the reported research findings with those of previous research, and (c) present the findings within the larger context of the field while acknowledging the study's limitations. Nevertheless, this imbalance in treatment does not detract from the usefulness of this thoughtfully constructed text. ■

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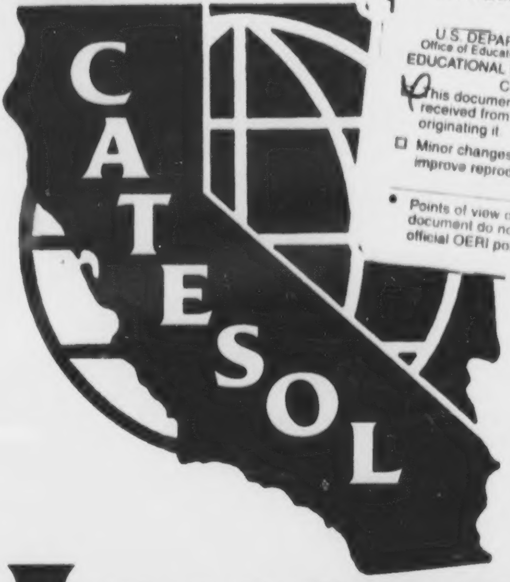

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The CATESOL Journal

EDITORS' NOTE

This volume represents the content diversity of our profession with articles ranging from peace to computers. We are always looking for articles representing the diverse interests and levels of our members. Sometimes we do not find them during the submission process. In this volume, the majority of the articles focus on college-level ESL. However, the ideas, techniques, and findings are applicable across educational levels.

This issue marks the closing of the first era of *The CATESOL Journal.* The *Journal* began six years ago under our editorial leadership. It is now time for a change. Dorothy Messerschmitt will become president of CATESOL and is, thus, stepping down from her position as journal coeditor. A search announcement for a new coeditor has already appeared in the *CATESOL News.* Denise Murray will continue for one more year working with the new editor.

Dorothy Messerschmitt and Denise Murray
Editors

Note from Dorothy Messerschmitt:

Starting a new journal was an exciting challenge. I have enjoyed watching the journal grow and mature. Thank you all for this unique experience.

The CATESOL Journal

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ESL Techniques for Peace

■ **The premise of this paper is that learner-centered classrooms characterized by cooperative learning, affective-humanistic activities, cross-cultural instruction, and Freire's problem-posing method promote successful language learning because they create peaceful oases in which people learn easily. They are microcosms of a just world order based on the global values of positive interdependence, social justice, and participation in decision-making processes. The paper discusses threats to the peaceful classroom—misunderstanding, prejudice, and destructive conflicts—and how they can be avoided or resolved. It concludes with a list of resources teachers can consult if they wish to create peaceful ESL classrooms.**

We don't always get the chance to see the influence that indefatigable behind-the-scenes peacemakers have on world events, but we do often see the power of peacebuilding as we go about our teaching duties in the language classroom. As practical ESL teachers, we may not recognize that the classroom situation we create is peaceful, but many of the techniques we find effective with our students work so well precisely because they create a classroom atmosphere free of tension, competition, and conflict— which leads to greater language learning. Learner-centered, cooperative ESL classrooms can be, in fact, microcosms of a just world order. In this paper, I will detail how teachers can use these and other proven methods to foster an ESL classroom based on positive interdependence, respect for diversity and human dignity, social justice, and participation.

Positive Interdependence

Positive interdependence means that individuals (be they people, towns, states, or countries) deal with each other out of a sense of security and strength which they have gained through self-sufficiency, autonomy, shared knowledge, and shared responsibility. In the ESL classroom positive interdependence translates into a relationship between teacher and students and among the students themselves in which individuals:

(a) are self-sufficient, autonomous, and equal;

(b) can trust each other to fulfill obligations; and

(c) realize that more can be achieved by working together than by other means.

I try to achieve these goals in three ways: by modeling a flexible and nonauthoritarian attitude, by encouraging student autonomy, and by using careful cooperative learning.

Most ESL teachers are flexible and nonauthoritarian; it is no accident that our field attracts these individuals. Only flexible and nonauthoritarian teachers can move away from center stage in the classroom so that learner-initiated activities may spring up. Only flexible and nonauthoritarian teachers can establish reasonable standards for their students and then step away from judgments so that they can assume the role of encourager and work with the students to set and achieve goals.

However, students must be personally self-sufficient and able to work independently to achieve a truly positive interdependence, so the teacher should include well-planned cooperative work along with individual and competitive work. The teacher's role is to set up the cooperative work so that each student can work from a sense of strength and independence, building self-esteem and confidence. Groups must be chosen carefully, activities must be done in small clearly described steps, and both groups and work must be monitored often. Cooperative learning is excellent for both lower and higher achiever, but if one or two students in a group do all the work and other students do nothing, everyone can end up feeling used and abused. Nothing is more destructive of positive interdependence. Many students have to learn to work cooperatively. To help them teachers should:

1. Explain carefully that both attendance and participation are heavily weighted in grading. Explain that individual grades, sometimes along with a group grade, will be given.

2. Begin with smaller projects. More ambitious work is reserved for when students are accustomed to working together.

3. Make sure group members know exactly what their responsibilities are at each point in the project. They should feel some pressure to fulfill their obligations, and they should be held accountable for completing the work.

4. Monitor progress carefully and ask for frequent feedback from group members. In debriefing, ask them to evaluate the experience or to assign grades to their own and their group members' work. Draw generalizations from each project which can enhance learning in the next one.

5. Allow enough time for everyone to complete the work.

6. If there are persistent slackers, speak with them individually about their effort. Do a cooperative project in pairs and place the slackers together.

7. Choose projects that the students will value, enjoy, or at least see some need for.

Respect for Diversity and Human Dignity

One cornerstone for a just world order is that true security for individuals, communities, and nations is based on a respect for diversity and human dignity. ESL teachers can encourage respect in the classroom by means of affective, humanistic, and cross-cultural activities, which, if properly handled, can lead students to self-knowledge, a concern for others, and ethnic pride. When chosen carefully, they can also increase the students' sense of *species identity,* the sense that for all our diversity we ultimately claim membership in the race of humans (Boulding, 1988).

When doing affective/humanistic activities, it is crucial to affirm not only the students as individuals, but also cooperative groups and the class as a social unit. Furthermore, students need a careful introduction to the idea of sharing, a focus on positive feelings and ideas without denying the negative, an emphasis placed on similarities rather than differences, and a tolerance for those who do not want to participate for personal or cultural reasons. Teachers must offer those who decline to take part an alternative which is acceptable to them. Future lessons should be structured so as to attract reluctant students, perhaps by having them share less personally threatening or revealing information.

These techniques will not lead inevitably to acceptance or liking; that is why the peaceful classroom is predicated instead on respect for the dignity of others. Teachers should hesitate a long time before trying to openly persuade their students to change a differing view. Although teachers may share their own opinions, they should model for their students sensitivity and openness to new ideas. For instance, one ESL reading teacher was quite taken aback by a Muslim student's insistence on creationism and denial of evolution. The teacher was about to argue with the student, but instead she bit her tongue and merely pointed out that, given his opinion, his interpretation of the reading selection would differ from the other students'. Some may argue that this teacher missed an opportunity to educate her student about science and evolution, but I believe that a peaceful classroom must tolerate many differing beliefs in the interest of personal security and dignity. This teacher gained more by tolerating the student's opinion than she would have by trying in vain to convince him to see his "error."

In cross-cultural learning, it is not enough to expose students to different individual or cultural priorities through values clarification experiences and decontextualized lessons about different holidays, foods, or customs. Rather, a second thrust of cross-cultural learning involves leading class members to the awareness that we are all global citizens with similar needs, problems, and joys. For example, a discussion about a particular ethnic art form in my class led to an exploration of the common human need to create beautiful things. A lesson about the Mexican day of independence turned into an exploration of a universal drive for self-governance. Cross-cultural activities must not only promote understanding of cultural contrasts and different values, but take the classroom community to a deeper realization of our common human condition and connections.

Here is an example from another class, composed of beginning grammar students at a university, Hispanic students for the most part, and four Muslim women from different countries. Students were engrossed in discussing the topic of the day, coeducational versus single-sex schools, when the conversation shifted to a related topic: Love marriages versus arranged marriages. The Hispanic students lined up on the side of love. The Muslim women were in favor of arranged marriages, citing the stability of unions which did not depend on physical attraction and pointing out that affection often grew between the husband and wife. Suddenly one of the Muslim women pointed to the teacher and said, "Look at our teacher. She works very hard. She teaches classes, studies in graduate school, and takes care of two small children by herself. No one takes care of her. She is alone against the world. Me, my father took care of me and now my husband. I have no worries. I have time to do what I want."

The teacher felt an emotional surge and saw that simplistic Western-chauvinistic value judgments were inadequate. The Hispanic students got a new perspective as well—that some social institutions we condemn may actually bring some benefits to a society and that freedom may be in the eye of the beholder.

Participation and Social Justice

If our goal is positive interdependence and respect for human dignity, then it follows that both individuals and societies must work towards participation in decision making, social equality, and justice. A classroom in which authority is distributed is peaceful; the cooperative, learner-centered classroom allows distribution of authority. Another area in which freedom of participation can be explored in the ESL classroom is decision making by consensus. In building a consensus, all class members bring their thoughts and preferences to a discussion with the objective of arriving at a resolution which everyone can agree to. Arriving at a consensus is not as fast as voting, but it tends to have a more peaceful and long-lasting result because the participants have been heard out and the decision approved by everyone. If our students are using their target language to brainstorm possibilities and evaluate alternatives, then consensus building becomes a meaningful practice of the language. However, teachers must be willing to accept the diverse solutions which may be negotiated by the students.

Problem-posing techniques which emphasize critical thinking and social activism challenge students to want to work for justice and participation for themselves and their society. This is exactly what occurred in an intermediate class of undergraduates at a large midwestern university where there were 15 Arab, Puerto Rican, Spanish, Korean, and Japanese students.

The reading textbook contained Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" sermon, which the students read and discussed. The teacher played a tape of the speech during listening practice and a discussion of racism in the U.S. sprang from that. Because of the students' interest, the teacher arranged to show the film *A Soldier's Story* which provided an historical context for the current situation in the U.S. The teacher wanted to drop the subject at this point and go on with the syllabus, but she got a note from one of the Japanese girls. The note said, "I wish we could stop talking about discrimination because I am embarrassed. In my country Koreans are discriminated against and now that I have some Korean friends in the class, it is too painful to discuss this topic. When I lived in Japan I did not consider this policy of my government, but now I see that it is bad." The teacher decided to have one more discussion in class on the topic of societal and individual guilt, from which two main ideas emerged. First, the students realized that every student could point out some form of discrimination which took place in his or her region. Second, the students decided that individuals were not guilty for past injustices, but they were at least partly responsible in their own small way for continuing injustice committed by their society or government.

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The students were still not ready to leave this topic; they demanded to have a debate. The topic they decided to discuss was "Resolved: Homosexuals should be prohibited from holding certain jobs where they serve as role models for children." After some preparation, a debate ensued in which it became clear to most students that this form of job discrimination was not correct. Those students who continued to support the resolution were in fact more open-minded at the end because their opinions had been given respectful audience.

Finally, the students were willing to leave the topic of discrimination, but all the classroom participants, teacher included, had been changed by the experience. They viewed their own countries and societies as well as each other with fresh eyes. They had discussed their opinions freely but accorded respect to those who disagreed. And it is obvious that they had also learned a lot of English in the process.

Challenges to the Peaceful Classroom

Just as a peaceful world order is not something which can be achieved once and for all, a peaceful classroom is not something which teachers can create and then sit back complacently and observe. Peaceful classrooms, like a just world order, will require constant preparation and vigilance because there will always be external and internal threats to peace. One type of interference to peace in the classroom may come from outside: from the school administration, parents, or community who may misunderstand or distrust new teaching methods. School administrators may distrust classrooms which are learner centered because it seems like the class may get out of control. They, along with parents and even students, may misunderstand cooperative learning and prefer more traditional competitive learning. They may look more at high scores on competitive exams as a mark of a good school. Cross-cultural and humanistic activities have come under attack because they are felt to be unpatriotic or antireligious. These challenges cannot be ignored or dismissed lightly; they must be addressed in a serious and respectful way.

Teachers who are convinced that peaceful learning benefits the students personally and academically can work together to achieve their own professional freedom through local TESOL affiliates or national groups like Educators for Social Responsibility. They can try to convince school officials, parents, and reluctant students that their methods are just as effective, or more so, than traditional methods and that they are based on current educational theories and philosophy. They need to inform the public that the goal of cross-cultural learning is not to make everyone the same, but rather to encourage a respect for differences within a single community, and that humanistic techniques in the classroom are not contrary to religious beliefs.

Another threat to peace in the classroom may occur because the school administrators and the community have a prejudice against the ethnic or racial group of the students in our classrooms. Similarly, when students have learned to dislike a certain ethnic or social group, the negative attitude directly conflicts with the respectful attitude fostered in class. Teachers should encourage critical thinking and help pupils make up their own minds based on their classroom experiences. At the same time teachers should stress that polite and respectful behavior is necessary inside the classroom, on the school grounds, and in the community. Most importantly, teachers should be prepared to deal proactively with any type of conflict by teaching conflict resolution skills.

Almost 20 years ago, in Madrid, Spain a fistfight erupted in my class between a Basque student and a Franco supporter over a seemingly uncontroversial historical point. The other classmates acted quickly to bring the situation under control by grabbing both students and separating them. The two students ignored each other after that, but their antipathy created a tensely charged classroom atmosphere which interfered with learning and only gradually dissipated. There are two morals to be learned from this. First, we cannot expect external political and ethnic conflicts to vanish magically within the walls of the peaceful classroom; we can only hope to have a small positive effect on a few individual class members. Second, in order to have a positive effect on class members, we must be prepared to teach peacemaking skills openly to engage the students in the maintenance of a peaceful classroom.

In creative conflict resolution, classmates confront their disagreements and work towards a solution together. Conflict in the classroom does not need to be negative; students can learn to turn conflict into something positive if they can master a few techniques:

1. Say clearly what the problem is in the form of an I statement: "I got angry when you said that my opinion was unscientific."

2. Do not insult, judge, or threaten. Do not call anyone a name.

3. Listen actively to the other person. While listening, do not think about how to answer. Reflect the feelings of the other: "It seems like you are really disappointed that you weren't picked to be on that team."

4. Use problem-solving techniques: Define the problem; state views; brainstorm possible solutions; evaluate solutions; select one or all of the solutions to try; leave an opening for further discussion.

Students of all ages enjoy role playing negative conflicts (anger, name calling, blaming, etc.) and then positive conflicts (I-statements, active listening, problem solving, etc.).

Peacemaking: From Theory to Practice

ESL teachers have a very real opportunity to build and maintain a peaceful classroom by encouraging positive interdependence through learner-centered and cooperative activities, by promoting respect for human dignity and diversity (while emphasizing species identity) through affective, humanistic and cross-cultural activities, by educating for social justice and participation through student autonomy and Freire's problem-posing approach, and by learning conflict resolution techniques and teaching them to students so that they increase their ability to approach conflicts positively and learn from them.

The books and articles listed in the bibliography are just a few of many excellent sources for teachers willing to try building a just world order in their ESL classrooms. ■

Barbara Birch is an assistant professor of linguistics whose main interests are ESL, child language acquisition, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and peace education. She has taught ESL in Wisconsin and Connecticut and EFL in Spain, Ecuador, and Pakistan.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Keys to Effective Peer Response

More and more ESL writing teachers are trying peer response to give students a wider audience for their papers and to encourage revision. However, in many cases students do not respond effectively, and little revision takes place. This paper discusses some of the problems with peer response and suggests how a clear role, specific tasks, thorough training, and clear accountability procedures can help foster more effective peer response.

In recent years, teachers of writing to nonnative speakers of English, like their counterparts who teach native speakers, have moved away from a product approach, with its emphasis on form, toward a process approach which focuses on writing as the communication of ideas. In the ideal process-oriented classroom, the atmosphere is nonthreatening, and students are in control of their own activities. Writing is seen as communication. Students "write for real readers; they are encouraged to write for a purpose; they focus on content and ideas rather than on surface features" (Casanave, 1988, p. 31).

In a process approach, students are given strategies to discover and reshape what they have to say. Teachers intervene at various points in the process to give students guidance and feedback, expecting them to make substantial revisions between drafts as a result. However, in the ideal classroom, "the teacher is not the sole evaluator and responder. Students read and respond to the work of their peers and are helped to become critical responders to their own work" (Casanave, 1988, p. 32). Thus peer response is central to a process approach, central to the notion of writing as communication.

The benefits of peer response for native speakers include higher quality papers, more positive attitudes toward writing, the development of critical thinking skills, and the ability to address the needs of the audience (Gere, 1987). As DiPardo and Freedman (1988) point out, "Groups present an arena for intervening in the individual's writing process, for working collectively to discover ideas, for underscoring the writer's sense of audience, for interacting with supportive others at various points in the composing process, and even, perhaps, for developing the writer's intuition" (p. 123).

Teachers of nonnative speakers agree on the benefits of peer response, commenting on "its ability to promote a sense of community in the ESL writing class, to help students develop a clearer sense of audience, to make real the idea that writing must communicate a message, and to encourage a willingness to revise" (Leki, 1990, p. 5).

Of the benefits, perhaps the most important is developing an awareness of audience. Research shows that "more successful writers, under certain conditions, are more conscious of audience than their less successful counterparts. Peer groups provide one way to make audience needs concrete and to help writers who otherwise might not focus on those needs to do so" (DiPardo & Freedman, 1988, p. 124).

This immediate audience can be an effective means of enabling students to transform their writer-based prose into reader-based prose. As Flower (1979) notes: "Effective writers do not simply express thought but transform it in certain complex but describable ways for the needs of a reader" (p. 19). Peers' perceptions of a draft can help the writer make those transformations.

Despite the clear benefits of peer response, however, results are not always positive. (See DiPardo & Freedman, 1988, for a discussion of both successful and unsuccessful L1 response groups.) Research on nonnative-speaker revision indicates that in most cases students revise very little, and most of the changes they make from draft to draft are on surface-level errors rather than on content (Berger, 1990; Mangelsdorf & Schlumberger, 1992; Schecter & Harklau, 1991).

Teachers also frequently report that groups are ineffective, that students don't take the process seriously, that they are often unprepared or off task, and that the activity does not generally result in substantial revision. The purpose of this paper is to investigate some of the common problems in implementing effective peer response groups and to propose a peer response procedure which can help resolve some of those problems.

Problems With Peer Response

One of the major problems with peer response is that students are often overly critical. Leki's (1990) review of the literature confirms that many students complain about their classmates' harsh criticism, their bluntness and rudeness in peer response. Such criticism can cause a great deal of discomfort for the students. It can destroy the teacher's attempts to create a nonthreatening classroom atmosphere in which students retain control over their own texts. To eliminate criticism, Leki advises teachers "to reiterate to peer responders that the purpose of the activity is to help, not criticize" (p. 11).

Johnson (1992) also notes that peer response can be a face-threatening activity, and that for this reason compliments and other positive politeness strategies become important in creating "a socially appropriate framework for the review as a whole" (p. 210).

Another common problem with peer response is that students often tend to focus more on correctness than on ideas, resulting in more editing than revision (Hedgcock & Lefkowitz, 1992; Leki, 1990). This can be seen in Berger's (1990) study comparing the effects of peer and teacher feedback. While most of the comments students made on their feedback forms dealt with content, most of the actual changes students made in their papers were linguistic in nature.

Peer response also fails because of a lack of preparation or training. Studies confirm that training is critical, resulting in far better peer feedback and better revisions (Leki, 1990; Nelson & Murphy, 1992; Stanley, 1992). Stanley compared students who received an extensive seven-hour coaching session on the peer review process with students who received a one-hour training session. She found that the more extensively coached group produced more talk about the writing than the other group, and their comments were more useful.

Cause: Inappropriate Role

Most of the problems with peer response can be traced back to a single underlying cause: Students often take on the role of critical expert in peer response rather than the more appropriate role of supportive peer. The role of expert is a very uncomfortable one for students. Not only do they dislike being criticized and corrected, especially by peers whose language is probably no better than their own, but many are uncomfortable criticizing each other or even offering suggestions because they know that their own papers are also flawed–as second language speakers, they often cannot be sure of what is right or wrong in terms of language. In this role, they are likely to give inappropriate or incorrect feedback, and they are unlikely to trust their peers' suggestions.

One reason students take on the role of expert in peer response groups is that teachers often expect them to. Teachers and researchers alike confuse peer response with peer evaluation. DiPardo and Freedman (1988) report on one study in which the researchers "suggest ways of getting students to assume the points of view of teachers...to pose teacher-type questions" (p. 132). In Chaudron's (1983) study of the relative effectiveness of peer as opposed to teacher feedback, students were given a guide to lead them to mark "perceived linguistic and mechanical problems" (p. 7). Newkirk's (1984) study concludes that peers are not necessarily the best audience, but this is based on differences in evaluation, not response.

Another example of this problem can be seen in the Mangelsdorf and Schlumberger (1992) study. The researchers found that during peer response, students were most often prescriptive in their feedback, giving generic comments and focusing on form. But student responses may have been influenced by the way the task was stated: "The writer now needs to know how well the paper followed English writing conventions" (p. 238). Students may have interpreted *conventions* to mean correct language and form and probably responded accordingly.

Teachers prepare such written guidelines for peer response in order to control the process, to make sure that students know what to do in groups and stay on task. However, teachers need to be careful about the kinds of tasks they ask students to do in peer response. As DiPardo and Freedman (1988) warn, "In attempting to build a teacher-mandated agenda into the structure of response groups, instructors may erode rather than enhance their potential by encouraging students to role-play the teacher instead of interacting as peers" (p. 129).

Even without specific guidelines which put students in the role of experts, they may still take on that role. As Leki (1990) suggests, when students respond to each other in peer groups they may be "imitating responses they have received to their own papers, particularly in ESL language classes not focused so much on writing as on practical applications of grammar lessons" (p. 9). Zamel's (1985) study of how ESL teachers respond to student texts confirms that grammar is the focus in many ESL classrooms. Most of the ESL teachers she studied, viewing themselves as linguists, were even more likely than teachers of native speakers to focus on language concerns in student texts.

Although peer response presents many potential problems, if students are supportive of each other, focus on ideas rather than language, and retain control over their own papers, peer response can be effective. In order to create such an environment, students must understand the purpose of peer response, be given tasks which foster an appropriate role, be given explicit training, and be held accountable for their responses.

Peer Response Procedure

In order to begin to solve some of the problems associated with peer response, students need to have a clear sense of writing as a process. They should expect to go through multiple drafts of a paper, revising substantially from one draft to the next. One activity which contributes significantly to this endeavor is freewriting. When students are in the habit of writing a number of exploratory drafts, they learn that much will inevitably be discarded and that the final version will undoubtedly be very different from earlier drafts (Elbow, 1973).

It is also important for students to understand the purpose of peer response. The purpose is not to have a final draft evaluated. The purpose is to encourage revision–not just editing–to enable the writers to see how their writing is perceived by others so that they can resolve conflicts between intention and perception, as Elbow (1973) puts it, and finally to help writers see what they are doing well so that they can continue to do those things on subsequent papers.

Most importantly, students must have an appropriate role in order for peer response to be effective. It is more useful for students to play the role of conversation partner in peer response than the role of teacher/expert. Writing is communication, and writers need an opportunity to have someone respond to their ideas, just as they would in a conversation. When we are talking, people don't interrupt us constantly to correct our language errors or prescribe how we should say something. Generally speaking, they listen attentively, reflect back their perceptions, and ask questions to clarify and call for more detail. From the kind of supportive feedback we get in a conversation, we are able to clarify our ideas and even pursue our thoughts further. This is the most useful kind of feedback that writers can get to their writing. To paraphrase Elbow (1973), writers don't need advice or theories; what they need to know is how others perceive their ideas. The role of students in peer response groups, therefore, should be similar to the role of conversation partners–that of interested, supportive, but perhaps confused listeners.

In order to achieve this supportive, content-focused role in peer response, it is helpful to structure activities which focus on ideas, which emphasize questions and positive comments. With this type of structure, suggestions and criticisms are not necessary and should, in fact, be prohibited since they may lead to defensiveness and take ownership of the paper away from the writer.

To help students focus on the ideas rather than the surface features of a text, I ask them to read their own papers out loud to their classmates rather than having their classmates read the writer's paper silently. This oral reading is an approach which has been advocated for native speakers by Elbow and Ponsot and Deen, among others (Leki, 1990). Hearing the text rather than reading it enables peers to respond more effectively because they get a holistic view and are not distracted by surface features.

Reading their own texts out loud benefits the writers as well. As Zamel (1983) notes, proficient ESL writers often find a lot of their own errors and confusing spots simply by reading their own papers out loud, "as if hearing it spoken meant 'seeing' it in a new and more removed way" (p. 174).

For nonnative speakers, there are certainly problems with listening to classmates' papers, such as coping with accents. Students generally complain the first time we do peer response that the room is too noisy and that they can't understand each other. But with practice, they learn to listen carefully and to ask the writer to stop and repeat something if they can't hear or don't understand.

Another concern with listening to a text rather than reading it is that some students need more visual support than others. For this reason, I do allow students to look over each others' shoulders to see the paper as the writer reads, but I don't want classmates to just read the writer's paper silently. Problems associated with oral reading are easily overcome and are far outweighed by the benefits.

Response Tasks and Training

In order to respond effectively, students must have clear and appropriate tasks. The response procedure I use consists of four specific tasks: restatement of the main idea, identification of main supporting ideas, identification and analysis of effective writing techniques, and asking questions. These tasks help students develop important analytical skills. Students are told not to criticize, to offer suggestions, or to correct each others' papers. In this way, they are able to give useful feedback in a supportive, nonthreatening manner and writers retain control over their own writing.

Giving students clear tasks is not enough, however. As was noted earlier, training and practice are essential for effective peer response. The first three response tasks are practiced thoughout the term on published writing. In addition, students are given a separate one-hour training session which reviews the first three tasks and focuses on asking appropriate questions. This peer response training is considerably less than the seven hours of training advocated by Stanley (1992) but seems to be effective nonetheless.

Main Idea Restatement

The first task in this peer response procedure is to restate the paper's main idea. Restatements enable the writer to see how classmates perceive the paper and provide a framework for the rest of the response. No restatements are wrong. Peers are simply reflecting back their perceptions. If the writer finds a discrepancy between her intentions and her classmates' perceptions, it is up to her to decide whether and how to resolve the problem. The restatement can help the writer "[select] a focus of mutual interest to both reader and writer" (Flower, 1979, p. 37) and help the reader discover what is significant about the paper.

Students practice restating main ideas throughout the term by summarizing published essays and individual paragraphs. In addition, at the beginning of the one-hour training session, I read a short student paragraph, such as Linda's paragraph about Hong Kong (Appendix A), and ask the students to write down a statement summarizing the main idea. Having students write the statement out first ensures that they all have an opportunity to give the main idea statement some thought.

For this initial training, it is helpful to use a paragraph with a very clear main idea. At first students often respond with announcements of topics such as "Her paper is about the benefits of Hong Kong," or noun clauses such as "How nice Hong Kong is to visit," or topics such as "The benefits of visiting Hong Kong." Such responses provide the opportunity to discuss what a sentence is and what a thesis statement is. When students come up with several possible thesis statements, all reflecting the same main idea, "Hong Kong is a nice place to visit," they learn that it is possible in English to state the same thing in a number of different ways. This is very useful to nonnative speakers, many of whom believe that there is one right way to say something.

If time permits, students are also asked to restate the main idea of an unfocused paragraph. This activity is similar to what students will encounter during actual peer response. In response to unfocused writing, students produce a variety of statements, reflecting back to the writer in a nonthreatening way that the piece is not unified or that the main idea is not communicated as clearly as it could be. The writer than decides how to focus the paper. This is achieved without any suggestions or criticisms.

Supporting Ideas

With longer papers, students are also asked to identify the main supporting ideas during peer response. This task can help students achieve a more reader-based prose by "transforming the narrative or textbook structure into a rhetorical structure built on hierarchical relationships between ideas and organized around the purpose for writing, rather than the writer's process" (Flower, 1979, p.37).

Students are trained to reflect back supporting ideas in much the same way as they are trained to identify the main idea of a piece. With published essays, students are asked how they would divide the text into large sections and why. They also examine the purpose of individual paragraphs and how the writer signals a new thought or signals the relationship to the overall main idea of the paper.

During the one-hour training session, students have no difficulty finding three supporting ideas in Linda's paper (Appendix A). During actual peer response, however, students are likely to be responding to unorganized or writer-based pieces. When students respond with a variety of supporting ideas, the writer sees that the paper is not very clearly organized and sees a number of ways of reorganizing. Again this is achieved in a nonthreatening environment without criticisms or suggestions, with the writer retaining control over the paper.

Effective Writing Techniques (Strengths)

Praise is another critical element of peer response. Positive comments help foster a supportive atmosphere. Without hearing anything positive, the writer might interpret a response as criticism and feel discouraged. As Daiker's (1989) review of the research demonstrates, praise improves student writing, increases the length of student papers, and promotes a more positive attitude toward writing. Poor writing performance, he finds, may be due in part to apprehension resulting from past experiences of failure and criticism. In one study reported on by Daiker, "after just four weeks, students who received only negative comments about their work or none at all were writing papers significantly shorter than those of students who were praised" (p. 106).

Praise must be specific, however, if it is to be useful to the writer. The writer may doubt the sincerity of a general statement such as "That's an interesting idea" or "I like your description." Although such comments are valid positive responses, they are not as useful as more specific comments. If peers can point to a text-specific, effective writing technique and explain why it is effective, the writer will know that the response is sincere and will be able to continue using this technique on subsequent papers. In addition, in pointing out such effective writing techniques, students develop important analytical skills, and as they notice these techniques, in published writing and in their classmates' writing, these techniques begin to appear in their own writing.

Training students to praise each others' writing is critical, but as Daiker (1989) points out, "Praise...is more easily enjoined than put into practice" (p. 107). As with the first two peer response tasks, training students to praise, to find strengths in writing, is an on-going process. With published essays studied in class, students are asked what they like best, what is clear and effective, and why. At first students usually respond by saying that they like certain ideas. To train students to become more analytical, I ask them why they like a particular introduction or example or word or whatever they point to as effective. I then ask them to analyze what makes that technique particularly interesting or effective to them. I also spend class time pointing out effective writing techniques which students do not necessarily notice on their own, at least not initially. Students can easily learn to become aware of the use of signaling devices, deictic markers, repetition of key terms. or parallel structure.

Due to the time limits of the peer response training session, the length of Linda's paper, and the enormous improvement of her revision (Appendix E), I don't ask students to discuss Linda's effective writing techniques until they have heard the revision. At that point, students can point to many specific techniques and explain why they are effective for them personally as readers.

During actual peer response, students are required to find at least one effective writing technique in each paper they respond to. If they have a problem with this task, the writer can reread a section of her paper which she thinks is particularly good and ask classmates to respond.

Questions

One of the most important parts of peer response is asking and answering questions. Good questions enable the writer to clarify ideas, relationships, and language and to provide needed explanations and supporting details in a natural, nonthreatening way, as in a conversation. Unless students are specifically trained to ask questions about a text, however, they tend to "supply meaning to essays they read, to close coherence gaps that the writer had left open" (Stanley, 1992, p. 219).

Asking questions about the writer's paper can also be helpful in resolving another problem discussed by Leki (1990): Students may come to the writing task with different rhetorical expectations and are probably unfamiliar with the expectations of the academic community. As the students are carefully guided through the questioning process, they learn how English texts are structured. They learn what is expected next and what information the writer is obligated to provide. Student writers quickly see that information which was clear or understood to them was not so clear for the reader and so are encouraged to revise their papers in order to clarify.

When students develop this habit of questioning, they begin to view texts they read in a different way. Their reading improves and they become aware that in good texts written in English, their questions are generally anticipated and answered by the writer. Thus the experience of questioning and answering in peer response can help students understand the rhetorical expectations of texts in English.

Although students can practice identifying main ideas, organizational patterns, and effective writing techniques as they analyze published writing thoughout the term, additional time must be devoted to training students to ask questions. Such training enables students to develop confidence that they can ask useful questions about each others' papers.

The question training takes up the bulk of the one-hour training session. I begin by rereading the same short student paragraph that was used when practicing main idea restatements (Appendix A), this time one sentence at a time. After each sentence is read, students are asked to write down the first question that comes to mind. Again, writing the question rather than stating it out loud ensures that each student has a chance to think. Students are told not to be concerned about whether their questions are good or bad; they should simply write down the first question that would come to them if this were a conversation, no matter how obvious and whether they already know the answer or not.

Once most of the students have written a question in response to the first sentence of the student essay, one student is asked to read his or her question out loud. Since many students have the same question, they may nod their heads or agree verbally as questions are read. Students who have similar question are asked to raise their hands. When they see that many of their classmates have the same questions, students gain confidence in their ability to ask useful questions.

After the class has shared questions to a few sentences read one at a time, the rest of the paragraph is read all at once. This process is more like what students will be doing in actual peer response groups with each others' papers. This time students are asked to keep the unanswered questions in their minds and write them down after the paragraph is read. While I am reading, they may jot down a word or two, but I discourage extensive note taking, as it might interfere with comprehension.

After students have written down several questions, they share their lists in small groups, looking for similarities. This activity promotes confidence and helps students see what questions they may have overlooked. Each group is then asked to share one question which several students in their group have in common but which no other group has yet mentioned. In this way, students gain an appreciation for the range of common questions that can be asked.

During the actual peer response, students are required to spend time answering the questions that their classmates ask, even if they feel that the question is not relevant. Answering questions forces the writer to think further about the ideas of the paper, to express those ideas directly in English, and to clarify those thoughts by negotiating meaning.

Negotiation of meaning has been found to be an important factor in revision. Goldstein and Conrad (1990) in a study of teacher-student conferences on student papers found that students who negotiated meaning made more revisions in the following draft that improved the text than students who did not negotiate meaning. The authors explain that "just as negotiation clarifies meanings in ordinary conversations, negotiation in the conference may clarify the need for revision and the strategies to undertake the revision. Students therefore may understand more clearly what to revise, how to revise, and why they need to do so. In addition, negotiation may lead to better retention of what has been discussed" (p. 457).

Setting Up Groups

Once students understand their role, are familiar with the peer response tasks, and have been specifically trained to ask questions, they are ready for their first peer response session. Students are asked to form groups of three with as much diversity as possible. This may require some assistance on the part of the instructor. Groups of three are effective because students can get more than one viewpoint, and the class period–50 minutes–is too short to have more than three in a group. If the class does not divide by three, some students can work in pairs. Diversity within the group is helpful because a person from the other side of the globe is less likely to understand what is unstated in the student's paper than is someone from the same country or a neighboring country.

Sometimes students stay with the same group all term, but more often, they switch partners once they realize who will give them the most effective response. Students often come to class early on peer response days so that they can pair up with the "right" person.

During the actual peer response, I circulate to make sure that students are reading their own papers out loud, not reading their classmates' papers silently, that they are listening to each other, that they are doing the tasks, that they are actually answering the questions they are asked, and that they are using their time appropriately. The students are always eagerly engaged in the activity.

Revising

Although the purpose of peer response is to give feedback that will assist in rewriting the paper, revision doesn't always happen automatically, even after the best peer response. This is probably because rethinking a paper is a difficult task. Students have not been told how to change their papers. They must decide for themselves how to change them in order to make them clearer to readers.

To ensure that students revise, they are asked to write a short Reflections Statement immediately after the response. The Reflections Statement is a five-minute freewriting telling how the response group was helpful and what specific changes they plan to make in their papers. Writing the statement forces students to think about the responses they have gotten and to do something about those responses. If they reflect on the responses immediately after the peer response activity, the ideas are transferred to long term memory, and they are more likely to revise.

In some classes, it may also be necessary to take some time for guided revision. After their classmates' responses, students are asked to mark their papers where they want to add information and to add that information in the margin or on another sheet of paper. They are also asked to cross out anything that is not relevant and to use arrows to indicate how they will move information. This activity helps students understand what revision is and what is expected of them.

Accountability

The clear role, specific tasks, and explicit training can help foster effective peer response but not if the students don't take the work seriously. For this reason, after each peer response, students are asked to turn in one Response Report (Appendix B) for each of the classmates they have responded to.

Response Reports are introduced at the end of the training session. I show the students a sample Response Report on the student paper which has been used for the training session (Appendix C). They see that the student who wrote the report asked many of the same questions that they had and got full credit for the questions despite his weak language.

The reports are to be written at home, not in class, based on what happened in the response groups. Students may take notes during peer response to help them write their reports and revise their essays, but to ensure active negotiation of meaning, there should be no silence during the actual peer response (See Appendix D: "Peer Response Instructions").

To ensure that students come to class prepared for peer response, I warn them that I will not read a paper if a classmate has not responded to it first. If they are absent the day of peer response or come unprepared, it is their responsibility to find someone from the class from a different language group who is willing to respond to their paper for no additional credit. When students hear this warning in advance, they generally come to class prepared for peer response. They know that at the very least they can bring in a 20-minute exploratory draft.

The day after the oral peer response, when the reports are completed, students make a photocopy for the classmate they have responded to and give the original report to the instructor. The purpose of the reports is not to facilitate revision. The writer should be able to revise based on the oral peer response. The purpose of the written report is to indicate to the teacher how well the student is responding and to enable the writer to provide proof of peer response.

Reports are evaluated very quickly. Two points credit are awarded for each response for a total of 20. Points are not deducted for language problems. In fact, no comments are made on language unless there is a very basic repeated problem that the student should be aware of. In such cases, it is usually helpful to make a statement such as "You should be able to form questions correctly at this level."

Extra credit is given for additional strengths or questions, so an individual report might earn more than 20 points. At the end of the quarter, the five highest scoring Response Reports are added together to determine the report grade. Since students are in five response groups during the quarter, they have the opportunity to do many more than five reports. If they get 20 points on each of five reports, they have 100 points and don't need to write any more reports. It is also possible for them to get 100 points before they have done five reports if they have enough extra credit. Those who get their 100 points early are the most helpful response partners. Their classmates know that they respond well, so they continue to be sought out for peer response, and they continue to give effective response.

Since evaluating reports is an additional burden on me, one term I experimented with not requiring the report. I told students that they would not have to write a report if they performed well in peer response groups. That quarter I thought the groups were working well, so I didn't require the reports. However, at the end of the quarter when I asked which paper had improved the most as a result of peer response, I was shocked to read their responses: All but two students said that peer response did not help them. This was the first quarter I had gotten such a response. I decided that the reports were an essential part of peer response, that without them, students were not held accountable and effective response did not take place.

Results

The specific peer response procedure outlined above can be very effective, as can be seen from the substantial revisions that Linda made in her paper (Appendix E). When students hear Linda's revision at the end of the peer response training period and analyze its strengths, they are very impressed and are convinced that peer response works. They are ready to give it a try.

Although the changes in most papers may not be as dramatic as those we see in Linda's revision, most students do revise extensively for content after peer response. The changes from one draft to the next have not yet been analyzed empirically, but it is clear from the following student comments about the peer response activity that they have a greater awareness of audience, they understand revision as an expected process of reconstructing meaning, not simply as editing, and they retain control over their own texts:

Excerpts from Self Analysis

Q. Which paper improved the most as a direct result of peer response? Specifically how did it improve and why?

1. *I became to realize...my peer response won't understand the word that too abstract and I am always repeat my idea within a paragraph that make them confuse. Therefore, I looked back my paper and clarify the idea and mistakes.*

2. *As a result of peer response...I noticed how long it was, how dark in some places, unclear. I realized that one idea should be expressed with a few words and does not need any repetition. I realized that I have to make a clear choice about what I really want to tell, and accept that some ideas must be erased. I improved a lot about the organization of my ideas and in talking not too abstractly. I learned that clear examples tell much more than long sentences of abstract language.*

3. *I said that my friend changed her habit of late because of her good friends' comment. But I didn't mention in what way her friends helped her and how she was changed. My response group asked about this point and I can add the detail.*

4. *He made me realize that I was using too many technical words and that some people would not understand me. I was using words like "syntax errors," "files," "data," "Pascal," and "Basix." I realized that I had to write without using technical words.*

5. *My group was very helpful in giving me question like I said that I want to go back home and they gave me a question like Do you think that U.S. is a good country for you to stay and would you recommend people to live here? I made me give a concrete and clear conclusion that it doesn't matter where you are, home is still inside you.*

6. *They helped me to organize my ideas much better and to synthesize them. I had too many reasons to hate my job and some of them were very alike, could be together.*

7. *After I discussed with her, I find that she had difficult time to follow my ideas or she might get a wrong information from my paper so I made changes on focusing my ideas together and each supporting idea supported the main idea. I also changed the example and added new details.*

8. *The group response helped me a lot to decide the main idea, and also in what I really wanted to say.*

Conclusion

When I initially tried peer response, like many teachers I was very frustrated. Despite the many theoretical benefits, it didn't seem to be worth the time and effort. But now that I have a more systematic approach and students really understand what they are supposed to do, it is a step in the writing process that I would never omit.

Students not only develop their ideas and clarify their language during peer response but benefit from hearing other models of writing. They are much more aware of what makes writing clear and effective and are able to pick up techniques from other writers in their group who do particularly well.

Students also become better listeners and readers as a result of peer response. As they listen carefully to a classmate's paper, they form hypotheses, which they reevaluate as they hear more of the paper, and they form questions in their minds, just as proficient readers do.

Some students have reported that after leaving my class, they continue doing peer response with their friends for papers in other classes and that whenever they write, there is always a little reader in their heads asking questions, which is exactly what I want to happen.

For me as a teacher, the advantage is that I now have a much better product to respond to when I first see a student's paper. I may be spending the same amount of time responding to papers, but the papers I read are in far better condition after peer response, and subsequent papers are better on earlier drafts. I now get essays which are easier and more enjoyable to read because they are well thought out, purposeful communication for a real reader. I have found that with training and accountability, peer response is well worth the time and effort. ■

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Appendix A

Linda's First Draft

Hong Kong is a good place to visit. There are many shop: where you can go shopping very easy. Clothes are cheap and have many different styles, (either cheap or expensive). Food is very easy to buy. There are many restaurants, different taste, but they are all delicious, not so expensive. So there is a famous sentences "eat in Hong Kong." Traffic is easy in Hong Kong. You can go everywhere by bus, ferry or subway.

Appendix B

Response to ____________'s Paper

1. **Restatement:** (2 pts) Summarize your classmate's paper in one sentence. Your sentence should be your own version of a good thesis statement for your classmate's paper. Avoid saying "This paper is about..." which results in only a topic.
2. **Main Supporting Ideas:** (2 pts) List the three or four main supporting ideas that you detected in the essay.
3. **Strengths:** (2 pts each) What did you like best about the way your classmate wrote his/her paper? Why? Be sure that you mention something that your classmate can continue to do on future papers. Comment on writing skills, not topic selection. **Be careful! Two points will be deducted if you make a suggestion or criticize. Also two points will be deducted if you don't include at least one strength.**
4. **Questions:** (2 pts each) What are the best questions you asked about your classmate's paper? These should be questions that are clearly related to the main idea, that will help the writer clarify and further develop his/her paper.

• **I will not read any essay that is not accompanied by an earlier draft and a response report.**

•• **Total score - 20 points; (Extra points possible)**

Appendix C

NAME: Jay H.
DATE: 1/12/88

Response to Linda's Paper

1. **Restatement:** (2 pts) Summarize your classmate's paper in one sentence. Your sentence should be your own version of a good thesis statement for your classmate's paper. Avoid saying "this paper is about," which results in only a topic.

   Hong Kong is a good place to visit because of its profound supply of cheap goods and foods.

2. **Main Supporting Ideas:** (2 pts) List the three or four main supporting ideas that you detected in the essay.

   There are many styles of cloth you can buy.
   Food are cheap.
   Good transportation

3. **Strengths:** (2 pts each) What did you like best about the way your classmate wrote his/her paper? Why? Be sure that you mention something that your classmate can continue to do on future papers. Comment on writing skills, not topic selection. **Be careful! Two points will be deducted if you make a suggestion or criticize. Also two points will be deducted if you don't include at least one strength.**

   Have good ideas about Hong Kong such as cheap food, good transportation system.

   Teacher comment: NOT IDEAS

   The paragraph is focus on how good Hong Kong is.

4. **Questions:** (2 pts each) What are the best questions you asked about your classmate's paper? These should be questions that are clearly related to the main idea, that will help the writer clarify and further develop his/her paper.

   How cheap those goods is compare to USA or other countries?
   What kind of food do they eat?
   What kind of style clothing that is cheap?
   What kind of style clothing that is expensive?
   Why are food and goods cheap in Hong Kong?
   How much is the transportation cost?

   Teacher comment: BE SURE TO FORM QUESTIONS CORRECTLY

- **I will not read any essay that is not accompanied by an earlier draft and a response report.**

** **Total score = 20 points; (extra points possible)**

Appendix D

Peer Response Instructions

During Response:

1. Watch the clock. Spend 15 minutes on each person's paper.
2. Read your own paper out loud. Do not have your classmates read it.
3. Listen carefully. Stop the reader if you can't hear or don't understand.
4. Do the tasks in order. don't leave any out.
5. **Do not** write the report in class during response. You may take notes, but there should be **NO SILENCE**.
6. Answer the questions that your classmates ask you.

Immediately After the Response:

Immediately after your group has finished, spend five minutes freewriting your **"Reflections Statement."** In your statement, answer the following questions:

1. How was the response helpful to you?
2. What specific changes do you plan to make on your paper?

At Home:

1. Mark your paper with changes. Add information that you think will help clarify your paper. Delete anything which doesn't contribute to the main idea. Rearrange anything that seems out of place. A messy draft indicates to me that you have given your paper serious thought.
2. Write out a report of your response to each of the two other classmates in your group. Use a separate piece of paper for each report. Do not write on the form. Use it as a guide. Tomorrow, give a photocopy of the report to your classmate and give me the original.

Appendix E

Linda's Revision

Pearl of the Orient—Hong Kong

Hong Kong is a nice place to visit, if you enjoy shopping, eating and efficient transportation. Hong Kong is located at the southern tip of China. It has an area of 400 square miles but a population of 6 million. It is a popular place for tourists.

There are many shops opening from 10am until 12pm, in Hong Kong, so you can go shopping easily. Clothes have new design and a lots choice. The price is inexpensive. For example, you can buy a nice dress for 10 US dollars, but here must be more than 15 dollars. Many kinds of home appliances are available, for instance, rice cooker, food processor, T.V., stereo, answering machine etc.

Hong Kong has many excellent restaurants. They are different from those in the United States. Restaurants are everywhere, just open your eyes, a few must be in front of you. food is fresh, especially chicken, fish, bird, crab and prawn, not from box or refrigerator. They are almost alive before cooking. You can have real style food such as Chinese, French, Italian, Singaporean, Thai, Japanese and American. You still can walk into a Macdonald's or Burger King as easily. Spend about 30 US dollars, you can have a delicious Chinese dinner with four main dishes: a fish, chicken, beef, prawn, vegetable, and soup, serving four persons. You can have free desert too. If you want something cheaper, walk into a canteen, get a bowl of noodles with meat and vegetables just 1 US dollar, without tips.

Indeed, traffic is easy in Hong Kong. You can go everywhere by bus, subway or ferry. Schedules are frequent. You can take a taxi as necessary. It's convenient and cheap. You wouldn't have trouble. Worth mentioning, bus and ferry have double deck. Subway is very fast and clean.

In summary, many people like Hong Kong. Tourists like Hong Kong too.

The CATESOL Journal

JANET LANE, ELLEN LANGE,
and MARY LOWRY
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ESL Students at Risk: Identification and Intervention

■ **The lowest level ESL students in a college or university writing program usually represent a small, seldom-studied population. However, administrators and instructors concerned with retention and counseling need data on this group of high-risk students to improve their chances of succeeding academically. A significant percentage experience academic difficulty in English composition and other classes. A study of entrance exam essays and test scores of 70 low-level ESL university students was done to determine if students' later success or failure in ESL and mainstream composition courses could be predicted. Twelve of 20 variables analyzed proved statistically significant in predicting success or failure. Language factors, sentence clarity, and identifiability of errors were significant. Factors related to essay organization and development and scores from campus-developed reading, grammar, and cloze tests also proved significant. The information from this study gives instructors and program administrators concrete, measurable warning signals for identifying potentially high-risk ESL writers.**

At the University of California, Davis, as on many university campuses, recent trends in immigration and resettlement of refugees (in combination with the usual influx of international undergraduate students wishing to obtain a degree from an American university) have caused steady growth in the number of second language students in all levels of the writing program. Once admitted to UC Davis, all nonnative English-speaking undergraduate students must meet the same writing proficiency standards as other undergraduates. Many are held for ESL courses.

Most of these second language students progress steadily in their writing skills, but program statistics have shown that within the group of students who begin in the lowest level ESL writing class,[1] a substantial subgroup fails one or more courses and is often at risk of failing at the university because of poor reading and writing skills. When trying to help such students, many instructors feel frustrated and concerned, particularly since the administration often pressures to retain these students who contribute to the diversity of the university population.

Such concerns led to a study, completed in 1990, of the lowest level students in the ESL composition program at UC Davis. This study was designed to determine whether the highest risk students within this group could be identified from information available when they entered the university so that they could be counseled and referred for extra help. In the study, a comparison was made of the characteristics of two subgroups of students within the lowest level: (a) those who successfully completed four writing courses—three ESL composition courses and English A (the writing course preparatory to the required freshman composition courses) and (b) those who failed one or more classes in this sequence. It was hypothesized that the essay which the students wrote for placement in the composition program and their various test scores might differentiate the two subgroups.

The Population

The entrance materials of 70 students who placed into the lowest level in the three academic years between fall 1986 and winter 1989 were examined for the study. Examination of the students' grades in the sequence of four writing classes revealed that by the end of fall 1989, 35 (subsequently referred to as *passing students*) had progressed in the sequence without failing any course. The other 35 students (subsequently referred to as *failing students*) had failed one or more of the writing courses, 14 of these failing only once (*one-time failing students*), and 21 failing two or more courses (*multiple failing students*).[2]

The 70 students studied, 35 males and 35 females, represented 12 language groups (in descending order of frequency): Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Lao, Spanish, Amharic, Indonesian, Japanese, Arabic, Burmese, Farsi, and Hungarian. Fifty-six of the 70 had attended high school in the U.S., and 14 had attended high school in a foreign country. Their mean length of time in the U.S. was 5.15 years at the time of admission to the university, ranging from a few days in the U.S. to 18 years.

Available Data

The ESL program receives several kinds of test information about these students when they enter UC Davis. Second language students from U.S. high schools have taken the SAT Exam and thus have SAT verbal scores; in addition, they usually have English Achievement (College Entrance Examination Board or CEEB) scores.[1] ESL students are also required to take a campus-developed language test which consists of a cloze passage, a multiple choice grammar test, and a reading test. All of these test scores were analyzed.

The largest factor in a student's placement in a writing class, however, is the Subject A Examination which entering University of California freshmen, both native and nonnative speakers, must take unless exempted.[2] This examination, developed by a committee of writing faculty representing all UC campuses and administered by the Educational Testing Service, consists of an essay which students write in response to a 700 - 1000 word college-level reading passage. The passage is drawn from the works of authors university freshmen typically read, such as Margaret Mead, Clyde Kluckhohn, or Robert Bellah. In the passage, the author presents an argument on a general topic. The essay question is designed to allow students to show that they can understand and discuss the author's position and integrate their own experience or knowledge into their discussion (Gadda, 1991) (see Appendix B for sample essays).

All 70 students in the UCD study failed the Subject A Examination. A subsequent evaluation of their essays was done for placement purposes. All 70 students were placed in the lowest level of the ESL writing sequence. Because these 70 students took the Subject A Examination at different times over the course of almost three years, the study involved examining essays written in response to 10 different passages. The objective of this study was to determine whether the essays of students who later passed or failed university writing classes would reveal characteristics in their writing which could serve as predictors of future risk of failure for students.

Method

A preliminary reading of 25 of the 70 papers by three readers revealed that all of the writers had had considerable difficulty responding to the question and that all of the papers contained serious and frequent sentence-level errors. This initial reading also suggested differences between essays of passing versus failing students. Based on these preliminary findings, a checklist was developed that readers could use to analyze each essay formally. The checklist (see Appendix A) consisted of 13 different indicators, each with at least one positive and one negative value so that each essay could be scored either positively or negatively on each indicator. For example, an essay might show *an attempt to answer the question* (positive) or, conversely, it might reveal *little or no attempt to answer the question* (negative). Two of the 13 factors have three rather than two possible values because an essay might, for instance, be of *reasonable length* (positive) or be *extremely brief* or *brief* (both negative). In a few cases, both the positive and negative value of an indicator could be marked. In some papers, for example, *evidence of accurate understanding of the author's ideas* could be found along with *evidence of misreading* of some aspect of the reading passage. The factors on the essay checklist are common to grading standards in composition and are commonly used in evaluating student writing in our program.

It was hypothesized that more negative indicators would be found in papers of students who later failed one or more courses while more positive indicators would be found in papers of those students who did not fail a subsequent writing course. The checklist, thus, is not a grading rubric but rather an instrument for analyzing the essays to determine if certain trends and patterns could be identified in the initial writing sample of passing versus failing writers.

The checklist is divided into six main categories, with one or more indicators listed within each category. The categories *reading comprehension, development, organization, length,* and *use of the author's words* are self-explanatory. The category *language,* however, requires some explanation. Since all of the papers contained frequent disruptive language errors (in sentence structure, verb tense, and verb form, for example), it was decided that counting or classifying language errors would not be an effective way of distinguishing the writing of students who had failed versus those who had not. Instead, the following questions about the writer's language control were considered:

1. Are the writer's errors identifiable and/or classifiable, or are they difficult to identify?

2. Does the paper have a predominance of sentences which, though flawed, are readable, or does it have many or even a predominance of unclear sentences?

From these questions, the language indicators on the checklist were developed. If the writer's errors were frequently difficult to identify or classify (Examples 1 and 2), the negative indicator was marked.

Example 1

> Fear was a feeling that to be escaped from a frighten to be alone but we live in together. (Paper #204)

Example 2

> The title refers to us one vote which similarity of fear and anxiety over the age. (Paper #111)

If, on the other hand, the errors were generally identifiable or classifiable (Example 3), the positive indicator was marked.

Example 3

> The modern technology has provided us with convenience transportations, useful utilities to make our daily life much easier but in exchange the chance of being robbed, murder, die on plane cratch and car accidents are happened. (Paper #202)

The second language indicator (*readable* versus *unclear sentences*) has three levels of distinction listed on the checklist. An essay could have a predominance of readable sentences (positive). On the negative side, it could have either many unclear sentences which make parts of the essay incoherent or a predominance of unclear sentences making the essay incoherent overall.[illegible]

The following procedure was used for analyzing each of the 70 essays:

1. The readings were blind, each paper being identified by number only;

2. The three readers independently read and marked a checklist for each essay;

3. The readers met and discussed each paper and checklist;

4. When the checklists differed, the readers reread and discussed the paper and reached agreement;

5. The result for each essay was a final checklist of positive and negative values for each indicator.

The 13 indicators on the essay checklist constituted the major portion of the 20 variables analyzed in the study. Six other variables were scores from the following tests: (a) SAT total, (b) SAT verbal, (c) CEEB (English Achievement), (d) UCD cloze test, (e) UCD reading test, and (f) UCD grammar test. The final variable considered was the number of years in the U.S. at the time of entering the composition program.

The values of each of the 20 variables for passing versus failing students were compared, using both a *t* test and Mann-Whitney Test. Pearson and Spearman correlations were also calculated in order to determine the relative strength of the relationship between each variable and frequency of failure.

Results

Table 1 shows that passing and failing students differed significantly (p<.05) with respect to 11 of the 20 variables studied. Of these, seven were indicators from the essay checklist, and four were test scores.

Table 1
Comparison Between Passing and Failing Students on 20 Variables

Variable	Pass Mean n=35	Fail Mean n=35	DF	*t* value	*p* value *t*	*p* value Mann-Whitney
(Essay Indicators)						
Reading comprehension	2.83	2.60	34	-0.758	*ns*	*ns*
Development						
Flow of ideas	1.85	1.66	33	-1.643	0.054	*ns*
Attempt to answer question	1.62	1.43	33	-1.436	*ns*	*ns*
Use of author's ideas	1.54	1.20	34	-2.797	0.004	0.0033
Use of examples from text	1.60	1.34	34	-2.172	0.018	0.0329
Use of own examples	1.77	1.80	34	0.255	*ns*	*ns*
Organization	1.94	1.77	33	-1.713	0.048	0.0479
Language						
Identifiability of errors	1.91	1.63	33	-2.721	0.005	0.0058
Clarity of sentences	2.68	2.17	33	-3.064	0.002	0.0071
Length	2.43	2.34	34	-0.502	*ns*	*ns*
Copying	1.74	1.54	34	-1.871	0.035	*ns*
Quotes	1.97	2.00	34	1.000	*ns*	*ns*
Accuracy of quotes	1.89	1.86	34	-0.442	*ns*	*ns*
(Test Scores)						
Cloze test (% correct)	42.46	32.91	34	-1.687	0.05	0.0277
Reading test (% correct)	55.80	43.91	34	-3.195	0.001	0.002
Grammar test (% correct)	63.57	53.66	34	-2.686	0.005	0.0098
SAT verbal score	257.33	247.69	22	-0.206	*ns*	*ns*
SAT total score	760.69	730.39	21	0.423	*ns*	*ns*
CEEB (English Achievement)	333.46	285.22	16	-2.445	0.013	0.0015
Years in U.S.	5.84	4.85	30	-0.684	*ns*	*ns*

Table 2 shows the descending order of product-moment correlations between the number of fails and the variable scores. Of the 20 variables studied, 12 were significantly correlated to frequency of failing. Of these 12, eight were indicators from the checklist while four were test scores.

Table 2
Significant Correlations Between Number of Fails (Pass, One-Time Fail, Multiple Fail) and Scores on Variables

Variable	Pearson	Spearman
Language: clarity of sentences	0.43	0.41
Development: use of author's ideas	0.39	0.39
English Achievement Test (CEEB)	0.39	0.45
Reading test	0.38	0.36
Language: identifiability of errors	0.37	0.37
Organization	0.32	0.31
Grammar test	0.32	0.31
Copying	0.31	0.30
Development: flow of ideas	0.30	0.29
Cloze test	0.24	0.26
Development: attempt to answer question	0.23	0.22
Development: use of examples from text	0.23	0.23

Correlations ≥ .23 are significant at $p<.05$

For both of these analyzes, the parametric (*t* test, Pearson correlations) and nonparametric (Mann-Whitney, Spearman correlations) results were qualitatively similar.

Discussion

The results of this study have confirmed many of our expectations about what factors would be important in identifying the highest risk ESL writers.[5]

Factors Related to the Subject A Essay

As we had hypothesized, the study indicates that the Subject A essay, even though all the lowest level students perform poorly on it, can be used to differentiate between potentially passing and failing ESL students. The variables related to the essay that proved significant were not limited to language indicators but included indicators linked to the students' ability to organize and develop an essay.

It was not surprising that the two language indicators from the checklist, clarity of sentences and identifiability of errors, proved statistically significant in identifying high-risk students. (Note that, as explained in the Method section, these indicators did not measure numbers of types of errors since all the lowest level students in the study made frequent, serious errors.) In other words, students who write unclear sentences and produce errors which are difficult for the teacher to isolate and identify will most likely have trouble learning to avoid or correct such errors. Thus, they may not improve quickly enough to move through the various levels of the course sequence without failing.

However, factors from the essay checklist other than language showed statistical significance, suggesting that sentence-level problems should not be the only criteria used to predict whether an ESL writer is potentially at high risk of failing. As we had expected, an ability to organize—that is, to shape at least one point in the essay—was important. Also important were factors related to essay development: Successful students tended to demonstrate an attempt to answer the question and some ability to incorporate the author's ideas into the body of their essay, to use examples drawn from the reading passage, and to produce a coherent flow of ideas. Moreover, the fact that copying was statistically significant suggests that many of the very weakest students, unable to organize and develop their own ideas, resort to copying portions of the reading passage. Thus, in identifying possible high-risk students, it appears that instructors can look for students' inability to organize and develop as well as weaknesses in language.

Some factors did not prove as important as anticipated. While we hypothesized that comprehension of the reading passage would be a significant predictor, the data seem to suggest otherwise. However, our problems in analyzing for reading comprehension in the essays may explain why the checklist's reading comprehension indicator was not significant. Many students, both passing and failing, incorporated so little of the reading passage into their essays that we simply were unable to judge reading comprehension. Other students, both passing and failing, showed evidence of accurate understanding of parts of the passage but misreading of other parts. Thus, what a student had written did not always enable us to determine reading comprehension clearly. However, we felt accurate reading played a role in two of the significant development variables: ability to use the author's ideas and to use examples from the reading passage in the essay. Given this finding and the fact that a student's overall reading ability proved statistically significant in the campus reading test score, reading ability appears to be an important factor in identifying potential high-risk students.

Secondly, it was originally hypothesized that essay length would be an important predictor of success or failure, but many students, both passing and failing, wrote very brief essays. Conversely, some high-risk students produced long essays which were evaluated negatively on almost all checklist indicators. Thus, a short essay alone does not necessarily identify the writer as a high-risk student.

Objective Test Scores

The results of this study also suggest that in order to assess a student's chances of success or failure, it is useful for teachers or administrators to have available not only a writing sample but also various objective test scores. All three campus-administered tests (reading, grammar, and cloze) were significant. Such scores are particularly useful as predictors because a campus has scores for all students. Although we had expected the campus cloze test to be a clear predictor of success or failure, its weak significance in this study may be explained by the constraints of the testing situation. The cloze test, which contains only 15 items, is the first test in a one-hour battery of three objective tests. Students are advised to limit the time they spend on this first test since they need considerable time to do the grammar and reading tests. A number of students, presumably finding the cloze passage too difficult to do in a short period of time, either do not attempt it at all or fill in only one or two answers. Thus, our data for this cloze test may not accurately reflect students' actual language proficiency.

The CEEB test was also statistically significant. However, this test may not be as useful a predictor as campus-administered exams since not all college students take the CEEB exam. In our study, only 49 of the 70 students had CEEB scores.

The SAT verbal score did not prove significant. This test may have proved statistically insignificant because almost all of the students scored extremely low on the exam; 86% of the scores were clustered between 200 (the lowest possible score) and 290.

Future Studies and Application

It is important to underscore that this study was done post hoc; that is, we knew which of the high-risk ESL students had failed and which had successfully progressed through the three levels of composition classes. Nevertheless, our study of these two groups enabled us to establish that instructors can use writing samples and standardized tests to pinpoint students who are at the highest risk of failing.

A follow-up study needs to be done in which the factors used in this study are applied to entering high-risk ESL students. A preliminary study done in fall 1992 indicates that the factors identified as significant are reliable predictors. In a class of 17 high-risk ESL students, the instructor identified four students as being likely to fail, using their Subject A essay exams, standardized test scores, and first-day writing samples. These students were given extra support from the beginning of the quarter as outlined in the Suggestions for Instructors section at the end of this article. Three of the four students completed the course successfully.

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Conclusions

Although a formal follow-up study has not yet been done, with the information this study provides, instructors and program administrators can move from relying on intuition to having more concrete, measurable warning signals for identifying potentially high-risk students. In other words, when a student's placement essay shows a pattern of significant negative indicators and, where applicable, when the student also has low test scores, educators are better able to identify this student as being at high risk of failing in a writing class. Using the indicators identified in this study, writing instructors can identify possible high-risk students early and intervene quickly to help them improve their chances of succeeding academically and staying in the university.

Retention of High-Risk ESL Students—Suggestions for Instructors

Once certain ESL students have been identified as being high-risk, the instructor can do the following to help them:

1. The instructor can make the student aware of being high risk in composition.

Some ESL students do not realize that they are high risk in composition. Some may never have been told, while others may not have had the need or opportunity to do the type or level of analytical writing generally required in university courses. Instructors can advise high-risk students of their weak writing skills so that they will understand they need to spend as much time and energy as possible developing and strengthening their English skills rather than devoting most of their time to their other coursework (which weak students often do in their fear of failing content classes).

2. The instructor can work with the student on strategies for improvement.

Some high-risk students are very discouraged and do not have any idea where and how to begin working to improve their writing skills. As early as possible, the instructor should discuss strategies for improvement with a student. The instructor might, for instance, suggest that the student treat the composition class as a foreign language class, devoting some time to working on English skills daily. Giving constant attention to their writing is extremely important for high-risk ESL writers since they are often expected to bring their writing up to a certain standard by the end of a short 10- to 15-week term. If a student has had very little exposure to English, the instructor might suggest that the student read and listen to the radio or public television for a set amount of time every day. Another student may benefit from a systematic grammar review, perhaps with a tutor.

3. The instructor can be aware of other language factors which may be affecting the student's writing.

Factors such as poor listening comprehension may affect the student's ability to process important information in class. As a result, the student may be missing out on valuable input concerning academic writing. Likewise, poor reading skills may affect the student's writing in numerous ways. Weak readers may have difficulty understanding essay questions, reading their own or other students' writing critically, and writing essays based on reading passages. Instructors may wish to suggest to students with weak listening or reading skills that they need to focus some attention on improving in these important skill areas as well.

4. The instructor can direct the student to available campus resources.

The instructor will want to inform high-risk ESL writers about available campus resources and encourage these students to use them. Individual tutoring by a writing specialist or student tutor may be available. In addition, supervised reading help may be available. Academic counseling, perhaps for a reduced workload, or personal counseling may also be helpful for some students. ■

Footnotes

1. Twenty to 25 students per year are placed in this lowest level. This figure, which has remained constant over a period of four academic years, represents about 12-15% of those students placed in ESL courses.

2. Not all of the 70 students had had enough time at UCD to complete the entire sequence at the time of the study, but all passing students have since successfully completed the fourth course. Eight of the failing students left school before completing the sequence, sometimes by their own choice, sometimes on the decision of their college. Passing students who left school before completing the sequence were not included in the study since it could not be predicted whether or not they would have failed a course if they had stayed.

3. A few (6 out of 70) other students submit a TOEFL score, and still others are admitted without scores (some political refugees and community college transfers.) Since SATV and CEEB scores were available for the majority, these were the standardized scores analyzed for the study.

4. Entering students who scored over 600 on the College Board's English Composition Achievement Test or received a 3 or higher on the Advanced Placement Exam for English are exempt.

5. Two language indicators (identifiable/nonidentifiable errors and readable/unclear sentences) seem necessary because some papers were found to have identifiable errors yet numerous unclear sentences. Also, it was hypothesized that certain kinds of errors (word choice, for example), would be identifiable even though they would lead to unclear sentences and ideas. Student Essay 2 in Appendix B illustrates this latter point.

6. We recognize, of course, that other, less easily measured factors such as the lack of a strong survival network, emotional or physical problems, poor study skills, motivation/attitude problems or even an undetected learning disability can also contribute to a student's failure.

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Appendix A
Essay Checklist

Negative Indicators **Essay #** ____________

Reading Comprehension

☐ readily identifiable evidence of misreading of the reading passage **(reading comprehension)**

Development

☐ little discernible flow of ideas; lack of coherence **(flow of ideas)**
☐ little or no attempt to answer the question **(attempt to answer question)**
☐ little evidence of ability to use the author's ideas **(use of author's ideas)**
☐ no attempt to use examples from the text **(use of examples from text)**
☐ no attempt to use examples from writer's experience **(use of own examples)**

Organization

☐ no sense of shaping the whole essay or even on point **(organization)**

Language

☐ errors frequently difficult to identify and/or classify **(identifiability of errors)**
☐ a predominance of unclear sentences making the essay incoherent **(clarity of sentences)**
☐ many unclear sentences which make parts of the essay incoherent **(clarity of sentences)**

Length ☐ brief ☐ extremely brief **(length)**

Use of author's words

☐ noticeable copying from the reading passage **(copying)**
☐ overuse of quotes **(quotes)**
☐ noticeable inaccuracy in copied or quoted material **(accuracy)**

Positive Indicators

Reading comprehension

☐ evidence of accurate understanding of the author's ideas **(reading comprehension)**

Development

☐ recognizable flow of ideas; coherence **(flow of ideas)**
☐ an attempt to answer the question **(attempt to answer question)**
☐ evidence of ability to use the author's ideas **(use of author's ideas)**
☐ an attempt to use examples from the text **(use of examples from the text)**
☐ an attempt to use examples from writer's experience **(use of own experience)**

Organization

☐ a sense of shaping the whole essay or at least one point **(organization)**

Language

☐ errors generally identifiable/classifiable **(identifiability of errors)**
☐ a predominance of sentences which, though flawed, are readable **(clarity of sentences)**

Length ☐ reasonable **(length)**

Use of author's words

☐ no noticeable copying from the reading passage **(copying)**
☐ quotes not overused **(quotes)**
☐ accuracy in copied or quoted material **(accuracy)**

Appendix B

Sample Essays

The two essays below were written in response to a passage from Sissela Bok's 1978 book, Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life. *In the essay Bok argues that lying by public officials is never justified because it undermines the public trust. The essay topic was as follows:*

> For centuries, some political writers have argued that leaders must be willing to deceive, even lie, to govern effectively. Sissela Bok argues otherwise. What do you think of the position she takes here? Draw on your reading, personal experience, or observation of others to develop your essay.

Student Essay 1 (written by a multiple-failing student):

Sissela Bok argues to consider the variation being played in campaigns all over the United State, Because she want to share all the comforsation with all the people what kind the person, she wanted all the people in the world fell more strong before elected.

My thought was good think to run campaigns because you can tell who have more power who had not have more power, althought you can not tell who should not take place and control, because the government was the best. If the people fell weak the governor fell weak, also some people not believed the campaigns because it damage to trust has been immense many refuse to vote under such circumstances and they look for personality factors. I think candidate campaigns very important if you fell so weak during when you talking with other the people in the world you need show all the power you had to all the the people if you so weak during the campaigns they might aproved you not strongly enough to take over the goverment even though you was very good person. I think you take several year running campaigns you need travel around states and to more people fell comfortable about you.

Significant positive indicators (from essay checklist)

none

Significant negative indicators

(-) Clarity of sentences (predominance of unclear)
(-) Identifiability of errors
(-) Use of author's ideas
(-) Copying
(-) Organization
(-) Flow of ideas
(-) Use of examples from the text

Note: The student completely fails to address the author's main point about political lies. Note also that copying occurs in lines 1-2 and again in lines 9-10. This student failed a total of three times at two different levels but has now successfully completed the fourth course in the sequence. This student made extensive use of tutoring services and one-on-one work with specialists at the UC Davis Learning Skills Center.

Student Essay 2 (written by a passing student):

Sissela Bok argues that as a government leader, he should be more morally keep his promise. And as a government as whole, it should not take the public's benefits as its lie saciftior.

Personally, I feel that the political stage is the darkest stage of human stages. Everything happens inside is dark and cold-blood. From political murder to affect other countries political business, are all cold-blood behair. The political people do not concern the people's death and suffers. For example, in current event, a lot of people die in Nocarago's war. Those people are not criminal, but they are the saciftiors of dark policial stage. Probably, they are also the people die for the political lie between two countries.

The lie of government might caused the suffer for its people. For example, the government lie to us that they do not have money to develop some country's necessaries. But on the other hand, they secretly spend lot of money to help other country to develop their mility. And what are the mility equipments for? They are use for to kill human beings - the saciftor of political stage.

For a better example, from Sissela Bok's paragraph, a big-city mayor tells a lie for his rent control issue because he wants to be reelected again. Think the consequence if he keeps his lie after he has been elected, there are probably many people will become benefit for the rent. And as a result, many social problems will immediately solve. For example, because of rental money, many employment will be occured, crimes will decrease. But for the long tearm, after his lie be successed, he will still keep his previous thinking. And as a result, he will remove rent control and many citizens will still suffer of his temporary lie. The social problems will follow; such as, stirk, people move out, industries move out, and unemployment etc. The mayor's political life will not been longer because of his lie. He can lie once but not twice.

Mr. Oliver probably is another sacifitor in political lie stage. The government lie to him that helping Norcaga is an honor to the country. Therefore, Oliver use all his abilities to help to finish his "honor." But as a result, he lose his job and become news people in the country. But he don't think about there are many people have been died because of his honor and the government's lie to him.

Living in political stage is not a good way to gain power or to win the election for government position. We should tell the truth to the public and make the public believe the sincerity to run the government. The truth will help country become strong and make the world peace. There are many Nobel Prize winner of peace are telling their truth. They have gained many people respect and the true hornor. For a successful politician, he should not lie to the public. In this way telling the truth might help him to stay in the political stage more long and probably will him win next election.

Significant positive indicators

(+) Identifiability of errors
(+) Copying (none noticeable)
(+) Organization
(+) Flow of ideas
(+) Use of examples from text

Significant negative indicators

(-) Clarity of sentences (many unclear)
(-) Use of author's ideas

Note: This essay was given more positive than negative indicators. The essay is particularly interesting because it demonstrates how the two language indicators, clarity and identifiability of errors, can be independent of each other. The essay was given the middle score for clarity on the checklist, largely because of puzzling vocabulary items (see, for instance, lines 2-3) and isolated unclear sections. On the whole, though, the student's errors can be easily identified; thus, the essay received a positive score on this second language factor (see fourth paragraph for examples). This student passed all courses in the sequence without repeating.

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Making Use of Computer-Assisted Language Learning in Higher Education: A Report from UCLA

An earlier version of this paper was delivered as a Featured Speech at CATESOL '93, Monterey, CA.

■ This paper presents an overview and analysis of a three-year computer assisted instruction (CAI) project conducted at UCLA. The project, funded by UCLA's Office of Instructional Development, had as its primary goal the development of materials for individualized instruction within the ESL service courses. In the paper, we present a brief description of how the project was carried out (including an account of the development of one piece of software), and a discussion of some of the major issues which arose concerning our implementation of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) or computer assisted instruction (CAI) in a university ESL setting. We will be presenting this discussion not as CALL experts, but as ordinary ESL teachers and administrators exploring a new technology. Rather than a state-of-the-art report on CALL, then, we intend this to be a portrayal of one experience that will hopefully be of use to those who are considering the implementation of CALL in their own instructional settings. Our discussion will refer to several sources of qualitative data that were collected over the three-year life of the project. These were written documentation produced by the project teaching assistant (including memos and journal entries), other written documents produced across the life of the project, and interviews and questionnaire data collected from the ESL service course teachers after the official completion of the project.

Introduction

The following paper is an overview and analysis of a 3-year computer-assisted instruction (CAI) project conducted at UCLA. The title of our paper refers to CALL—computer-assisted language learning—while our project was referred to as CAI (computer-assisted instruction). One way of distinguishing between the two is to use CALL to refer to student-accessed, lab based work, where the computer and student interact with no (or minimal) instructor intervention; and to use CAI to refer to the use of computers in a classroom environment to assist instruction by the teacher. We recognize that this distinction can blur, however, when you consider the computer lab as a classroom, or when the result of computer-assisted teaching is seen as language learning. In this paper, we will use the term CALL to refer to all the types of language teaching and learning with computers that we attempted in the context of our project.

We wish to make it clear at the outset that this paper is not a discussion by CALL experts, but by ordinary teachers and administrators trying out a new technology. As such, it is not meant to be a state-of-the-art report on CALL[1]. We hope, however, that it will provide a meaningful portrayal of one experience, and that the successes and failures we encountered may be useful to administrators and teachers hoping to implement CALL in their particular instructional settings.

It may be helpful to briefly state why we embarked upon a computer-assisted instruction and language learning project. One motivation was our desire to respond to a call for proposals from the Humanities Computing Committee. This committee was charged with—among other things—encouraging the use of computers in undergraduate education at UCLA. We also felt that our ESL program, in order to keep pace with developments in second language education, needed to make some effort at investigating the potential of CALL.

Project Overview

Establishing preliminary objectives

Undertaking this project led us to ask a fundamental question: what could we do with computers that we weren't already doing in the ESL service courses? One area we identified was the need for more individualized instruction, since our teachers had been complaining for years about not having the time to cover the curriculum and attend to individual needs that varied across the student population. Sending students to the traditional (audio) language lab hadn't worked—they (and their instructors) didn't seem to be motivated in that environment. One-on-one conferencing (especially in our composition classes) helped, but class size and teacher responsibilities limited the use of this time-consuming strategy. We felt that it would be helpful if we could send our students to a place where they could get individualized, interactive help with their language problems and that perhaps CALL could provide such an environment.

This, in turn, led us to think about more specific aspects of CALL that would be important to take advantage of—what would be the most innovative and motivating directions to go in? We decided that we needed to explore applications that went beyond printed text and to work with sound and images as well—in other words, the range of possibilities currently referred to as *multimedia.* Our ideal goal for CALL was to create an individualized, interactive environment in which students could self-access language learning situations relevant to their needs and interests. It was our intention that any materials developed through the project would serve as a complement to our normal classroom teaching, rather than an alternative or replacement.

When our proposal received funding, implementation of our preliminary ideas began. We hired a project teaching assistant (TA) (at 50% time), a technical consultant who did HyperCard programming and graphic design (at 25% time), and several part-time research assistants who helped in running the computer lab, developing software, and so forth. We began

Figure 1.
Originally targeted learning and teaching tasks

Reading & Vocabulary
- scanning/skimming/predicting
- vocabulary in context

Listening
- note taking with academic lectures
- main ideas
- inferences
- identifying opinion and bias

Speaking
- class discussions
- expressing opinions
- agreement
- clarification
- reference
- interviews with native English speakers
- short presentations
- repair strategies
- pronunciation rules and techniques

Writing
- summarizing
- outlining
- proofreading and revision

Library skills

Grammar

the project with a couple of open meetings in which faculty, teaching assistants (TAs), and other interested students enrolled in our TESL/applied linguistics program brainstormed ideas for aspects of our curriculum that might provide the basis for software development. Various learning tasks and teaching objectives (presented in Figure 1) were identified from these early discussions.

These tasks were envisioned primarily in terms of software that would be used by the students in our instructional computing lab (the Humanities Computing Lab, a Mac-based lab-classroom with 20 networked individual stations and a teacher's station with projection capabilities). We were also interested in using the computer as an instructional tool inside a normal classroom, through projection of the computer screen via a liquid crystal display (LCD) and overhead projector (OVH). We identified the following ways in which the computer could be used in the ordinary classroom setting:

- to project samples of student writing
- to record student responses on disk for later work/display
- to play back task-related listening segments
- to display pictures and text for introducing new topics

While the LCD/OHP combination provided a relatively easy and rapid way to introduce computer technology into the ESL classroom, the implementation of these classroom activities was initially hampered by the unavailability of the necessary technology from UCLA's campus-wide media center. When an LCD finally became available for our use, access was limited by awkward check-out procedures (including a two-week advance notice requirement for classroom use) and competition from departments across campus. In the final year of the project, we purchased our own projection equipment, allowing our ESL instructors much greater and more flexible access to the technology.

Project Accomplishments

In the first year of the project we concentrated on developing software in HyperCard[2] that would capture some of the tasks and objectives we had targeted in our first meetings. By the end of the first year we had produced prototypes for the following stacks: (a) a *timed/paced reading* stack, which allowed students to measure their reading rate of a provided text, and answer multiple-choice questions after completion of the reading; (b) *grammar exercise* stacks to study and practice article usage and count/non-count nouns, and a *cloze builder* which would allow teachers to create stacks designed to practice various grammatical features; (c) a *vocabulary* stack, which was intended as both a tutorial and reference to provide students with contextualized vocabulary from other exercises; (d) a set of

Pronunciation Bingos, game stacks which allowed students to practice auditory discrimination of minimal pairs; and (e) a *Word Stress Game*, which allowed students to practice stress placement in multisyllabic words.

During the second year of the project, we worked on refining and debugging stacks developed in the first year, based on feedback we got through testing from ESL teachers and students. We also completed class sets of the Pronunciation Bingo stacks and timed and paced reading stacks, and develop prototypes for the following stacks: (a) two *prewriting exercises*, which helped to elicit and refine ideas for writing; (b) an *academic listening* stack, which was designed to help students comprehend conversation between an academic counselor and a student; and (c), a *home* stack, which provided an easy-to-use index to the software that had so far been developed.

Figure 2.
Overview of accomplishments

	Year 1	**Year 2**	**Year 3**
Develop	*Prototypes* of • grammar exercises • Pronunciation Bingo • timed/paced readings • vocabulary tutorial/ reference • word stress game	*Prototypes* of • prewriting (cubing and looping) • academic listening stack • home stack	
Refine expand		• timed/paced readings • Pronunciation Bingo	• cubing and looping • home stack • timed/paced readings
Facilitate access		*For students:* • ESL "open lab" hours • word-processing class *For teachers:* • training sessions	*For students:* • Expanded ESL "open lab" hours *For teachers:* • stack development class • lab and classroom support • documentation

As can be surmised from the above descriptions, we spent a good deal of our time and resources developing software during the first two years of the project. Over the course of the second year, however, it became clearer to us that we needed to spend more time on training teachers and students to use the hardware and software, as well as to document and otherwise make the software more accessible. Thus, during the final year of the project, our main goal was to attempt to make the use of CALL in the ESL Service Courses a resource that did not rely on the project staff (who would no longer be funded) for its realization. Toward that end, we produced and refined documentation on the use of computers and the project software both in the Lab and in the classroom, worked more intensively with teachers who wanted to try CALL out, but needed some training or guidance to do so, refined our computer-based index to the software, and held workshops on basic Mac skills, the ESL stacks, and HyperCard programming for interested teachers and students. Figure 2 summarizes the project's accomplishments over the three years of its existence.

Development of a CALL Stack

Because software development used such a large percentage of our available resources, we will outline the development of a stack in order to give readers an idea of the process of creating a new piece of software. Our decision to select specific stacks from the many first year ideas for development beyond the prototype stage was based on two criteria. First, we were looking for stacks which could be used by teachers of different levels within our ESL curriculum. This meant looking for classroom activities common to multiple levels, so that the greatest number of students could benefit from our software development. Second, we wanted to develop stacks which could be used by individual students outside of regular class time in order to free up class time for other activities. We wanted this software to improve upon those classroom-based activities (the idea being that the computer-assisted environment could provide something that the teacher or the traditional classroom setting could not).

The timed and paced readings, which fit these two criteria, seemed a perfect choice for further development, and it is these stacks which will provide an example of what for us was a long and arduous process of developing a piece of software suitable for classroom (or computer lab) use.

Background on timed/paced reading stacks

At UCLA, timed and paced reading exercises are currently used in two levels: ESL 33B (high intermediate ESL), and 33C (advanced ESL), both of which meet for approximately four and one-half hours per week.

Student enrollment in sections of 33B and 33C accounts for roughly 40% of total enrollment in ESL classes offered by the UCLA Service Courses. The timed and paced reading exercises are based on reading materials taken from Fry (1975) and Spargo (1989).

In the classroom, the timed and paced reading activity proceeds as follows: students are first paced through a text at a speed determined by the teacher (generally about 200 wpm at the beginning of a quarter, gradually increasing throughout the quarter). During the exercise, students' reading speed is controlled by the teacher, who calls out the remaining time at 15-second intervals. Students then answer comprehension questions about the text. A second, longer text is then read, this time self-paced by the students, who are instructed to read for between 70 and 80% comprehension, as measured by their performance on questions which follow the reading. Answers are then checked in an answer key and performance charted on a graph, a practice which allows students to see their progress over the course of the 10-week quarter.

While the timed and paced reading exercises were generally well-received by ESL students, two problems with the exercises as they were practiced in the classroom were readily apparent. First, the exercises were quite time consuming, requiring at least 20 minutes each week. TAs often complained that this was a large amount of time to devote to a single exercise, when they had so much more to cover in the curriculum.

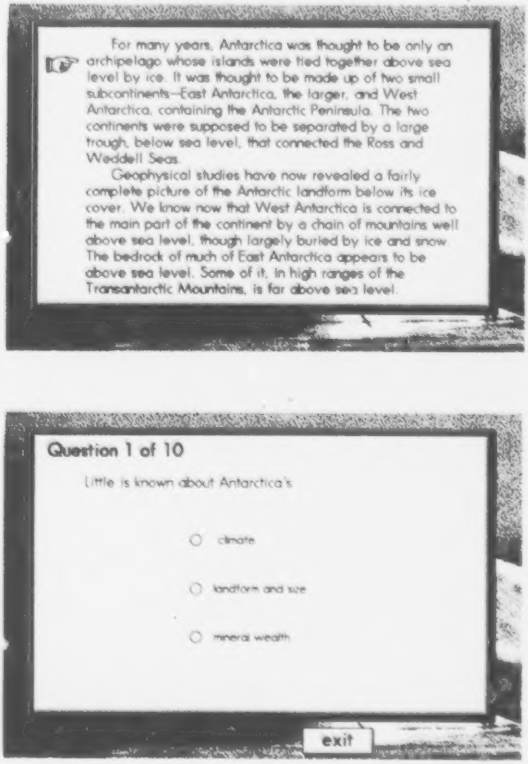
Second, due to the teacher-led nature of the exercise, students were forced to read at a classroom-averaged speed, though the classroom reality was that some students were already reading at 400 wpm, while others were more comfortable at 150 wpm. This meant that students at both ends of the reading-speed continuum had to compromise their reading speeds in order to maintain a uniform class rate. We believed that a set of computer-based timed and paced reading stacks could address both of these problems: first, by taking the exercise out of the classroom (thereby freeing up class time); and second, by allowing students to individualize their reading rates at the computer (thereby allowing each student to read at her/his most comfortable rate).

From Prototype to Class Sets

The prototype on which the final version of the paced readings are based was created by one of our program's TAs with a fondness for computers. The prototype stack is simple—it divides a text up into screen-size chunks, and displays these chunks for a certain length of time before moving to the next chunk of text. When the text is completed, multiple-choice questions appear on the screen, with immediate feedback provided to responses.

After initial testing, a critical design problem was discovered: with no way to prepare readers for a change in cards, users were unable to pace their reading. In subsequent versions of the stack, we therefore explored ways to facilitate this pacing. First, we tried a scrolling text, which turned out to be too difficult to read — a fixed text is necessary. We then reverted to a fixed text, accompanied by an audible beep which sounded at regular (five-second) intervals. This proved to be too distracting, since readers concentrated more on counting beeps than on reading text. We next tried a moving pointer, accompanied by a beep. This feature proved the best solution yet,

Figure 3.
Current version of paced reading stack



For many years, Antarctica was thought to be only an archipelago whose islands were tied together above sea level by ice. It was thought to be made up of two small subcontinents—East Antarctica, the larger, and West Antarctica, containing the Antarctic Peninsula. The two continents were supposed to be separated by a large trough, below sea level, that connected the Ross and Weddell Seas.

Geophysical studies have now revealed a fairly complete picture of the Antarctic landform below its ice cover. We know now that West Antarctica is connected to the main part of the continent by a chain of mountains well above sea level, though largely buried by ice and snow. The bedrock of much of East Antarctica appears to be above sea level. Some of it, in high ranges of the Transantarctic Mountains, is far above sea level.

Question 1 of 10

Little is known about Antarctica's

○ climate

○ landform and size

○ mineral wealth

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though some teachers complained that the noise was unnecessarily distracting. In the current version of the paced reading stacks, therefore, a silent moving pointer moves line by line down each screen of text. (See Figure 3).

While seemingly easy to detect in retrospect, such design flaws are quite invisible during construction of a stack. What is of primary importance is getting the stack to work correctly (with the programming knowledge available to you); only after you have a working stack can you turn your attention to design problems. As more people use the software, these problems become easier to spot, but it is not easy to get people to use your software if it is still in rough shape. That is, people (especially students) are less willing to spend time with software that is still in development.

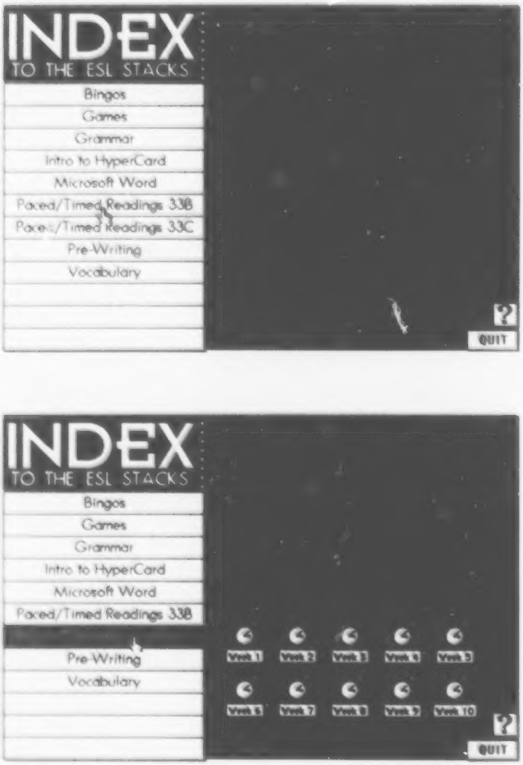
For this reason, you must, at a certain point in a software development project, make the miraculous leap from a single working model (which can be tested out by a willing individual) to a classroom set which is both substantial and stable enough for a teacher to consider worth trying with a class. In our case, that meant designing, developing, and piloting a companion stack to the paced reading we had built (since the exercise depended on both types of readings), and developing class sets of timed and paced readings to last an entire quarter. In other words, we needed to develop a total of 40 reading stacks in all, if we were to convince teachers that what we had to offer could take the place of the paper version of the classroom exercise.

Once you have managed to build up a critical mass of exercises, you are then in the position to invite teachers to use the software and discover how it works under lab conditions. Though we had the software running flawlessly on individual computers, we encountered numerous problems when using it in a lab full of students. These problems had to do with technical problems which arise when running HyperCard off a server on a network with 20 computers. We had not originally taken this performance aspect into account since our original conception of the software was that it would be used on a drop-in basis, by one student at a time. However, because the first teacher who offered to pilot the software did so on the condition that she bring her entire class to the lab to do timed-and-paced readings, we were obliged to try and meet her demands.

In addition to the technical problems we encountered in running the software in the networked environment, we also noted a number of further design problems in the stacks. For instance, the subtle audio feedback provided to a single user produces quite a cacophony when multiplied by 20—not exactly ideal reading conditions. Furthermore, such public feedback on correct or incorrect responses (no matter how quiet) was embarrassing to students, whose colleagues could hear that they were making errors (even though students who read at the proper rate were supposed to get two or three errors per exercise).

In addition, we discovered that many of our users were complete novices with respect to the Macintosh. Students (and some teachers) did not know basic routines such as how to insert a floppy disk, open a stack to begin an exercise, or even find a stack on a disk. They had little control of the mouse and inadvertently clicked in the wrong places, opened hidden script fields, typed over text, and otherwise made it clear to us that a stack developer's idea of an intuitive interface is much different from that of a neophyte computer user.

Figure 4.
ESL software index: Access to paced and timed readings


INDEX
TO THE ESL STACKS
Bingos
Games
Grammar
Intro to HyperCard
Microsoft Word
Paced/Timed Readings 33B
Paced/Timed Readings 33C
Pre-Writing
Vocabulary
?
QUIT
INDEX
TO THE ESL STACKS
Bingos
Games
Grammar
Intro to HyperCard
Microsoft Word
Paced/Timed Readings 33B
Pre-Writing
Vocabulary
Week 1
Week 2
Week 3
Week 4
Week 5
Week 6
Week 7
Week 8
Week 9
Week 10
?
QUIT

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Based on hours of observation, as well as student and teacher feedback, we modified the stacks yet again, this time concentrating on making them "people proof," that is, ensuring that no matter where (or how many times) they clicked, the program would not get damaged or produce an error message. We also created an index which would enable students to find the week's exercise in the simplest way. By clicking on two buttons—one button to select the timed and paced readings for their level, and a second button to identify the proper week's exercises— the students' assignments would open up for them on the screen. This index appears in Figure 4.

In the second year of the program, we had two TAs doing timed and paced readings with their classes. In addition, one TA sent students in on their own time during ESL "open hours", a block of time in which our students could use the lab free of charge in the presence of a project person familiar with the software.

In spite of our successful development of 40 bug-free exercises, the timed and paced reading stacks—and, for that matter, most all the other software developed during the project—has received little or no use since the project officially ended. The picture for overall CALL use is not entirely negative, since a number of TAs have held class sessions in the computer lab, sent students to work with CALL software, and used the LCD for computer projection in the classroom. However, we were puzzled as to why the software we developed would receive so little use from both teachers and students.

The next portion of this paper attempts to solve this puzzle, by addressing a series of issues which appear to have been of importance to our project, and, by extension, to the success or failure of CALL in other higher education settings such as ours.

Issues

Hardware Limitations

One of the issues that we confronted early on in our experience was the limitations that were placed on our original goals by the level of hardware support that was available at UCLA. While it may be at first surprising that an institution with the reputation of UCLA would have a lack of such material support, two factors should be kept in mind. The first is what we hope is a short term effect: the state budgetary crisis. The second factor has a longer tradition at most universities: the tendency of the humanities to lag behind other segments of the university in receiving computing and other technical support. The specific ways in which our project was hampered by these limitations are as follows.

A major disappointment for our project was the failure to develop software that made use of interactive sound and video media. During the first year of the project, we had to work within the limits of the hardware that was most easily accessible to our staff—-Mac SEs and one Mac cx. We attempted to find other hardware on campus that would allow more sophisticated multimedia explorations but without much luck. Even our ability to use our Mac SE in the classroom with an LCD for overhead projection was hampered by the fact that there was only one such device available through Audio Visual Services at UCLA. By the time we discovered its existence (a few weeks into the first quarter of the project), it had already been checked out by other departments for large blocks of time. In addition, we needed to install a special video card in our Mac in order to have it work with the LCD. As a result, not much was done with this option during the first year. During the second year we continued to encounter hardware limitations that prevented us from exploring multimedia. The one interactive media station at our institution was either unavailable or not working most of the year.

Another instance in which hardware limitation affected our ability to carry out our ideas involved our academic *listening stack*. The objective of this stack was to make use of an existing series of audio tape recordings of a UCLA student counselor talking with an ESL student. We wanted to create a sound stack that would have a series of layers, incorporating different types of activities to be used with the counselor-ESL student interview recording. After building a preliminary version of this stack, we very quickly ran into the limitations of storing sound on a hard drive and began to investigate the possibility of pressing a compact disk to store the audio data. Ultimately, we gave up on this stack idea because the hardware requirements—even with sound stored on a CD—outstripped our machinery. The sound in our last version of the prototype needed to be broken up into five second chunks, and even then it did not run smoothly, especially in the computing lab where we wanted our students to be able to eventually use it.

Until the end of the project, use of the project software in the Humanities Computing Lab was greatly hampered by the frustrating amount of time it took for the workstation computers (Mac SEs) to access the software from the server. This was due to the fact that the lab was set up with machines that were not powerful enough to compensate for the slowness of the network design. At the beginning of a class, it took 15 to 20 minutes to have all the machines up and running in either HyperCard or Microsoft Word. Because of this, the instructor would need to arrive at the lab 20 minutes before class time and remain with one program for the entire class (since changing from one program to another would require another 15 minutes of down time). Several teachers mentioned this as a reason that kept them from bringing their classes to the lab more often.

In the summer following the final year of the project, thanks in part to some heavy lobbying on our part with the Humanities Computing Committee, the lab was upgraded with Mac LC IIs, which improved the speed of software delivery to the workstations somewhat. However, as with the previous lab hardware, these machines are among the least powerful computers that Apple is currently producing.

Student and Instructor Attitudes Toward CALL

As previously mentioned, the need for training of both teachers and students became a priority during Year 2 of the project, in our efforts to make greater use of CALL. Our sense was that some of the strongest attitudes mitigating against the use of CALL reflected a lack of familiarity and comfort with the technology. We attempted to investigate this more systematically with a survey of student computer literacy and by tracking teacher use.

If we assume that *hours per week* of computer use is a reasonable indicator of level of computer literacy, then the results of a survey which we administered to students indicate that slightly more than half of undergraduate ESL students are at least moderately computer literate (i.e., they report more than one hour of computer use per week). Results for graduate ESL students show them to have a somewhat higher level of computer literacy than undergraduates, with approximately 75% reporting regular use.

In terms of teacher computer literacy, it seemed that very few of our instructors had much experience with computers during the first year of the project. As a result, the project did seem to introduce more teachers to computing in general. We organized introductory computer workshops in an effort to make more of them feel comfortable enough to try out the lab and classroom possibilities and made an introduction to CALL materials a part of the TA orientation program. During Year 1 only two or three teachers made occasional use of the lab or accepted our offer to have the project TA do a demonstration lesson in the classroom. In Year 2, increased efforts at training and providing support for teachers resulted in a noticeably greater number of TAs using CALL: four (out of a total of 16) TAs made use of the lab on a weekly basis during at least one quarter (either sending their students to do the timed and paced readings or by holding class in the lab to work primarily on composition), and several others used the lab for one- or two-hour sessions, either to provide their students with an introduction to computers, or to explore the various ESL stacks.

Another aspect of our training efforts, directed at students, involved hiring a research assistant from the department to act as a monitor/resource person for ESL students during the weekly ESL open lab periods we had arranged with Humanities Computing (four hours per week). To make the use of the lab outside of arranged class hours more affordable during the first two years of the project, we also arranged for discounted lab use cards for ESL students, which we subsidized out of our grant. However, the reports we received from our teachers suggested that, except for those who used the lab for their word processing needs, students felt that even the discounted, $10 per quarter lab fee was too much to pay, especially on top of the textbooks and other materials that they were required to purchase for their ESL classes.

During Year 3 we refined the documentation begun earlier that described for teachers how to make use of the lab and ideas for using the computer in the classroom via the LCD with overhead projection. TA use increased slightly over the year, with five TAs trying CALL for the first time and four others continuing their use from the previous year. At the end of Year 3 we were able to purchase our own LCD device with OHP, upgrade the existing TA Mac, and mount them on a cart as a portable workstation. This year's orientation program for TAs included a demonstration of this workstation, along with an introduction to the ESL software.

Still, even with our increased efforts at training and support, there were indications that more was needed. For instance, one of the teachers who had most consistently used the lab and ESL software said in his end-of-project interview that he had been "working in the dark" in the lab. The project TAs journal, on the other hand, notes that this same teacher was "relaxed about the technology" and that the teacher "seem[ed] to feel that there [was] a way out of every problem."

Time

Related to the issue of computer literacy and the need for training is the problem of time. The general sense that making use of CALL tended to be an extra burden on their time was a reaction common to many teachers (in fact, of the nine teachers interviewed at the end of the project, seven of them commented on the fact that using CALL tended to take up more of their time than traditional lessons, particularly because of planning in advance and the slowness of the network server in the lab). One of these teachers said:

> I don't plan enough in advance to take advantage of the CAI software . . .that's another level of planning on top of just find-

> ing the written text itself that I want the students to be manipulating.

This same teacher felt that with the availability of the LCD for overhead projection she would be interested in using the computer for instruction more in the future.

The Nature of CALL Tasks and Software

One obvious aspect of the nature of CALL tasks and software is that they are different from pencil and paper tasks. Our students are reading off of a CRT rather than the printed page. One issue that arises is the difference between reading a computer screen and reading the printed page. Our experience leads us to believe that, in terms of reading to edit text, some of our teachers felt that reading off the computer screen is significantly more difficult than editing on the printed page.

Perhaps with writing activities, given the predominance of the computer as the vehicle for academic written work, the use of CALL has more validity than other tasks, such as those involving grammar practice. Our teachers found CALL useful for activities such as working with students on paraphrasing—-projecting the original text and then eliciting paraphrases which were then typed onto the screen—-and paragraph development and revision. What is common to the nature of all of these CALL tasks is the ability to project student and teacher work from individual workstations to an overhead visible to the entire class, the ability to save this work on disk for future use, and the ability to individualize the task (as with setting the reading rate in the timed/paced reading).

Related to the nature of CALL tasks are the issues of software-led versus teacher-led activities and interaction with the computer versus interaction with other students. The timed/paced reading stack again provides a good example. As one teacher said in a recent interview:

> I was put off by the individual nature; [with CALL] you lost the class spirit aspect as you do it together, plus you miss what I think is a healthy competition that develops at the tables when doing it in the classroom—I have seen this really help individuals... when one on one at their computers, it's a whole different atmosphere.

This teacher believes that, at least with the timed/paced reading activity, too much is lost by having it presented by the computer rather than the teacher. The teacher has the ability to cheer the students on and to give them on-the-spot consciousness-raising advice concerning their reading strategies. However, this teacher also commented that her reaction was not limited to the reading software alone:

> My philosophy is that I think it's more important to have student-student interactions, rather than students interacting with the computer.

Other, though not all, teachers commented on the notion that a dynamic element of their traditional classrooms—the student-student interaction—seemed to be lost in the computer lab. This may have been due primarily to the original design of the lab — rows of workstations that kept students apart. However, this configuration was redesigned by Humanities Computing after the final year of the project, thanks to the ideas put forward by our project TA. Now, the workstations are clustered, and can lend themselves to students interacting with each other across their workstations. At least one teacher felt that using computers in the normal classroom with the LCD helped to promote student interaction and was positively received by them.

Effectiveness of CALL

An issue that has been central to discussions of CALL is its effectiveness. A key question here is: what criteria do we use for judging effectiveness? As with program evaluation, in general, the literature on CALL effectiveness has focused on student outcomes (See Dunkel, 1991). Do achievement scores improve significantly as a result of CALL? The only data from our experience that speaks to this criterion is inconclusive: in the case where one teacher consistently sent her students to the Lab for the Timed/Paced readings, without teacher assistance, the supervisor for that level noted that the students did not appear to achieve the same dramatic reading rate gains witnessed in the other classes in which the teacher conducted the reading activity in the classroom. These student gains were not quantified or compared in any systematic fashion, however.

Another criterion for judging effectiveness, perhaps more important than trying to analyze outcomes, is student and teacher attitude, one of the issues we have already discussed. Comments from several TAs including one who used the prewriting software—"it works just as easy without computers"—indicate the link between teacher attitude and the criterion of *efficiency*. As seen in the previous discussion of time, teacher attitudes are likely to be negative to the extent that CALL is seen as extra work, a burden on their already overburdened schedules. Student attitude, on the other hand, may be different. Our data indicate that students, where given the opportunity, have responded quite positively to CALL.

In the analysis of outcomes as a criterion for judging effectiveness, CALL is generally compared to traditional, paper-and-pencil based instruction. We have briefly mentioned certain differences between CALL tasks and paper-based tasks. This suggests that comparison, in the sense of the traditional experimental research design, may not be the most appropriate way to evaluate CALL effectiveness. Perhaps the most useful and convincing evidence will come from naturalistic studies of the use of CALL across a variety of settings. What we have attempted to do here is the beginning of such an analysis. We need to go back to the data we have already collected and to continue to talk with the teachers who have tried to use CALL and continue to use CALL in our ESL program. We hope to have more to report on this experience in the future.

Conclusions

We would like to conclude with a set of questions to consider before embarking upon a CALL project such as the one we attempted. These questions come from the experience we have tried to outline in this paper, and we hope they will help others to have the most productive and positive experience possible with CALL in their setting. Some questions to consider before embarking on a CALL project:

1. How computer literate is your faculty? If they are not computer literate, what interest do they have in becoming so? (Only instructors who are comfortable with computers will use them and encourage their students to use them.)
2. How computer literate are your students? What are their perceived computing needs? Do these needs overlap with aspects of their ESL instruction?
3. Is there adequate technical expertise at your institution (hardware, software, printers, maintenance) in order to accomplish your CALL goals? Is there adequate access to computers for both students and faculty?
4. Can you clearly articulate a need for CALL that goes beyond what your existing curriculum is already doing? Are there CALL activities that can improve upon existing practice to the extent that justifies the time and resources needed to develop and make use of them?

These are questions that are not always asked by those who encourage and fund CALL projects and are not always considered in enough detail by those who attempt such projects. We believe that these questions will lead to the kind of discussion necessary to honestly assess whether you have a real need for CALL and whether the support and commitment is there to sustain its use. ■

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[1] For a thorough overview of the field of CALL, see Dunkel (1991) or Pennington (1989).

[2] HyperCard is an authoring system for the Macintosh environment. HyperCard stacks (or individual applications developed with HyperCard) are likened to stacks of index cards. Cards which contain different pieces of information are linked together by different buttons. Clicking on certain buttons brings a user to a new card (containing related information).

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What Practicing Teachers Value in Their MATESOL Education: A Retrospective Needs Analysis

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As California continues to face growing numbers of language minority students in its public schools and other educational institutes, one pressing concern is the quality education of future English as a second language (ESL) teachers. In an effort to improve that education, CATESOL's College/University Level undertook a study to collect data on the needs of TESOL professionals within the state.[1] This report summarizes the findings of this study, a retrospective questionnaire sent to practicing teachers concerning the match between their MATESOL education programs and their needs as teachers currently employed in the classroom. It is our belief that these results can provide valuable insight into the degree to which teacher preparation curricula match the needs of the state's expanding ESL teacher population. Further, we hope that input on which courses the respondents consider particularly valuable can serve as guidelines for those developing and refining teacher preparation curricula.

Description of the Survey

The survey, which was distributed through the efforts of CATESOL's College/University Level, consisted of an 11-item mail questionnaire (see Appendix). This questionnaire was sent out to all educational institutes listed in the CATESOL Directory where the number of instructors listed equaled 10 or more. A total of 560 questionnaires was sent to the designated institutes. Of these, 131 were returned, bringing the response rate to 23%. The respondents represented 27 different MATESOL preparation programs, as represented in Table 1.

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Table 1
MATESOL Programs Involved in the Survey

Respondents	Institute
28	University of California, Los Angeles
16	San Francisco State University
10	University of Southern California
10	California State University, Fullerton
9	California State University, Los Angeles
8	California State University, Long Beach
5	California State University, Fresno
45	Other (18 out of state)

Description of the Survey Participants

The majority of respondents (120, or 92%) have a master's degree in TESOL or a related field (most frequently applied linguistics or linguistics). Only two have no specific ESL training; and four have a TESOL Certificate or a few TESOL-related courses. Although the survey was intended for teachers who had recently received their TESOL-related education, there was a large range of years (1963—present) in which the respondents' TESOL-related education was received. Seventy percent of the respondents, however, have received their education since 1984.

In terms of employment, 46% (60) of the respondents are employed full time; 49% (64) are part-timers; five respondents are unemployed; and two are otherwise engaged. Of those who are employed, the majority (43, or 32%) work in community college or college or university-affiliated language institutes (27, or 21%); 13% (17) work in a college program for matriculated students and 18% (23) report working at multiple levels.

Respondents' Assessment of Their MATESOL Preparation Programs

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to investigate the match between current MATESOL curricula and the respondents' assessment of how these courses prepared them for the teaching profession. Respondents were asked to rate courses which they had taken on a scale of 1-4, as follows:

1 = included in my program; useful
2 = included in my program; not useful
3 = not included in my program; I wish it had been
4 = not included in my program; I don't miss it

Table 2 displays those courses which were given a rating of 1 (most useful) by the majority of respondents:[2]

Table 2
MATESOL Courses Rated Useful by Respondents

Number of Responses	Course
113	First/second language acquisition
110	Survey of methods
108	English phonetics/phonology
95	Teaching of writing
94	Teaching of grammar
92	Teaching of reading
92	Teaching practicum
91	Linguistic description of English
91	Curriculum/materials development
88	General introduction to linguistics
85	Teaching of speaking
84	Sociolinguistics

Respondents also noted courses which they considered to be not useful. Those for which there was a consensus rating of 2 (not useful) are displayed in Table 3:

Table 3
MATESOL Courses Rated Not Useful by Respondents

Number of Responses	Course
22	Research design
19	Bilingual education
17	Discourse analysis
11	English syntax
11	Introduction to linguistics

Suggestions for courses which were not included in the respondents' TESOL-related education but which they wished they had been able to avail themselves of (rating 3) are given in Table 4:[3]

Table 4
Desired MATESOL Courses

Number of Responses	Course
57	Teaching of literature
50	How to integrate skills
48	Use of instructional media
44	Teaching of vocabulary
41	Content-based instruction
37	English for specific purposes
37	The teaching of listening

Finally, the respondents also indicated those courses which were not included in their program and which they did not feel would have been useful (rating 4). These courses are given in Table 5.

Table 5
Courses Not Missed

Number of Responses	Course
40	Bilingual education
27	Research design
24	English for specific purposes

Open-ended Responses

Supplementing the quantitative responses on the survey were several questions eliciting open-ended responses regarding attitudes. Here, the majority of respondents indicated the particular usefulness of the following courses: the field practicum, general methods courses, and language acquisition. In retrospect, respondents especially indicated a need for courses in curriculum/materials development, the teaching of specific skills (especially grammar, writing, and pronunciation). They also expressed a need for more in-depth cross-cultural training. The respondents also indicated a need for MATESOL research design and bilingual education courses to be more tailored to the classroom environment.

Respondents characterized their greatest perceived needs as having to do with: dealing with large, heterogeneous classes; the teaching of basic literacy skills; test preparation and evaluation; determining grading criteria; and general classroom management skills.

Opportunities for Continuing Development

In addition to looking at the match between the respondents' education and their current, classroom-driven needs, the survey investigated what resources teachers use for their own professional development. The overwhelming majority (105, or 80%) reported that they used their colleagues as their primary source of support. Sixty percent (79) also reported that they used teacher resource books and 44% (58) read professional journals to further educate themselves. Among the occasionally use category, the highest ranked items were professional in-services (61, or 47%), journals (57, or 43%), and conferences (54, or 37%). CATESOL regional conferences, other conferences, and the summer institute rated the never or rarely use category with 18% of the respondents. By way of explanation for this low rating, however, they indicated that costs were prohibitive and that these were not always immediately accessible to them.

Conclusions

As is to be expected in a survey, the respondents do not always concur in their opinions.[4] It is striking, for example, that 37 respondents indicated a felt need for English for specific purposes (rating 3) while 24 noted no regret at its absence from their course of study (rating 4). Also, some responses seem counterintuitive, at least to this researcher. How can one explain the overwhelming lack of interest in bilingual education (59 respondents, combined ratings 2 and 4) in such a critical field of study given the focus on bilingual education in the state's schools? With respect to this finding, it is useful to remember that the respondents polled are drawn primarily from intensive language institutes or university-affiliated ESL programs, not from the K—12 setting.

Nonetheless, there are also very evident trends in the responses which can serve to inform those responsible for MATESOL program design. Respondents overwhelmingly indicated the value they placed on any courses which were directly methods-related, especially those related to the teaching of specific skills (reading, speaking, etc.). And they were uninhibited in expressing their belief that programs emphasized theory at the expense of practice. In fact, many respondents expounded at great length on this topic, covering both the front and back of the questionnaire.

The survey results suggest several directions for MATESOL education programs. First, to adequately prepare teachers for the challenges of the state's classrooms, these programs need to be practice-driven and informed. This does not mean that theory courses are not relevant, but it does indicate the need for programs to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Since the needs of classroom teachers depend to a large degree on the setting in which they intend to teach, programs would do well to allow maximum flexibility in their requirement structures, that is, to allow students electives beyond the core required courses. Finally, to create a better match between felt needs and the core curriculum, programs should emphasize those courses listed in Table 2 and in general respond more directly to classroom-related issues.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Fred Marshall for his contributions to this study, particularly for his expertise in designing the questionnaire which was sent out. Also special thanks go to Yousef Daghash, who tabulated the results and offered many valuable suggestions as to their interpretation. Without his assistance this study could not have been completed. ■

Footnotes

1. These findings were reported at the College/University Level Rap at CATESOL '93 in Monterey.

2. Classroom testing was unintentionally omitted from the questionnaire. Thus, the absence of this course from the most useful category does not necessarily indicate a lack of appreciation by the respondents. In fact, many indicated the usefulness of this course in the open-ended section of the questionnaire.

3. Several respondents noted the ambiguity of this question, since it could refer to either courses which were not included in the program or those which the respondent, for reasons of time or scheduling, could not take.

4. There are obvious differences in programs, instructors, and curricula which help to account for conflicting findings. In fact, many of the respondents in the open-ended section of the questionnaire indicated that their negative ratings of a given course reflected dissatisfaction with the curriculum or instructor rather than the subject matter.

Appendix

MATESOL Questionnaire Sent to Respondents

1. What level of training do you have?

____ No specific training in teaching ESL
____ A few courses
____ A TESOL Certificate
____ A master's degree in TESOL or related field
(If related field, specify): ________________________
____ Other (please specify)

2. If you have a TESOL Certificate or a TESOL-related master's degree, what year did you receive it?

3. Where did you receive your TESOL-related education?

4. Are you now working in the field of TESOL?

____ Yes, full time
____ Yes, part time
____ No, not currently working in the field
____ Other (please specify)

5. If yes to #4 above, how many class hours a week are you working?

6. What level are you primarily teaching at?

____ K—6
____ 7—12
____ Adult education
____ Community college
____ College or university associated language institute
____ College or university program for matriculated students
____ Private language program
____ Other (please specify)

7. For the following course areas that may have been part of your TESOL education, please use this coding:

1 = included in my program; useful
2 = included in my program; not useful
3 = not included in my program; I wish it had been
4 = not included in my program; I don't miss it

____ Bilingual education
____ Content-based instruction
____ Discourse analysis
____ English for specific purposes
____ English phonetics/phonology
____ English syntax
____ ESL curriculum & materials development
____ First/second language acquisition
____ How to integrate skills
____ Introduction to linguistics (not focused on English)
____ Linguistic description of English

____ Practice teaching
____ Research design & statistics
____ Sociolinguistics
____ Survey of methods (natural approach, audio-lingual, etc.)
____ The teaching of grammar to ESL students
____ The teaching of listening to ESL students
____ The teaching of literature to ESL students
____ The teaching of reading to ESL students
____ The teaching of speaking to ESL students
____ The teaching of vocabulary to ESL students
____ The teaching of writing to ESL students
____ Use of instructional media

8. Do you have any further comments on aspects of your TESOL education that have been particularly useful? That is, what did you learn that you have called on to perform your job better?

9. Do you have any further comments on aspects of your TESOL education that have *not* been particularly useful? That is, what seems in retrospect to have been an inefficient use of your time?

10. Do you have any further comments on things that you wish you had learned more about in your TESOL program?

11. For each of the following resources for professional development, please use the following coding:

1 = use it a lot
2 = use it occasionally
3 = rarely or never use it; not useful
4 = have rarely or never used, but would if it were more accessible

____ Colleagues
____ 1-day in-service training workshops
____ CATESOL regional conferences
____ CATESOL state conferences
____ Conferences of other professional organizations
(e.g., TESOL, CABE/NABE, AAAL, NAFSA, etc.)
____ Books for teachers
____ Professional journals
____ Summer institutes

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The CATESOL Journal
CATESOL EXCHANGE

TESOL Teacher Education Programs In the California State Universities

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At CATESOL 1993 in Monterey, the California State University English for Academic Purposes Association (CSU EAP Association) held its third annual meeting (see *The CATESOL Journal,* 3 [1], for background on the creation of this professional association). The theme of the meeting was TESOL teacher education programs in the CSU. As chair of the CSU EAP Association, I presented information gathered in a survey of CSU TESOL programs, and we formed breakout groups to discuss some of the major issues facing our programs: curriculum, international students, the politics of TESOL in our universities, and our graduates and the job market. The issues raised by the survey are relevant to not only faculty working in CSU TESOL programs, but everyone interested in the preparation of teachers to serve California's rapidly expanding ESL population.

The CSU system has always played a major role in the education of teachers for the state of California. TESOL programs prepare teachers to teach in a variety of settings including community colleges, adult schools, language institutes, community centers, and schools overseas. They also contribute to the preparation of teachers who will work with language minority students in elementary and secondary schools. Significant numbers of TESOL graduates go on to pursue PhDs. Over the years faculty on each campus have done work without many opportunities to interact with colleagues on the other 19 campuses of the CSU system. The English for Academic Purposes Association has now given us a forum, however, where we can share what we are doing, learn from other programs, and perhaps receive inspiration to move in some new directions.

In January, 1993 I mailed a survey to faculty on the 19 CSU campuses involved in TESOL teacher education. The survey asked for information about the type of programs offered, the numbers of faculty and their positions, the kinds of courses offered, and the culminating requirements for the programs. It also asked open-ended questions about the relationships between TESOL and ESL programs, perceived strengths and problems, and new directions being contemplated. Fourteen campuses responded to the survey. This article reports the outcome.

The survey highlighted the remarkable diversity of our programs. We have set a variety of tasks for ourselves and are accomplishing them in a variety of ways. Of the 14 campuses responding, 11 have programs leading to an MA. These programs are housed in several different departments. For example, the English Department is home to TESOL at Dominguez Hills, Sacramento, San Bernardino, and San Francisco. At Fresno and Long Beach the program is in Linguistics while at San Jose it is in Linguistics and Language Development. At Los Angeles TESOL is in Educational Foundations and Interdivisional Studies. Many campuses share responsibility with other departments and schools, but only San Diego submitted two responses, one from Policy Studies in Language and Cross-Cultural Education and one from the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Languages.

Most programs require 30 semester units of coursework for the MA; Los Angeles requires 45 quarter units and San Bernardino 48. The size and composition of the programs also vary. Stanislaus reports eight students while San Francisco, the flagship program in the state, has 193. Fifty percent of the students at Fresno, 36% at San Jose, and 38% at Dominguez Hills are international students; these large numbers of nonnative speakers mean these programs must consider the English skills of the students they are training (see *The CATESOL Journal,* 3 [1] for a discussion of this issue). Other campuses have smaller numbers: At San Francisco international students are 10% of the MA students and at Sacramento only 6%, but even on these campuses international students both enrich and challenge the programs.

Although MA programs are at the center of most TESOL teacher education programs, campuses offer other educational options as well. Nine campuses reported having certificate programs requiring from 12 semester units to 32 quarter units. Northridge, San Diego, and San Jose offer undergraduate certificates. Fresno has a certificate program so new that it has no students, while Bakersfield's program is currently going through the approval process. These programs may be adversely affected in the future because of legislation requiring the university to charge substantially higher tuition to students returning for a second degree. Since many certificate students already have a bachelor's degree and are not matriculated graduate students, they will be forced to pay the higher tuition. Nevertheless, at the time of the survey, certificate programs were reporting from 15 to 43 students. These numbers are approximate since students may take classes without signing up for the certificate program; they can only be accurately identified when it is time to issue them the certificate.

Nearly all campuses reported serving students seeking a Supplementary Authorization in ESL in programs ranging from 12 to 21 units. The actual number of students was small, anywhere from 8 to 10, except at Stanislaus where 28 to 35 students were in a liberal studies concentration in TESOL. Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Jose, and Sonoma are all in the process of developing a cross-cultural, language, and academic development/bilingual, cross-cultural, language, and academic development (CLAD/BCLAD) credential program, and Long Beach will implement its program in fall, 1993. Only San Diego and Stanislaus have programs in place. Language development specialist programs affiliated with TESOL are operating on six campuses. Dominguez Hills and San Jose offer a single-subject waiver in English with a TESL option, the Language Development Program at San Diego offers a bilingual specialist degree, and Stanislaus offers an MA in language development specialist: multicultural education.

Faculty teaching in our TESOL programs are predominantly tenure or tenure track and have doctorates in linguistics or applied linguistics with a scattering of degrees in English, anthropology, and education. San Francisco, San Jose, and Stanislaus each have 10 tenure/tenure track faculty members and Long beach has 11. The rest of the programs make do with two to four full-time faculty and perhaps one or two part-timers.

Diversity is most pronounced in the curriculum of the various programs although there is some consensus on essential courses in the TESOL program. Second language acquisition is required in 13 programs, TESOL theory in 12, and TESOL methods, syntax and semantics, and phonology/morphology each in 10. Teaching ESL writing is offered in nine programs while teaching ESL reading is offered in eight. No clear pattern emerges in elective courses; sociolinguistics and ethnography are most frequently listed, each serving as an elective in five programs. Perhaps most interesting are some of the courses offered in addition to traditional TESOL topics. These range from intercultural communication to historical comparative linguistics and from teaching ESL in the workplace to postcolonial literature. Clearly, we regard ourselves as a richly inclusive, multidisciplinary field, and we send our students in a multitude of directions to develop their skills to work with the diversity of students they will encounter as TESOL professionals.

Many CSU TESOL programs have connections, some robust and others more tenuous, with ESL programs. Some of these are credit-bearing or noncredit-bearing programs for matriculated students; others are intensive, preuniversity institutes. TESOL students may observe in ESL classes, tutor ESL students, do research, take part in a practicum, complete an internship, or serve as teaching associates. Many of these ESL programs hire CSU TESOL graduates. Long Beach reports that over 50% of their ESL faculty are graduates of their own TESOL program. At a time when the Assembly Committee on Higher Education is considering a proposal to consolidate ESL instruction in the community colleges (in its April, 1993 *Draft Report: Master Plan for Higher Education in Focus*), it is important to remind legislators and administrators that ESL programs in the CSU provide a fertile training ground for future ESL teachers. At their best, they are laboratories where students can be closely supervised in a sequence of progressively more challenging teaching assignments. At the same time, TESOL students can provide a valuable source, at little cost to the university, of tutors and teachers for the ESL students who are enrolling in ever greater numbers on CSU campuses.

As TESOL practitioners, we see different strengths in our programs reflecting our different emphases and objectives. Many of us attribute our strength to our faculty, calling them "committed and energetic," "excellent teaching faculty," "active, productive faculty," and "a vital, active TESOL faculty." The pull between theoretical and applied which runs throughout our profession appears when TESOL programs assess their strengths. Dominguez Hills cites its linguistic orientation as a strength while Sacramento touts its "pedagogy-oriented rather than theoretical" approach. The Language Development Program at San Diego feels its strength lies in its "integration of a foundation in linguistics...with practical application in education...and research," and Sonoma refers to its "solid interface between theory and practice." Finally, several programs feel that the opportunities to gain practical experience through observation, practica, and internships contribute to their strength.

Not surprisingly, in these times of budget crisis, programs reveal little diversity when identifying the most pressing problems they face. Nine programs say they do not have enough faculty. They cannot offer enough courses to meet student demand, or they cannot offer a broad enough selection of courses. Programs do not receive adequate assigned time to enable faculty to perform the administrative and advising tasks involved in running MA and certificate programs. Sonoma's fear is the most stark of all–fear of being eliminated.

However, not all attention is being directed to the budget quagmire. Fresno is concerned about its lack of a practicum, and Dominguez Hills hopes to improve the English skills of international graduate students. Northridge wants to shift its emphasis away from linguistics and towards teaching ESL. Several programs want to explore the connection between the CLAD/BCLAD credential and the certificate or MA in TESOL. Both Bakersfield and San Bernardino would like to offer an greater range of courses. Los Angeles and Sacramento are both working towards greater control over the coursework in their programs.

The CSU TESOL teacher education programs exist in uncertain times under less than ideal conditions. However, responses to the English for Academic Purposes Association survey reflect the creativity and energy with which we are pursuing our objectives. We have laid foundations, we are responsive to change in our disciplines and institutions and, most of all, we are committed to our mission to serve the linguistically diverse students flooding our educational system at all levels. It is hard not to feel optimistic that, in spite of the daunting problems, we will continue to make a major contribution to the training of teachers for the California of the 21st century. ■

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Interdisciplinary Contact Assignments to Enhance Cross-Cultural Understanding

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A contact assignment requires students to make personal contact with someone outside of the class for one or more purposes. For ESL students, it is an opportunity to make authentic use of English, often with native speakers of English. Other purposes may include collecting facts or opinions about a specific topic, practicing a specified mode of communication, observing behavior, and gaining insight into the customs or values of another cultural group. The contact assignment can have substantial cognitive and affective value, especially when conducted between people with different cultural backgrounds.

ESL students have experienced success interacting with other English speakers outside the classroom for such tasks as learning about the services offered by a school's financial aid office and health center, finding out the difference between Granny Smith and Fuji apples at a supermarket, and interviewing voters about their opinions regarding candidates in an impending presidential election.

Depending on the objectives of a particular course or lesson, the instructor can create specific questions that the students are to ask. A second way to develop questions is to have the whole class brainstorm questions related to a theme or topic. Another alternative is to have the students come up with their own questions individually. No matter how the questions are finally developed, the instructor ideally selects the specific objectives of each contact assignment carefully, explains the procedures to the students, and provides preparatory activities as necessary. In-class preparation might include communication strategies and language formulas for functions that range from asking for repetition and elaboration to persuading strangers to become informants. After the contacts are completed, the students may report their findings in either written or oral form.

Interdisciplinary Exchange

One type of contact assignment involves an exchange between students in two different disciplines. This is one in which all participants benefit. This article focuses on one arranged recently between an ESL class and a speech communication class.

Students in my high-intermediate ESL reading and vocabulary class met with students in an intercultural communication class for about 40 minutes when the two class times overlapped. The speech students were mainly native English speakers although a small number were foreign-born students who had lived in the United States from 2 to 17 years. Their ESL partners were mainly from Vietnam but also included students from Taiwan, Somalia, and Korea. The great majority of the ESL students had lived in the U.S. for only two years. Students from both classes paired up and interviewed each other.

The speech students had been instructed to discuss some similarities and differences between their native culture and their partners'. They had also been instructed to ask the ESL students about their experiences moving to another country, particularly about the communication challenges they had encountered. A further task for them to accomplish was to explain or demonstrate a concept or skill that they had learned in the intercultural communication course.

My students had written 10 questions relating to topics we had been reading about in our ESL textbook and had reviewed them with partners in class. The topics we had been reading about ranged from women's and men's roles to nonverbal communication to racial conflict. The students had been instructed to ask some of their questions during their interviewing turn. I also had my students tape record the interview to use as a reference for writing a report. They summarized the responses garnered from their partner on the questions they asked, the information they gave to their partner, the concept or skill their partner explained, and their overall impressions of the contact assignment.

The students in both the ESL and speech class engaged in the interaction with such enthusiasm that there were discernible vibrations of excitement and pleasure emanating from the classroom out onto the lawn, where some groups chose to meet. When asked to react to the interview assignment, they responded with a resounding, "We liked it!"

Cognitive Value

An interdisciplinary contact assignment allows all the students to become informants who share their knowledge and experiences with other, perhaps less knowledgeable, less experienced individuals. In turn, it allows each participant an opportunity to gain knowledge from another.

The types of questions that the ESL students asked in this instance and the responses summarized covered a wide range of topics, as these examples demonstrate:

> Q. Can males and females in America do the same jobs?
>
> *A. Job isn't divided with the sex as the lady can work at the construction company and the man can be a babysitter. Boy can help his mother wash the dishes or sew clothe and daughter can help her father cut grass or fix the car.*
>
> Q. What is the origin of conflict between blacks and whites in the United States?
>
> *A. The conflict between black and white has a long history. People who first lived in North America came from Asia. About five hundred years ago, Europeans came to North America. At that time Africans were brought to North America to sell to the rich landowners. They were slaves and were considered inferior and treated badly.*
>
> Q. What do you usually do when a stranger stares at you?
>
> *A. When the strange lady stare at her, she feel uncomfortable. When the strange man stare at her, she o.k. and proud.*

Likewise, in response to the speech students' inquiries, the ESL students elaborated on behaviors and attitudes in their respective cultures:

> *My native culture (Vietnamese) is influenced by Chinese culture. Younger people must have their respect to the older. Men usually are the "boss" in their families. Children must absolutely obey their parents until they are over 18 years old, otherwise they can be beaten by their parents.*
>
> *To do abortion in Somalia is illegal, because the Somalian constitution forbidden. But people may go outside of the country to have abortion, on the other hand doctors may do abortion if they sees the child is very danger to the life of the mother.*

The ESL students learned about some communication concepts and skills from their partners.

> *My partner explained that the body languages are most important for audience to understand. By their actions, gestures and behaviors during the speech, they can be understood easily all the problems.*

> *One of the skill is paraphrasing. Paraphrasing is when you tell another person what you thought he or she said, using your own words.*

> *In her class, she learn how to talk to people of different culture, how to understand their culture, how to learn about their culture and make good communicate with them.*

Linguistic and Affective Values

Both the ESL and speech students expressed appreciation for the opportunity to interview a person from a different culture. Cognitive and affective benefits to the ESL students can be seen in the following remarks.

> *I like the interview assignment because it help me learn how to talk and hear with another person and try to get the main information from interviewing. I'm also have a new friend.*

> *I like this interview assignment. However, my partner spoke so fluently and I spoke so haltingly. I was ashamed when I listened to the tape. This assignment is a interesting job, it can make ESL students get acquainted with talking to American people.*

> *I think this is a good practice English for me. It helps me communicate with another with self-confidence. I can learn several new words, American culture and lifestyle. It is really exciting. I hope that we will have another interview like this one later.*

Cultural Value

In addition to giving students the opportunity to use their language skills, to share their knowledge, to gather information and perceptions, and to increase their self-esteem, the interdisciplinary contact assignment enables students to gain an appreciation of the cultural diversity in our society in several ways. First, it gives them license to ask questions that they may not otherwise bring themselves to ask a speaker of a language other than their own. This permits students to learn about the views of an individual from another culture on at least one topic. In addition, it gives them insight into their own culture as well as that of others. It thus provides grounds for a comparison of cross-cultural behavior and values. Furthermore, because some topics may be of interest to both parties, the contact assignment can promote an understanding of the commonality of human needs and the diverse practices by which these needs are met. Clearly, this type of task promotes culturally pluralistic perspectives rather than ethnocentric viewpoints. Cross-cultural contact assignments help diffuse stereotypic notions that foreign-born individuals may have about "all Americans" and that Americans may have about "all Vietnamese" or all the people of any other country.

Adaptability

The assignment described above can be easily adapted and incorporated into a number of teaching disciplines. For instance, students of sociology or anthropology might conduct an oral history with a member of another culture, linguistic, or ethnic group. Students of nursing might interview members of a different group on typical ways of interacting with health care givers. Students of law might gain a different perspective on how the legal system and authority figures are perceived by different cultural groups. Whether the students are native or nonnative speakers of English, native or foreign born, they all stand to gain some cultural insight when paired with someone from another culture for a contact assignment.

Setting Up an Interdisciplinary Contact Assignment

If this type of class activity intrigues you, follow these tips to set up an exchange with another class. Examine the schedule of classes at your school and choose classes in other disciplines that meet at the same time as yours. Contact the instructors of the selected classes, describe the parameters of the interdisciplinary exchange, explain the purposes of the assignment, convince the instructors of its multiple values, discuss appropriate objectives and/or questions for the assignment, and schedule a meeting for each pair of classes. Plan appropriate preparatory and follow-up activities for your students.[1] Let the students interact, and watch the gains they make in awareness, knowledge, skills, and confidence. ■

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[1] For procedures on developing pre- and postcontact assignment activities, see Chan, Marsha. (1993, June, August). The cross-cultural contact assignment. *CATESOL News*, and Chan, Marsha. (In press). The contact assignment. In Kathleen Bailey, (Ed.), *New ways in teaching speaking*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

The Challenges of Teaching Grammar In the Advanced Classroom

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In many ways, logically, it seems that the process of learning languages is a linear one. Students at the beginning level look at certain functions or pieces of the language, and then, at the low-intermediate level they examine the next somewhat larger pieces. The students at these lower levels are united by a common interest, which is learning the language. Students maintain a bond through their enthusiasm for the language and learning. When the students reach the relative sophistication of the advanced level, a shift begins to occur. The task becomes larger than just learning more of the language, and the analogy of a learning line appears to fall apart when the issues of the advanced classroom are taken into account.

Students and Their Needs

Advanced students bring with them challenges which are particular to their level. Students have a whole set of needs which are not just linguistic, but also affective. Advanced students often have individual needs for the language, but these are rarely consistent throughout the group. The linguistic difficulties arise because students are already communicating quite easily in English when they arrive in the classroom. They are already capable and comfortable in English, and this may intimidate teachers.

It is important to begin by defining *advanced students*. Charles Curran (1976) offers a good overall description of them in his book *Counseling Learning: A Whole-Person Approach for Education*. He discusses the stages of growth for language learners. His description of Stage IV and V learners is a good model for advanced students.

Stage IV

1. The client is now speaking freely and complexly in the foreign language. Presumes group's understanding.

2. The counselor directly intervenes in grammatical error, mispronunciation or where aid in complex expression is needed. The client is sufficiently secure to take correction.

Stage V

1. Same as IV.

2. Counselor intervenes not only to offer correction but to add idioms and more elegant constructions.

3. At this stage, the client can become counselor to group in Stages I, II, and III. (p. 30)

The advanced student of ESL can vary remarkably depending on the setting. But these students are willing to work with errors in order to learn, and they are able to take on some of the usual roles of the teacher, or counselor, as Curran would say. While Curran limits this to working with clients at lower levels, it is important to step beyond those boundaries and have students take on more teaching responsibilities in the advanced classroom, and the way that grammar lessons are taught can be key to integrating these concepts.

The Role of the Grammar Teacher

A large shift comes for teachers at the advanced level because they need to integrate students with the learning/teaching process without unnerving them with the focus on individual errors. Teachers need to make students aware of the differences between their language level and a native speaker's, and then assist them in understanding the necessary route for improving their abilities. Helping students to develop their metacognitive skills is key at this level. It is not a question of new structures being learned, as at lower levels, but rather it is a question of a student's willingness to look at the differences in exactness and fluency which mark the difference between their performance and the ability of native speakers.

Another issue that grammar teachers need to be aware of is the variety of student needs and goals. In any advanced classroom, there are always a variety of goals and interests for many specialized areas of the language. The variety of student needs can lead to an apparent lack of focus for the teacher. There usually isn't a common sense of purpose in the advanced classroom which is often felt, even if in an artificial sense, as a result of the common curricula goals set at lower levels. The extent of the diversity is a problem, since it causes the group to act largely like a set of individuals thrown together, instead of as a group united in their efforts to learn specific aspects of English. It is important for the teacher to be aware of this and help the group establish common goals, or to implement methods which help the group to focus on the language according to their individual needs. For example, during student-led discussions or videotaped presentations, the teacher can focus on error correction and bring student mistakes to the group's attention. (This should, of course, be handled in a way that does not lead to student embarrassment.) The student who made the mistake or another student should correct it. If students are unable to do this or explain the point clearly, the teacher could step in to do it. By so doing, she is working with the language that each student produces and focusing on individual error, but in a way that the group is able to be engaged in, in either a learning or teaching capacity.

Situational Information

It is necessary to describe my teaching situation. The students I teach are adults from around the world, mainly Asia and Europe, who come to study in intensive programs, and then, usually return to their own countries. Their purpose for studying English is to round out their education or to help themselves professionally. The programs are 25 hours each week, and all skill areas are integrated in the three-hour morning classes. Grammar, while not being the central focus of the advanced-level class, is nevertheless an important component of most activities. In content-based lessons which include all skill areas as well as student-generated discussion, grammar points are regularly discussed. Occasionally, I will present or ask the students to present a specific grammar lesson, but these rarely extend beyond 30 minutes.

My experiences teaching at the advanced level have influenced the assumptions and methods described in this paper, but the ideas proposed here can be modified to a variety of teaching situations or student groups.

Techniques for and Goals of Grammar Lessons

Lessons in grammar are very important in an advanced-level classroom, for they are a way to understand technical problems the students are having with their English. The students' use of English is loosely based on their knowledge of the rules and how to apply them. Though they often make mistakes in spite of knowing the rules, it is necessary sometimes to look again at the rules or grammar, even at the advanced level.

The best approach is to allow the students to try out their knowledge of grammar, and when there are problems or gaps in their knowledge, other students or the teacher can step in to assist them. This approach is based on allowing students to demonstrate what they know, so the teacher can pinpoint more quickly what it is that the students don't know. An example would be to give students an advanced grammar exercise to work on—one from a TOEFL prep book, a grammar section or a verb tense review from an advanced grammar book. After the students work on the exercise, the class reviews the answers. When mistakes are made, or when students are not sure about why they chose their answers, other students or the teacher can clarify rules or give further instruction and examples. This allows the class to skim over what they already know and then when discussion/questions arise, the students who understand the point can answer questions or explain the answers. The teacher steps in to clarify or articulate further only when needed. By giving exercises or activities which test performance first, the teacher provides grammar lessons which focus on the gaps in the students' knowledge and are thus more beneficial to the students.

The students are also being asked to further explain the rules for tenses, structures, and so forth, and the teacher can monitor for the correct rules or assumptions that the students have of the language. When students can explain and articulate a grammar point or structure, they are developing their metacognitive skills and broadening their role in the classroom.

While exercises can be chosen from grammar books, there are a multiplicity of other ways that this approach can be used. For example, it can be effective in a cooperative learning activity based on reading an English work of fiction. Modern fiction is written in a variety of American dialects, which can be confusing to ESL students. Taking a passage of a dialect and asking small groups of students to translate it into standard English can lead to an interesting discussion on the use of different structures (as well as vocabulary, meaning, etc.). Different groups usually take the same sentence and translate it into a variety of structures often using different tenses. Groups often disagree with one another, discussing which is the correct or least ambiguous translation. The teacher can work with them to help them understand which ones work and why different structures can be used and make sense. Students are able to work with what they know and begin to learn more structures from what others know as well, and the teacher is able to include an examination of structures into a discussion on literature.

This activity reverses the process of teaching grammar. At a lower level, the teacher may teach a new area of the language, help the students to integrate the new information into their pre-existing knowledge, and then allow the students to demonstrate what they have learned in an exercise of

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some sort. In this way, the teacher can more easily see what students have learned and what needs to be reviewed or studied further. Simultaneously, the students can realize where the gaps in their knowledge exist. This usually provokes a willingness on their part to continue learning. At the advanced level, only after finding out what mistakes students are making, does the teacher or do other students step in to fill in the gaps or teach the points that students are lacking. Calling upon other students to first respond to a student question allows the teacher to check whether other students understand the point fully. She can help them to fine tune their knowledge on a subject, thus allowing a more individualized review of grammar.

Conclusion

By engaging and developing metacognitive skills, the teacher is helping the students to develop their ability to self-assess and -correct and be able to further study and develop their use of the language after they leave the classroom. Students are preparing for the stage when they will be independent from the teacher and must be able to continue using the language and learning on their own. It isn't just the language which is an issue but also the strategies for learning which help the student to become independent. By allowing students to step into the role of teaching, not only in grammar lessons, but in all lessons, the teacher is training them with the skills they need to step beyond the classroom.

This is often a transitional role for teachers, helping to foster a move by students to the point where teachers won't be needed anymore. It is a difficult role, yet it is key to this level. The students arrive in the classroom already capable in the language. The teacher, then, must assist them in focusing on the language while helping them to become more objective in measuring their own abilities. The teacher must help students to see that while they do know a great deal, they also are not aware of certain structures or problems. This is a paradoxical role because the teacher is helping students to learn new ways to evaluate what they already know.

This is also an illuminating role for teachers. The boundaries for students are much larger, and there is much more room for independence and creativity. The capabilities of students at this level are great, and they bring sophisticated expectations, sharing their ideas about the language and the content with the sophistication and depth that their abilities allow. So, larger boundaries are necessary and give the teacher a new classroom setting and relationship which she doesn't have at a lower level. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Editor's Note

In this issue of the CATESOL Journal three teaching texts and a book on the value of pleasure reading are reviewed. Two are reading texts, one for secondary learners and the other for university students. The third is a grammar text suitable for adult learners in a variety of settings.

All four books consider meaningfulness to be an important aspect of L2 pedagogy. In McCloskey and Stack's *Voices in Literature* (reviewed by Linda Sasser), literature selections provide the context for language and literacy development at the intermediate level and beyond. Lites and Lehman's *Visions* (reviewed by Helen Sophia Solórzano), uses communicative, meaning-based activities to promote preintermediate grammar for older adolescent and adult learners. The third text, Linda Bates' *Transitions* (reviewed by Laurie Betta), integrates reading, writing, and grammar at the high-intermediate and advanced college level. Readings have been specifically chosen for their relevance so as to make lessons interesting and engaging. Finally, in Krashen's *The Power of Reading* (reviewed by this editor), an argument is put forth that meaning-driven pleasure reading can be a great asset when developing literacy in both children and adults.

These longer reviews are followed by Book Bytes, each focusing on a different teacher resource: first, an intermediate level communicative black-line master activity book for secondary to adult learners; next, a compendium of quick starters and fillers for a variety of levels and ages; then, a black-line resource which blends English language development with critical thinking skills for elementary school students; and finally, a thorough compilation of lists which will provide the basis for many lessons at all stages of L2 development. This last selection may have particular utility to instructors planning to teach outside the USA where materials may be lacking. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Voices in Literature

Mary Lou McCloskey and Lydia Stack.
Boston: Heinle & Heinle. 1993. Pp. 211.

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If you are a middle school or secondary ESL teacher trying to integrate literature into your program, indulge for a moment in this guided imagery exercise.

> *...in 15 minutes the first bell of the day will ring...you are racing to the copy machine...in your head are echoes of last summer's writing project... "literature stimulates and motivates student learning–literature provides a target language model as it sets imagination free"...you clutch in your hand a favorite poem...or a folktale...a fable...a myth...now you round the corner to the copier...and find yourself third in line...the person using the copier is making three sets of a four-page handout...you think to yourself, Is this trip necessary?*

Has this happened to you? Did you find yourself wishing for a hard cover anthology designed for your mid-level ESL classes? While you were wishing, did you want it to look like a "real" English class anthology yet meet the specific needs of your students? Such a volume has arrived.

Called *Voices in Literature*, the first volume (silver) immediately attracts attention by its appearance. It's a pretty book, one which looks like the books mainstream students use. So many of the student books in our field look like ESL textbooks—softcover with black and white photos or cartoonish characters or pastel illustrations—that my adolescent students soon become sensitive to the appearance of their books, unwilling to carry them around, unwilling to be labeled as different. I don't think they will feel embarrassed by *Voices* with its fine art illustrations (a sampling: Matisse, Van Gogh, O'Keefe, Hopper), its classic photographs (Muench, Rowell), its color scheme of teal and brick, its bordered pages. Though we all know better than to judge a book by its cover, appearance is nevertheless important. And in this era of funding limitations, the durability of a hardcover book is an important consideration.

Voices is organized around five topics and themes—Beginnings, Origins, Friendship, Wishes and Dreams, Generations—and the selections within each unit come from several genres. McCloskey and Stack "sought authentic and rich texts that provide real, high quality language models," consistent with their belief that if the text is carefully selected there is no need to adapt or water down the language. Consequently, within these pages, readers will find authors of children's and adolescent literature (including Byrd Baylor, Bette Bao Lord, Antoine Saint-Exupery, Sandra Cisneros), poets (including Adrienne Rich, Langston Hughes, William Carlos Williams), lyricists (George Harrison, Paul Simon), a scene from a screenplay ("Driving Miss Daisy"), and a scattering of other stories, poems, myths, legends, and folktales from cultures near and far. These choices, organized around ideas which interest young people, help us understand what it means to be human and help us realize how similar we all are beneath our surface differences.

In an introduction addressed "To the Teacher," the authors mention several strategies which are featured in the text: interactive and collaborative activities, as well as an *into-through-beyond* approach to the integration of literature with the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The activities in the text itself, however, are addressed to the student. Here, for example, is a chart-making activity from the first unit:

> When you finish your discussion, your class or group might make a chart to show how people in the class begin the day. Below is a sample chart that one class made. What can you say about your class based on your chart? Do most people get up early? Do they eat a big breakfast?

Although a teacher's manual is mentioned, a copy is unavailable for review, so support for the teacher must be inferred from the text. Support for the inexperienced teacher or the teacher who is departing from topic- or grammar-focused approaches will be absolutely vital to the success of this mold-breaking ESL text. Without a rationale for developing a framework for the literature selection, some teachers may perceive charting or other activities as insignificant and limit themselves to the truncated samples depicted in the text. And though the uses to which such teachers put the literature may afford students practice with the language, I am certain that if the structure of the lessons in *Voices* is followed rather closely, students will grow in multidimensional ways—personally, cognitively, and linguistically. And this, of course, is the goal of education.

To demonstrate how the into-through-beyond model works in *Voices in Literature*, let me walk through two selections from the third unit, "Friendship." Background notes (p. 96) tell the reader that two poems follow: one an anonymous poem from the first century B.C. China, the other Paul Simon's lyrics from "Bridge Over Troubled Water." A section labeled "Before You Read" asks students to explore their own experience with the idea of friendship:

> What is a Friend?
>
> Think about someone who is a good friend. Write down words and phrases that describe how you like your friends to act. Compare your list to other people's lists, and discuss what the most important qualities of a friend are. (p. 96)

This *into* has been carefully designed to activate students' thoughts about the qualities of a friend. It smoothly integrates writing (those of us preparing students to take the CLAS[CAP] could toss in an open mind organizer at this point), collaboration, and discussion skills. The good teacher will use an entire class period for these ideas, extending it by asking groups to report their lists and assisting students with the invitation to compare. For homework, I might have my students prioritize a list of five qualities which emerged in the group work and discussion and reinforce that by sharing those lists the next day.

Thus prepared, students read (or are read) the two poems. Bold Chinese calligraphy of the character for friendship, a graphic by Keith Haring, and a photograph by Mike Mazzaschi invite further exploration as the two poems are experienced. Though there are no specific suggestions for using these visuals, they invite us in. For example, a photographer's shadow falling across two young people sitting on the edge of a red boardwalk invites speculation—what is the photographer thinking about these two people? Write the dialogue between the friends. Put yourself in the photograph; what are you feeling?

Although the *through* occurs in a section called "After You Read," teachers might discuss some of the questions as the selections are read. Postreading, students are asked to think about the two selections and discuss ideas with classmates and teacher. The questions include a nice mix of factual, inferential, and application; they ask students to make comparisons and once again invite students to go beyond the text and make connections with their own lives. Having seen the model presented in the prereading activities, teachers can easily move other questions into small, collaborative groups to encourage more discussion and to process the decisions in a reporting format involving the whole class. Despite the absence of vocabulary lists, some words and phrases are glossed, and the teacher is free to

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develop vocabulary—perhaps as I do, by asking students to choose a word and map it, or to enter four new words in their "wordhunter" notebook (noting its use in context, its contextual meaning, and the student's own use of the word in an original sentence).

The activities for *beyond* are entitled "Try This," "Learning About Literature," and "Writing" (pp. 102-103). They incorporate a poster-making idea; a sketched-out lesson on imagery, simile, and metaphor; and a patterned poetry-writing idea. Only eight pages of this very rich text have been described here—and if we did all that has been suggested, these eight pages could easily fill a two-week period. Isn't that what we were dreaming of, standing in line before the photocopier?

Overall, I have almost no criticism and only a few minor complaints regarding selections. Why, for instance, include a selection from *Forestville Tales*, another commonly used ESL text, when so many rich myths are widely available? And I'm not particularly fond of the inclusion of a scene from "Driving Miss Daisy," without activities designed to discuss the issues it raises in my mind (of stereotyping, tone of voice, religion). But these weaknesses are balanced by the inclusion of unusual pieces by Arthur Miller, Leroy Quintana, Martin Luther KingJr., and others.

Teaching with this text will require a teacher who can approach literature holistically and utilize collaborative strategies in the classroom. But without the support manual, many teachers may find it difficult (or impossible) to use the volume because it is a radical departure from texts in our field. Though *Voices* is rich in language activities, though student schema is activated before reading, and though writing assignments are carefully thought out, this text does not have vocabulary lists, end of chapter quizzes, or skill-based activities. This is not to say that I want these to be included—I don't. But as I hinted at the beginning of this review, I am ready for a text which will be attractive to my students and which will support my classroom approaches to literature and language. I find those trips to the copier frustrating, and it is time consuming to invent my own approaches all the time. However, even I would like a teacher's manual to browse through, to learn from.

From my perspective, *Voices in Literature* is compatible with the needs of California's English language learners. It is an excellent first anthology, and I am eager to see the promised second volume. Those students fortunate enough to be exposed to these rich and authentic literature selections (as well as the language activities suggested by McCloskey and Stack) will be well prepared for mainstream English classes and statewide assessments of their developing English language skills. I assume they will demonstrate success in these situations, thereby validating the inclusion of a literature-based approach to strategies which promote English language acquisition. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Visions: A Preintermediate Grammar

Emily Lites and Jean Lehman.
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents. 1990. Pp. xxii+310.

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Until recently there have not been many grammar textbooks that follow a format for presentation and practice which fits within the new communicative classroom. A communicative approach advocates the presentation and explanation of a grammatical structure in context, followed by practice focusing first on form, then meaning, and finally real communication (Celce-Murcia and Hilles, 1988; Larson-Freeman, 1991; Ur, 1988). Often textbooks provide little or no context to introduce a form, jumping instead immediately into diagrams and explanations of the rules. Exercises have little cohesion except that they offer practice in the same grammatical structure. Students move disjointedly through sentences about meaningless situations and characters, and may suddenly be asked to answer questions that no one cares about. Because of the lack of context, most practice exercises involve only mechanical manipulations of form that "give little or no practice in making meanings with the structure (and are therefore, incidentally, usually not very interesting)...[and] have limited usefulness" (Ur, 1988, p. 8). Consequently, the burden for creating context and cohesion falls mainly on teachers, and it often feels as if we are fighting against the book rather than being helped by it. The secret weapon of many grammar teachers has been Penny Ur's (1988) *Grammar Practice Activities* from which we have pulled communicative activities to supplement our grammar textbooks.

However, new books are emerging that are consistent with current grammar pedagogy. A good example of this is *Visions: A Preintermediate Grammar* by Emily Lites and Jean Lehman. It is an excellent book for the frustrated Penny Ur aficionado because it provides contexts and a multitude of practice exercises from which to pick and choose. It has an excellent teacher's manual and is very easy to use. (It also has a companion text, *Visions: An Academic Writing Text.*)

The audience for *Visions* is low-intermediate, university-bound, foreign students. The text has 12 chapters that focus on simple present and past, progressive present and future, articles and quantifiers, and modals. Structures are recycled throughout the text; past tense, for example, is presented in chapter two and is then returned to in more depth in chapters seven and eight. Each chapter is based on a theme, and within the chapters are three contexts that take the form of a dialog, letter, or short narrative. The themes, such as "Telephone Conversations," "Entertainment," and "Applying to the University," are relevant to preuniversity international students. New characters are introduced in each chapter, and we follow them through the three contexts as a little story unfolds. These characters also appear in some of the listening and writing exercises. The contexts are not very profound, but the dialogs and situations are realistic and contain colloquial language that a student will actually hear and use.

After the context is set, questions check comprehension and elicit the desired grammatical structures. Then there is a grammatical explanation and a recognition exercise, followed by a selection of practice exercises. Often there is another, lesser, grammatical point made in the middle of the exercise section. Finally, each chapter ends with a short related section entitled "Social Language." This focuses on general functions like making suggestions and checking information and specific activities such as taking phone messages and ordering a meal. The information is presented in a context and followed by practice exercises.

Since the grammar practice exercises in *Visions* are plentiful and diverse, a teacher can pick and choose depending on the needs, objectives, and time constraints of the class. In general, sections begin with mechanical exercises and move to more communicative ones, including games, information gap activities, role plays, structured interviews, and discussions. The exercises are evenly mixed among those to be done individually, with the whole class, in pairs, and in small groups.

Many of the exercises are for speaking and writing, but each chapter has several listening exercises as well. These exercises include listening clozes (in which students listen for and fill in missing words), a series of questions, sentence combinations, and situations that the students hear and make statements about. For example, to practice *how much/how many,* the teacher reads: "Julia's planning a party after final exams. You want to know the number of people she is inviting." Students respond with the appropriate question. Such exercises develop the students' grammatical competence in listening, which is usually one of the weaker skills of international students at low proficiency levels. Students need to be taught how to listen to these exercises, but there are scripts in the back of the student book which can be used until students are accustomed to the task.

The book is well laid out and easy to look at. The directions for the exercises are clear, and good examples are provided. The teacher's manual in the instructors' edition is one of the best I've ever used. It provides hints about grammatical points, additional mechanical exercises, instructions for setting up pair and group work, and scripts for the listening exercises. For each grammatical presentation the manual provides a script for eliciting the grammatical rules from the students. Here is an excerpt of the script to present a *yes/no* question:

> Is this a statement or a question?
>
> *In a question, the speaker wants some information.*
>
> What's the subject? The verb? Is the verb before or after the subject?
>
> ***Be*** *comes before the subject in a question.*

The sequences of questions and statements are well-conceived and complete, so it is possible to base an entire presentation on them. This is particularly helpful to a new teacher or a teacher who has not taught much grammar.

There are some drawbacks to the book. One is the omission of the past progressive tense. It seems strange that the book teaches the present, simple and progressive, and the future, simple and progressive, but only the simple past. Secondly, while there are several writing exercises in each chapter, they function mostly on the sentence level. I've often wished for long, mixed-tense narratives or dialogs in which students choose the correct tenses and more conversation completions, in which students write questions to complete a dialog.

Finally, although we instructors understand the pedagogical value of communicative exercises, our students do not always agree and may think the book is too much "fun." They want lots of charts and rules, and they don't make the connection between learning past tense and interviewing a classmate about his last vacation. The source of this problem isn't so much the book as it is the gap between student expectations and our pedagogical philosophy. It requires that we educate our students by drawing clear and constant connections between our classroom activities and what we know about the acquisition of grammar. However, the problems I've mentioned are minor. On the whole, *Visions* is a very effective book, and I hope we see more like it in the future. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Transitions: An Interactive Reading, Writing, And Grammar Text

Linda Bates. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1993. Pp. x+368.

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Transitions is a challenging, high-interest text for composition students. It can be used at the intermediate to low-advanced level in college, university, or preuniversity intensive English programs. Divided into three sections, it offers an abundance of writing practice based on a range of themes, including arranged marriage, the role of women, and the value of ethnic studies. These themes are presented in a series of readings contributed by professional and student writers.

The first section focuses on description and narration, guiding students in the writing of clear, unified paragraphs on personal topics. The second section gives students a chance to develop their expository writing skills through the exploration of such topics as special places and important events; again, the focus is on personal experience and paragraph structure. In the third section, students progress to writing multiparagraph essays on abstract topics, learning to support thesis statements with evidence.

Various rhetorical modes are highlighted in the text, including comparison/contrast and cause/effect. Clear, concise explanations of each rhetorical mode are provided along with a variety of prewriting strategies, such as freewriting, brainstorming, and clustering. Each strategy is accompanied by a graphic illustration giving students an example of how it can be used to generate and organize ideas. Students are encouraged to experiment with each strategy and choose the one that seems to work best for them.
Peer review is a central part of the writing process as set forth in the text. Each writing assignment is accompanied by a tailor-made set of discussion questions for peer review. Additionally, there are student writing samples in each chapter that allow students to gain practice in analyzing and evaluating the work of their peers. Each stage of the writing process, including the

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drafting of thesis statements and supporting subpoints, is subject to peer review. By obliging students to plan the content and structure of essays, the text provides a way for them to overcome the tendency to argue weakly or digress.

As a reading text, *Transitions* offers prereading as well as postreading discussion questions in addition to vocabulary instruction in the form of a glossary. While some students might be distracted by the use of boldface type to highlight new vocabulary words, most will benefit from the opportunity to use English definitions to confirm their guesses about unknown words. Unlike other reading textbooks, *Transitions* offers very little in the way of subskills practice or comprehension exercises. The readings are used primarily as models for composition and sources of ideas for writing.

As a grammar text, it limits its scope to the most common problems that students have with composition, such as verb form and tense, the use of logical connectors to achieve coherence, and sentence structure. The grammar exercises are related to the composition tasks of each chapter. This can help students avoid the frustration of not being able to apply their grammatical knowledge productively in writing. Furthermore, the grammar exercises are carefully sequenced and related to the theme of each chapter.

For these reasons, it seems that *Transitions* would be most effective in an integrated composition and grammar class. With the focus on composition in each chapter, it is difficult to see how it could be used alone as a reading text. However, the teacher's manual explains how teachers can adapt the textbook to separate reading, composition, or grammar classes. It also explains how all three areas of instruction can be integrated and how the text can be used in either quarter or semester terms.

Transitions seems ideal for self-starters who appreciate a clear, step-by-step approach to composition. But we all know that there are students who lack the motivation to read through explanations in a textbook, no matter how clearly written they might be. Therefore, the teacher must find ways to bring the material alive, perhaps by presenting much of it in the form of dynamic, interactive discussion with students.

Most of the texts's themes serve to increase cross-cultural awareness, which is a valuable asset in any language course. One of its nicest features is a map of the world on the inside back cover. Whenever a country is mentioned in a reading, students are directed to find it on the map.

One possible drawback is related to the emphasis on peer review. Teachers will have to contend with students who consider such procedures to be worthless. These students will require more convincing than is offered in the textbook before they can contribute productively. Yet overall, *Transitions* is an excellent resource for providing students with stimulating content and helping them move from the simple paragraph to the far more daunting essay. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

The Power of Reading: Insights From the Research

Stephen Krashen. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited Inc. 1993.
Pp. x+119.

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The Power of Reading explores just that. It examines the research on reading and extrapolates from the data. Numerous studies are included and eventually interpreted. Some conclusions are drawn as to what may actually be most beneficial to improving literacy in children and less literate adults. The book addresses issues which are intrinsic to reading instruction in general and, accordingly, will be of interest to researchers, educators, publishers, and parents.

While the studies which have been selected are not primarily of second language learners, the book can be useful to second language teachers. In the first section, The Research, studies are described on various aspects of free, voluntary (pleasure) reading. Some schools implement a program of sustained silent reading (SSR) during which all students and the teacher read for a set time each day. It appears that the more students read in actual minutes and pages each day, the better they perform on comprehension tests. They also write better and improve their vocabulary, spelling, and grammar.

In addition, studies done with second language readers on amount of reading and its effect on spelling indicate that L2 readers can learn to spell by reading if they are exposed to a word enough times. Read-and-test studies, in which students gain new lexical items through reading an unfamiliar passage, provide similar data. Pleasure reading, be it in school or at home, will increase comprehension, improve spelling, enhance grammatical competence, and build vocabulary.

While formulating the above conclusion (labeled the *reading hypothesis*), Krashen is quick to be critical of the data itself. Other factors may affect increased skill development, such as what else these readers may or may not be doing. They also may not be reporting their own reading patterns accurately. Yet the evidence seems to hold.

The alternative to free voluntary reading is direct instruction. Two processes—skill building through what we typically call *learning* (studying, practicing) and error correction—are explored in the research. Three arguments are presented as to why direct instruction is not necessarily accountable for reading competency: literacy and language development are too complex to proceed a point at a time; competence may occur without instruction; the impact of direct instruction actually appears to be small.

In the second part of the book, The Cure, Krashen attempts to address some important issues about reading, including the significance of a print-rich environment, the value of reading aloud, the role of libraries, the value of rewards and encouragement, and the effects of light reading. Studies have shown that greater access improves skills. One study is particularly revealing. When comic books were placed in a school library, general checkouts increased simply because the students were entering the library to read the uncirculated comics. Reading behaviors transferred as familiarity with the library rose. Comic books and other light reading, such as teen romances, are highly motivating because they are engaging, with readability rates varying from about second to seventh grade (for comics) and fourth to seventh grade (for romances). They help young people become more efficient readers by supplying input that students enjoy processing.

The third section, Other Issues and Conclusions, examines ancillary issues, such as the limits of free voluntary reading and the effectiveness of direct instruction. We are told that direct teaching can help students learn what they miss by simply reading. Good readers don't attend to every word or every punctuation mark, so teachers are still needed to instruct in writing mechanics and style. Further, direct instruction may be efficient for older students. In other words, reading instruction is valuable, and free reading will enhance that value. We need to orchestrate opportunities for our students to read frequently and with interest.

The insights drawn from *The Power of Reading* follow from Krashen's previous hypotheses about the nature of language acquisition: the tremendous importance of sufficient, meaningful input; the significance of affective variables; the relative unimportance of direct instruction until the intermediate stages of language development. The 16 pages of bibliographical data can be examined by those knowledgeable in the research practices of applied linguists. I can only comment on what I see to be valuable to ESL reading pedagogy.

The book is slim, short, and to the point. Main ideas have been restated along the margins. Bold-faced headings describe topics. The book is thus very easy to read; it is also quick to convince. I now see an important place for a free reading program within my curriculum. Clearly, though, ESL students must develop sufficient competency to work with text, even at the second- or third-grade level. I will, therefore, continue to use reading texts, design reading lessons, and attempt to develop good reading practices. I will also seek to find relevant material—content and literature—which speaks to my students.

Some thoughts which arose as I read the book specifically deal with L2 readers. While the included studies point to the value of encouraging free reading among our students, ESL teachers (like K-2 teachers) often have to instruct in the most basic mechanisms of literacy. We often find that our students can decode but cannot comprehend. Accordingly, it is crucial to remember that the readers described in this book have developed oral language. We should not abandon the necessary literacy work that we do. (This could be seen as an implication of the book although I believe it is not intended).

A second concern has to do with unguided reading. While native speakers may increase reading skills by being avid comic book fans, our L2 learners will not necessarily have the cultural and formal schema to interpret illustrations and text in meaningful ways. And, if ESL students can read at the sixth or seventh grade level (the high end of comic book vocabulary) they will probably have been removed from ESL classes long ago. I can only hope they are still reading elsewhere.

A larger concern I must raise has to do with the value of reading instruction itself. I am not talking about "kill and drill" but rather a whole language approach to second language teaching, in which the reading becomes the vehicle for listening, speaking, and writing activities. Clearly such a reading-centered approach is useful, valuable, and pedagogically appropriate at even advanced stages. It seems to me that while free reading should be encouraged, we need be careful not to denigrate valuable instructional modes.

What is more, educators are learning that explicit instruction enhances the power of our teaching. Students can be taught to be efficient readers, to develop metacognitive strategies, to skim, to scan, and to locate topic sentences. Such important strategies should not be discounted (if only by implication) because they may help our students survive in content area classes with a language level far above their own. This training may neither endear our students to books and reading nor make them "readers" in a larger sense, but it may help them pass biology and government by creating attack strategies for gaining information.

I would encourage you to examine this book and explore its relevance to your own classroom needs and your experiences with L2 learners. *The Power of Reading* offers us insights which are vital to educators. You may alter what you do in some way because of this book. I certainly will. ■

The CATESOL Journal

BOOK BYTES

ELIZABETH LEITE
Mt. Diablo Unified School District

The Complete ESL/EFL Cooperative & Communicative Activity Book.
Stephen Sloan.
National Textbook Company. 1991. Pp. 156.

This black-line master book provides 35 interactive activities for the intermediate-level English classroom. Most suitable for the secondary or adult learner in any language learning setting, these activities are meant to be completed in groups in collaborative or cooperative fashion. Activities are divided into three categories: strip stories, interviews and match-ups, and jigsaw (information gap) tasks. Each of these categories requires different behaviors from the students and provides contexts for varying language experiences. Accordingly, they generate different kinds of language. Students are asked to reassemble strip stories, to connect a word with its definition by circulating around the room, to complete questionnaires, to cooperate in the solution of a problem.

Strip story units include a narrative strip, comprehension questions, a strip dialogue, and a second set of comprehension questions. They may be used in a several days' sequence and are rich reading exercises. Interviews require students to gain information from many members of the class. They use a particular grammatical structure and will generally take one class session. Vocabulary-driven match-ups are accompanied by crossword puzzles that can be used to reinforce target vocabulary. Jigsaw activities include directions to the teacher and the students. They seem well-conceived and challenging. The activities in this resource should offer many lively and vocal class sessions. Instructions are simple. Results should be rewarding. ■

Five Minute Activities: A Resource Book of Short Activities.
Penny Ur and Andrew Wright.
Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. 105.

This book provides plenty of engaging activities for the secondary, adult, and college classroom. Selections may be chosen as starters to prepare students for work, as reviews before stepping ahead to something new, as games or fillers within a lesson, or as the closing activities of an hour. All have been selected for inclusion because the authors believe that these activities have "genuine learning value." Each activity is described in terms of what is being practiced (i.e., use of past tense, listening comprehension of isolated words, writing revision) and includes the basic procedure and, in many cases, variations. Sample material enclosed in a box shows how tasks can be used at different levels of instruction. Activities are intended to provide the most mileage with the least preparation. One need simply read through the directions to implement the activity. Tasks are arranged alphabetically in the book and indexed by type of task or grammar point (affixes, conditional, discussions, errors) in order to make the text accessible and easy to use. While not all activities are new, the authors have compiled quite a unique assortment of over 130 activities. Some will no doubt become class favorites. ■

The ESL Teacher's Book of Lists.
Jacqueline E. Kress.
Center for Applied Research in Education. 1993. Pp. 226.

This resource is a compilation of 80 practical lists which can be reproduced for student use or be used as a reference. Divided into seven sections, the lists cover vocabulary, grammar, usage, pronunciation, assessment, and curriculum and instruction. Many whole language instructors teach without a formal grammar text and may not be using the kind of series which includes vocabulary lists. Accordingly, this resource may provide general and academic vocabulary that may be assigned for mastery. Within this category the author includes an extensive list of English idioms as well as a list of idioms across five languages. Thirteen lists and charts will help students learn to distinguish and make English sounds. The grammar section includes reproducible handouts describing basic rules of grammar, spelling, and punctuation. An additional set of lists provides classroom examples and drills. A wide variety of instructional activities is organized into lists of aural, oral, vocabulary, grammar instruction, and writing skills. These activities are comprised of time-tested techniques and games. All the instructor will need is access to paper and a copy machine and/or the time to develop lessons with these materials. This resource has utility for most ESL teachers regardless of teaching situation. ■

Curious and Creative: Critical Thinking and Language Development.
Nancy Sokol Green.
Addison-Wesley. 1993. Pp. 179.

Designed as a supplementary enrichment program for elementary school LEP students, *Curious and Creative* is intended to develop critical thinking and language skills simultaneously. Each lesson has three parts: a classroom discussion based on a black-line master (to be shown on an overhead projector) precedes the primary activity which is then followed by another black-line master "designed to foster independent critical and creative thinking." Forty lessons are divided into five units: thought displays, group curiosity, brain sharing, experimenting, amazing creations. Lessons are indexed by content area, ESL topics, and critical thinking skills. The author follows Terrell's Natural Approach in her attention to communicative, whole language tasks and appropriate response types for LEP students at various levels of language development. The author stresses that all activities can be used at any level of language development.

The activities are based on Bloom's Taxonomy of Cognitive Development and provide opportunities for hypothesizing, designing, inferring, comparing, analyzing, evaluating, synthesizing, and applying information. Lessons are drawn from across the curriculum and may be recycled from school year to school year because students will respond differently as their linguistic ability and creative expression mature from kindergarten through sixth grade. The author suggests devoting 45 minutes to each three-part lesson. An introductory section includes the rationale for the text, instructions to implement lessons, and a good restatement of Natural Approach pedagogy. With some minor adaptations the activities in this valuable resource can be successfully presented to middle school students as well as the K-6 group for which it was intended. ■

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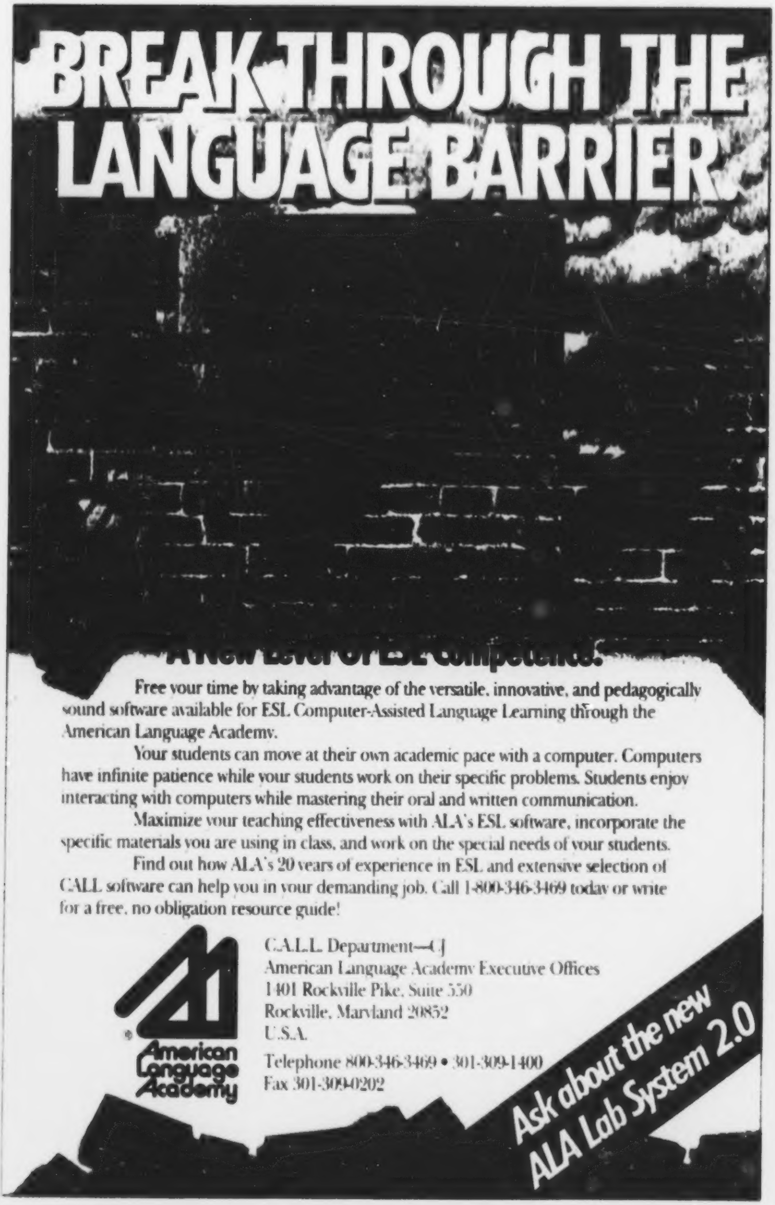

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The

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Editors' Note

We are pleased to present the second theme-based special issue of *The CATESOL Journal.* Its focus on issues beyond the classroom provides a broad look at the challenges facing educators working with language minority students at all levels of education in California. We wish to thank Anne Katz and Tamara Lucas for responding to our challenge to develop this crucial issue. They completed their task with professionalism and enthusiasm.

Denise E. Murray
Coeditor

Peter Master
Coeditor

The CATESOL Journal

Guest Editors' Note

ESL professionals are accustomed to thinking about language not simply as discrete units but as complex, socially and psychologically created acts of communication embedded in a web of contextual features. We no longer believe that our students can become fluent users of English by practicing linguistic forms outside of a meaningful context. Indeed, many of us spend a great deal of time and energy designing instruction to reflect this broader conception of the teaching and learning of language.

Similarly, teaching is itself embedded in the world beyond the classroom, which, with all its details, gives the act of teaching its meaning. This volume of *The CATESOL Journal* focuses our attention on the wider context surrounding teaching. Drawing on their experiences as TESOL professionals in language classrooms, the contributors explore a variety of factors which propel their thinking about teaching and learning beyond the traditional boundaries of the ESL classroom and which impinge on and shape what goes on in the classroom. They examine such influences on classrooms as: community values, expectations, and resources; relationships and interactions among colleagues; limits and protections of the legal system; institutional structures (explicit and implicit); colleagues' attitudes, assumptions, and expectations; and teachers' perceptions of their roles with students, and colleagues, and within institutions and surrounding communities.

- Tim Beard explores learning beyond the classroom through connections with the community.
- Lynn Goldstein, Cherry Campbell, and Martha Clark Cummings explore issues of status and control in adjunct models of instruction.
- Kate Kinsella presents a model for developing communities of teacher-scholars through peer coaching that derives from reconceptualizing both staff development and preservice preparation of language teachers.

- Peter Roos delineates the rights of language minority students' parents.
- Katharine Davies Samway describes the challenges of implementing one's own ideas of teaching and learning within the constraints of university settings.
- Marguerite Ann Snow describes the attitudinal challenges of collaborating across disciplines in a university setting where content-area faculty require assistance in dealing with the instructional demands of teaching second language students.
- Lauren Vanett and Lois Facer discuss the relationship between traditional, transitional, and high-performance organizations and workplace ESL teachers.

In addition, book reviews provide a variety of resources for teachers who are dealing with the changing context of language teaching. Our reviewers have examined books that explore the changing workplace, social pressure, and racial biases affecting immigrants and language planning policies.

This thought-provoking sampling of teachers' insights and experiences reminds us that the boundaries between our classrooms and the world of which they are a part are not as real or as clearly drawn as we usually think.

Anne M. Katz and Tamara Lucas
Guest Editors

The CATESOL Journal

TIM BEARD
ARC Associates

Learning Beyond the Classroom: Developing the Community Connection

> *I learned that some people are very, very neat and others are very messy. I also learned that everyone had a different way of putting their stuff inside the tent. I also learned that some people were slowpokes and other people got up and ready in less than ten minutes. Other people would go slow walking and others were fast because they wanted to get there as soon as possible or other people would just walk kind of fast and kind of slow. I also learned that some people got surprised whenever they saw something and others didn't. I also learned that when some people saw a deer they would start screaming and shouting while other people would just look at the deer and watch quietly.*
>
> (Michelle Gonzales, 4th grade student, Melrose School)

> *The thing that surprised me the most was that there was a lot more to see than just the immigration and the forests. You could see the whole Bay Area from the top. You can find animals. You get to see footprints, and many more things that make you wonder.*
>
> (Violeta Soledad Obrera, 5th grade student, Melrose School)

As teachers struggle to understand and respond to an increasingly diverse student population, they have felt the need to transform their curriculum so that it recognizes and builds on this diversity in meaningful ways. The curriculum is particularly inadequate in reflecting the culture and voices of immigrant and language minority students: "Our old curriculum is too narrow. Immigrant children seldom find their own experiences or histories reflected anywhere in the classroom or the texts. This creates among them a sense of unreality and unimportance about their past ..." (Olsen, 1988, p. 68)

The search for an appropriate multicultural curriculum has focused a lot of attention on changes in both the content and process of teaching. For example, the language arts curriculum has been broadened by the integration of multicultural literature. Social studies textbooks have been revised to reflect a wider range of social, cultural, and historical information. Whole language and cooperative learning techniques have helped to build more effective learning processes in the classroom.

But in creating a curriculum which values diversity, teachers often miss one of the richest and most readily available resources – the real world beyond the classroom. This paper will present some examples of learning in which teachers and students have deliberately left the familiar world of the classroom and have built their curriculum upon real life people, places and issues in the surrounding community.

One of the best known models of the connection between the school and the community is an experiment known as Foxfire which has been carried on by students in northern Georgia for more than 20 years. In the Foxfire approach high school students engage in research on aspects of their own Appalachian culture and history and publish the results of their research in the form of magazines and books. The process goes beyond simply engaging the students in experiences of cultural journalism, though. It is grounded in the conviction that students must have a genuine voice in planning what happens in this process. Thus, it also emphasizes core practices such as community building, choice, democratic decision making, collaboration, and reflection.

The Foxfire process spirals out of classroom activities such as tape recorded interviews with local people, photo documentation, and searches of official records including newspapers and local archives. This information is brought back to the classroom in the form of sharing and discussions and leads to further activities such as transcribing, editing, photo developing, layout, and printing. Using the Foxfire approach, students have developed a deeper and more personal understanding of the lives and happenings of their local community while, at the same time, mastering the academic skills required by the state language arts curriculum.

Using Foxfire as a model, a group of teachers in Northern California has experimented with community-based projects at various grade levels over the past three years. Many of these projects have grown out of the need teachers have felt to respond more effectively to the diversity of languages and cultures in their classrooms. By reaching out beyond the classroom, the students have discovered new avenues for exploring diversity through their connection to people, places, and experiences beyond the classroom. The result has been to change the way teachers and students look at themselves, the purpose of learning, and their relationship to the wider community.

The following is a description of three of the projects which have been carried out in bilingual and ESL classrooms.

Connecting to the Local Community: Gum Moon Women's Residence

This project was undertaken as part of a three-week Chinese immersion program for students of Chinese ethnicity during a summer at Commodore Stockton Elementary School in San Francisco. The 25 students in a second grade class received all of their instruction in Chinese. The teacher, Annie Ching, wanted the students to develop a sense of identity and pride in their culture through a study of their community.

Since only half of the students were from the local neighborhood, the teacher suggested looking at local landmarks as a way for them to begin to explore the community. One of the landmarks was the Gum Moon Women's Residence, an old brick building across the street which the students passed every day on their way to school but knew nothing about.

In preparation for a field trip to the residence, the teacher wrote the students' questions and initial observations on a chart. There was a lot of discussion, especially around the issue of gender – Why didn't men live there? Would boys be allowed to go into the residence? The teacher then helped the students organize themselves into teams and prepare a list of questions they would ask at Gum Moon.

The visit to the residence provided an opportunity for the students to see inside the building, meet some of the women, and learn a little about the history of the residence. They discovered that Gum Moon was a boarding house for women (mainly recently arrived immigrants from China) and that it had been in operation since 1912. The students were fascinated by the old pictures of girls and women dressed in different style clothes. They asked questions about the daily life of the residents – their food, their chores, their communal living situation, their English classes. They were surprised to find that some of the women had children and that child care was provided at the residence while the women attended English classes.

The classroom activities following the visit spiraled in several directions. The teams filled chart paper with the things they learned about the residence and its history. They developed lists in English and Chinese of new words they had learned during the visit and solved math problems (about time) which arose out of their discussions of the past. Each team made drawings and wrote descriptions in English of the rooms of the residence and compiled these in a book which they shared with the class next door. Finally, they repeated the process, developing the book in Chinese, and made copies which they presented personally to the Gum Moon residents. They also made copies for the principal and other teachers in the school.

The teacher felt that the project helped build a bridge between school and the outside world, making the students more aware of their own local history as well as helping them to develop a personal relationship with the elders in their community. She was told by the receptionist at Gum Moon that as far as she could remember this was the first time students had ever visited the residence, an amazing fact considering that the residence is just across the street from the school. In summing up the benefits of this experience, the teacher remarked, "We often miss the best resources and greatest learning opportunities right in front of our eyes. It only took a little spark to make this project happen and it was a real cultural connection for us all."

Connecting to the Larger World: Angel Island Project

This was a year-long project carried out by two teachers, Suzanne McCombs and Chris Ashley, with two groups of fourth and fifth grade students at Melrose Elementary School in Oakland. The instructional programs in which the teachers and students participated included a bilingual curriculum in Spanish and English, primary language support in Cambodian and Vietnamese, and sheltered learning across the curriculum.

The teachers decided to build on a project they had begun the year before: an exploration of immigration through the experience of the Chinese who passed through the immigration station on Angel Island. The teachers began by taking small groups of students for exploratory trips out to the island on weekends. There they met volunteers from the Angel Island Association, who took them under their wing, showing them around the detention center, and sharing their stories and knowledge of history with them. The students developed a personal relationship with the volunteers which grew throughout the year.

As the students became more familiar with the island and its history, they organized themselves into five research teams – history/geography, immigration, environmental studies, oral history, and camping. Their work inside and outside of the classroom included interviews, reading and writing, and math, science, and art activities. Each team explored specific questions and ideas related to their area of research. Other activities revolved around making the connection between the past and the present. The students memorized poems (in translation) inscribed on the barracks walls. They interviewed their own family members about personal stories of migration and immigration. They wrote letters and made phone calls to various resources seeking additional information. They wrote daily math story problems relating to all aspects of the project. And they discussed the social and political situations of immigrants in the U.S. today. The project culminated with a three-day camping trip to the island, the creation of a quilt which was presented to the Angel Island Association, and the donation of $250 which the students raised to support activities at the immigration station.

Although there were no Chinese American students in the class, the unfair treatment of Chinese immigrants at the detention center elicited a deep response from the students, many of whom were immigrants themselves. They wrote poems and stories in English and Spanish adopting the voices of people who were detained on the island and relating the experience to their own lives:

Instead of remaining a citizen of Africa
I came to America to make a decent living.
But who am I fooling?
The American just took me,
Locked me up.
They kept me
In a cruel, filthy, dark room.
What can I do?
I just keep wondering and wondering
Why do they have me locked up?
Is it because I am black?

(Jermaine Brown, 5th grade)

We are the people
From thousand miles,
We are the people
Who mean no harm,
From deep ocean
Through steep mountains rank,
We walk and run
We're looking for and searching for
The beauty of life,
The best quality of life.
Through fearness and sadness
We go,

We hope and believe
There is a place
That give us hope,
Give us freedom.
We are the people
We are immigrant
Who come to a place
That's called America.

(Sophiden Hak, 5th grade)

One of the consequences of this extensive project was the development of new relationships both inside and outside the classroom. The many group experiences outside the classroom allowed teachers and students to get to know one another beyond their classroom personas. The adoption of the students by the island volunteers also deepened the relationship between the students and the volunteers and led to other opportunities such as a display of the students' work at the immigration center, personal tours of the island, and invitations to attend special events and ceremonies at the immigration center. Along the way, too, the teachers and students received encouragement, support, and participation from the principal and other staff at the school, parents, and community organizations.

In describing some of the results of this intensive community experience, the teachers commented:

> The community connection helps students become active, engaged learners. Because students do real work for and with real people, work that has a real effect on themselves and others, learning is connected to them in a personal way. Students become teachers and learners, finding out that classrooms aren't the only source for learning. They find that learning is something that you pursue, go out and find wherever it is, whether inside or outside of school.

Connecting to the School Community: Studying American Culture

This project was carried out in an intermediate ESL class of 20 students (9th to 12th grade) at El Molino High School in Forestville. The teacher, Lynn Stewart, wanted to find a way to give her students a better understanding of American culture and provide opportunities for them to have more interactions with the rest of the school. Her idea was to draw on the students and staff of the school and bring them into the ESL curriculum as cultural resources.

In response to the question, "What do you want to know about American culture?" the students listed more than 20 topics, including holidays, football and the presidential election. The teacher then proposed that they invite different people from the school to come to the class and speak on each of the topics. After much discussion, hesitation, journal writing, more discussion, and group decision making, the students decided to conduct interviews and document the sessions through photography, audio recording, and video recording.

The teacher then guided the students to make preparations for each interview. They worked in small groups to brainstorm their questions on each topic and draft letters of invitation. Then the whole class refined the questions and wrote a composite letter of invitation which they personally delivered to the interviewees. In addition to developing the communicative skills which they needed to use in the process – for example, writing invitation and thank you letters, asking questions, building a broad range of vocabulary – the students also learned to operate cameras, tape recorders, and camcorders.

Before each interview, a student team volunteered to conduct the interview, taking on roles such as interviewer, photographer, and recorder. Throughout the year most of the students had an opportunity to participate in all of these roles. After each interview, the class debriefed the session, discussing, asking further questions, and writing new insights about American culture. The students kept journals in which they wrote their feelings about the project, describing their nervousness before interviewing and their pride in a job well done afterwards. They also created a class culture portfolio, an album of photos and written descriptions of each interview which became their learning record for the semester.

Reflecting on the accomplishments of this project, the teacher described several results:

> The benefits were incredible. In the past I taught ESL strictly within the confines of the classroom with no chance for the students to use what they learned in real life situations. They progress so slowly when they have no real audience to communicate with. Not only did my students speak more English than ever before through this project, but they learned a lot about American schools, American teenagers, and American culture. After the project I continued to see the ripple effects spreading outward. My students were speaking to other students on campus; the school staff was no longer frightening to them. In fact, four students became itinerant cameramen, videotaping activities in other classrooms at teachers' requests.

Four Qualities of the Community Connection

Despite the differences in language, grade level, and curriculum content, these classroom examples share four qualities that are at the heart of the community connection: (a) a greater variety of resources in language and culture, (b) a broadening of the curriculum, (c) the development of relationships, and (d) a deepening of the quality of learning.

As students are guided to look beyond the teacher and books for their sources of learning, they open themselves up to a wider variety of linguistic and cultural resources in the real world. By exploring through interviews, community artifacts, and lived experiences, students are exposed to authentic forms of language and culture with all their complexities and contradictions. In interactions with the elders of Gum Moon, students had opportunities to deepen their primary language and discover new vocabulary, new concepts, and new perspectives. In cross-language interactions with the El Molino school community, ESL students were able to stretch themselves to the outer limits of their linguistic competence in English because of the communicative importance of the experience.

As the learning frame of reference expands beyond the classroom, the traditional categories of subject areas or disciplines dissolve in favor of a more holistic view. In their explorations of Angel Island, for example, students grappled with complex issues of time, place, legal systems, culture, and human understanding. The resulting poetry, math problems, art work, and interest in current events integrated the issues into a whole and provided a broader context for discovering the interrelated nature of knowledge.

Connections to people are one of the most tangible features of the experience beyond the classroom. The students' development of relationships is central to the community connection and takes many different forms. First and foremost this relationship was reflected in a deepened sense of community among the teachers and students. New connections were also built cross-generationally, as with the residents of Gum Moon or the volunteers on Angel Island; cross-culturally, as with the larger school community at El Molino; and across both culture and time, as with the connection to Chinese immigrants on Angel Island. These relationships are both the vehicle for and the object of learning. The connections with people begin with the students valuing the community as a vital resource and end with the community valuing the students and their work.

Finally, the community connection changes the way teachers and students view the learning process. By looking to the community as their text and engaging in activities without predetermined outcomes, students open themselves to discoveries about the world and themselves which are powerful learning experiences. One of the students in the Melrose class, Josefina

Alvarez, designed and produced on her own an Angel Island ABC Book, which is being considered for publication by the Angel Island Association. This self-initiated project shows what is possible when students are given the freedom to see themselves not as objects but as subjects of their learning and when the products of this learning are recognized and valued by the community.

The four walls of the classroom shut out experiences which can infuse the curriculum with life and give it a deeper purpose. The community connection breaks through the walls and brings new resources and perspectives to bear on the needs and interests of a diverse student population. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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Smiling Through the Turbulence: The Flight Attendant Syndrome and Other Issues of Writing Instructor Status in the Adjunct Model

In examining any pedagogical theory, it is important to consider the settings in which the theory is implemented as well as the constraints inherent in those settings. For example, many practitioners advocate the use of adjunct-model writing courses as a means of helping students learn content at the same time that they learn to write academic papers for these content courses. In the adjunct model, the students who attend, for example, a writing course offered by the ESL department also attend a content course such as political science or second language acquisition offered by another academic department. The writing course focuses on the genres students need to use in the content course and, among other writing activities, uses the actual papers assigned in the content course as a means of helping students master these genres. On the whole, however, the literature on adjunct-based writing courses does not emphasize factors that impinge upon the success of such courses. In our collective experience in teaching adjunct writing courses in a variety of settings, we have found that certain factors can have serious consequences.

What follows are some observations of difficulties that teachers may encounter in implementing adjunct writing courses in higher education. We will not be describing a particular adjunct-model course but will generalize from our experiences teaching a number of such courses, particularly from those in which we encountered problems. We will refer to teacher and student journals and particular examples of courses to illustrate issues where appropriate. We will begin from the point of view of the university student, for clarity's sake, but we recognize that student and teacher issues are inherently intertwined.

Student Issues

The literature expounding content-based language courses tells us that content-based language courses are intrinsically motivating for students (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989; Leaver & Stryker, 1989). The adjunct model predicts that students will be writing about content that is meaningful to them, at the very least because it is content that they need to understand in order to be successful in their companion content course (Goldstein, 1993). Consider, however, situations like those we have encountered where the content course seems either irrelevant or uninteresting to students. Students might be required to attend a content course which they may find interesting, but which they may not perceive as relevant to their degree program, for example an exciting breadth course (e.g., a course not in their major). On the other hand, students might find themselves attending a content course which they do find relevant to their degree program but which does not interest them, for example a dull required course in their major. It is our experience that when students attend a writing course adjuncted to a content course which the students consider irrelevant or uninteresting, the resistance to the content course can lead to considerable resistance in the writing course. As one teacher noted in her journal, "Every time I've ever taught an adjunct or content-based course, there have been complaints about the content." A student remarked in a journal entry, "It's really frustrating. I am push into a class and the instructor teach to me something I do not want any help with. I need grammar, spelling, organization not more of political science course."

Students also bring expectations from their previous academic experience about what their writing courses should cover. (See, for example, Valentine & Repath-Martos, 1992). We have found in some instances that students expect a "standard" writing class which covers a range of genres applicable to a variety of disciplines rather than a subset of genres applicable to only one discipline or course. In addition, we have seen that, as Valentine and Repath-Martos (1992) have found, in some instances, students expect the course to focus heavily on grammar and vocabulary. They may balk at being limited to in-depth study of specific types of writing related to their content course and may also feel that they are, therefore, not receiving appropriate generalized instruction. One student in an adjunct writing class stated concern in an evaluation, "I do not know if you realize it or you are doing it specifically, but it seems we are being taught the principles of political science rather than conventional English writing." For example, in a writing class for native and nonnative speakers enrolled in a required political science research course, we met a lot of resistance to working on the particular writing assignments of the course. Students viewed these papers as unique to this policy course and wanted instead to work on genres that they perceived as being applicable to a wider range of courses. Some students came away feeling that the instruction they received was inappropriate or not helpful beyond the confines of this particular combination of writing and content courses.

Another issue of concern is students' trust in the adjunct writing course. Certainly we can see from the above discussion that this trust can be undermined when students believe that they are not receiving adequate writing instruction. Of equal concern is the students' sense of who has authority over the content that is being taught in the content course. Traditionally, the academy has vested that authority in the content teacher, and writing teachers have taken pains not to tread on this authority. The adjunct model, however, makes this issue of authority central since students are writing papers in the adjunct writing course which focus on the content of the companion course. And, following current pedagogical practices, we teach and respond in ways that demonstrate that the writing is not separable from the content. (See Shih, 1986, for example). Adjunct writing teachers, therefore, find themselves having to both know the content and respond to the content in students' papers. While the writing teacher may feel confident that she or he does know the content and can respond to the use of that content in the students' papers, students are not always so willing to vest this authority in their writing teachers.

> I do believe the class is helping an awful lot in sharpening my political science writing skills. There is no doubt about that. The doubt is how well, you, an English instructor, can disseminate and give feedback on my political science writing ... I realize that the main purpose of this course, is to hone my skills at political science writing. But let's make a distinction here – it is simply improving writing skills and definitely not imparting knowledge about the principles of political science, for that is the forte of political science faculty members.
>
> (excerpt from a student evaluation)

This lack of trust on the part of the students can be further exacerbated when the writing teacher is learning the content along with the students by attending the content course. Students may even wonder if their teacher knows the content as well as they do or feel that their writing teacher is just "one step ahead." A teacher wrote in her journal , "[A student] wondered if and why the institution was going to keep making its English teachers teach things they don't know anything about."

The issue of authority also leads to another concern expressed by students in adjunct writing courses: serving two masters. In some instances, we have seen students confused by what they perceive as differing expectations on the part of the writing teacher and the content teacher. Unless the writing teacher and the content teacher share knowledge and perceptions about writing processes, products, responses, evaluation and assessment, then students can be left feeling that they are receiving conflicting messages about what is important in their writing and how that will be evaluated. In a number of instances, students have been thoroughly dismayed by the disparity between the responses of the writing teacher, who focuses on process as well as product and responds to and evaluates rhetoric, content, and language, and the responses of the content teacher who focuses on product and evaluates solely on content and/or language.

> She [the student] told me after class that she was really angry at JA [content teacher] because she had given him a draft of her critique and he had said it was all right, he had even marked it "good" in places (I have a copy) and then when he gave it back to her he had given her an A- (a low grade for her) and told her the policy evaluation was all wrong. Step 10 she got all wrong. So what is she supposed to do/think? Why didn't he tell her it was all wrong when he read the draft? He wasn't reading carefully, that's why.
>
> (excerpt from an adjunct instructor's diary)

In sum, from the students' point of view, adjunct courses are not always as effective as we might believe or hope. Students perceive them as working well when these courses fit their expectations about what a writing course should be and do, when they are invested in the content of the content course, and when they trust the writing teacher's control of the content and feel that their writing teacher and content teacher are in sync. Too often, however, we find ourselves in situations where some combination of the above factors is not present, and students are left feeling that they are not receiving the kind of instruction that will help them become better writers.

Teacher Issues

> One of the things that really upsets me about adjunct writing courses in general and this one in particular is that it makes me feel like a flight attendant. I keep picturing us in our little uniforms going up and down the aisles, taking care of the student-passengers, while the big boys fly the plane. We rattle down the aisle of a 747 handing out plastic wrapped chicken

> sandwiches, smiling through the turbulence, while the big professors sit up in the cockpit. The question is: Aren't we giving up our authority over our own 'content' by doing this? Pretty soon we'll be bringing them coffee, too. Won't we?
>
> (excerpt from an adjunct writing instructor's journal)

As this diary excerpt illustrates, adjunct writing teachers may have difficulty with authority, with status and rank. But this is not only a problem for this particular kind of course. More often than not, writing courses are considered "skill" courses by most members of the academy and although learning to write is considered important, it is still only a skill. As Rose (1985) puts it, "It is absolutely necessary but remains second-class" (p.347). In addition, language learning in general and ESL in particular are often categorized as skill courses and not as important in the university hierarchy as content courses. Auerbach (1991) has argued that, "A fact of life for ESL educators is that we are marginalized. The official rationalization for our marginal status is that ESL is a skill, not a discipline ..." (p.1). A writing course for ESL students, then, is doubly marginalized in the eyes of the rest of the university faculty and administration.

In the case of adjunct-model courses, often the writing course is taught by a part-time instructor and the content course by an associate or full professor. In one case we know of, two deans were teaching the content course. This is a fact that has been variously dealt with. Johns (1989) suggests accepting the asymmetry between the content course and the adjuncted writing course and using activities in the writing class such as "summaries of lectures and/or readings" and "listing important vocabulary and its relevance to the course." Benesch (1992), on the other hand, states that

> Paired arrangements can easily turn the ESL class into a tutoring service which sustains large classes, one-way lectures, incomprehensible textbooks, and coverage of massive amounts of material. Rather than acting as support for this type of instruction, we should be fighting for smaller classes, a more interactive teaching approach, and better readings. We can model a more appropriate style of teaching in ESL classes, including small group discussion, journals, student-generated questions, and we can work with our colleagues in other disciplines to implement these methods. (p.8)

Johns and Benesch represent the two ends on the continuum of teacher attitudes toward the place of ESL writing courses in the model of paired or adjunct courses. A prospective ESL adjunct writing-course instructor needs to seriously consider how much status and authority in the context of the university she needs to have to function adequately in the classroom before embarking on this kind of teaching.

We have found that the belief still persists among content instructors that writing instruction is a skill that can be learned through memorizing rules and applying them. That is, these professors expect

> that writing courses will address sentence-level concerns whereas [writing] instructors emphasize a process approach to writing wherein audience, purpose, organization, and development of ideas are primary concerns. Grammatical or sentence-level issues are addressed only after audience, purpose, organization and development are clearly addressed (Choi, Cramp, Goldsborough, Nashiro, & Tuman, 1993, p.5).

Comments we have heard from content instructors on what is important in writing instruction include:

1. Student writers use too many *ing* -words.
2. I tell students to look at every *the* and see if they can strike it.
3. Only quote quotes.
4. Not to spell check is rude.

A further complication is that some content instructors feel that writing instructors should limit their remarks to sentence-level grammatical and mechanical issues. That is, writing instructors have no business making suggestions on students' ideas, since they are not experts on the course content. On the other hand, most writing teachers, educated by Halliday and Hasan (1976), think of a text as a semantic unit, a unit of meaning, not form. It is therefore virtually impossible for them to disregard content in their writing instruction, since disregarding content would mean disregarding the text.

Finally, if and when writing instructors attempt to share their expertise, it is often not appreciated by content instructors. In fact, more often than not, content instructors behave as if there is no content in writing classes, as if writing were something any well-educated person could teach. Often they seem to hold the attitude that writing, like riding a bicycle or driving a car, is a means to an end we all use but a tedious skill to teach and one they have no interest in participating in. Often it does not even seem to occur to them that they could participate in their students' development as writers.

Even though content holds this importance for them, adjunct writing instructors will never understand the content to the same degree as the content instructors (with the exception of those writing instructors who are degreed in another field besides applied linguistics, TESOL, language education, etc.). Nor should they. The task of content-based instruction is to make explicit "the assumptions, conventions, and procedures of [the particular] discourse communities" (Eskey, 1992, p.19). Indeed, adjunct writing instructors should take on the role of discourse analysts, working with the content instructors and course material to determine the written discourse parameters of that discipline. Some previous research in this area may be helpful, research carried out primarily by ESP specialists, for example, Bazerman, 1984; Dudley-Evans and Henderson, 1990; Johns, 1991; and Swales, 1990. But for the most part, adjunct writing instructors need to investigate the discourse of the disciplines of their content assignments themselves as part of their own course development.

This is no easy task. They face at least two difficult obstacles. First, regardless of their attempts to inform themselves, adjunct writing instructors face the problems discussed above regarding students' mistrust of their authority vis-à-vis content instructors. Such mistrust can become contagious, infecting the writing instructors' own self confidence. This is illustrated in the following diary excerpt by a writing instructor whose course was adjuncted to a political science research methods course:

> Today in class I was totally stumped by a student question: Do we just have to take concepts, operationalize them, and thereby turn them into variables? Before this question came, I thought I understood concepts and variables completely. The student jolted me into realizing I didn't know how operationalization related the two together. And that after preparing a writing lesson on operationalization! I've got to go back to the political science material after all—wonder what else I don't yet understand completely!?!
>
> [The next day:] Yikes! Have I got *concept*-phobia now that I found out from my student that I didn't realize how operationalization affects concepts & variables? Here on page 23 of the political science textbook there's a discussion of whether concepts have to be observable or not. I had to read and reread over and over. I guess concepts have to at least be indirectly observable – a concept's empirical referents allow us to observe it at least indirectly. I guess even if it's not directly observable, it should still be precise and theoretically important. Okay, that should be good enough understanding of that – calm down, and try not to panic like that.
>
> (excerpt from an adjunct writing instructor's teaching journal)

A second obstacle involves writing instructors eliciting content information from their content colleagues. The writing instructors may find that content instructors, not being discourse analysts themselves, are often not able to articulate the discourse expectations of their fields readily. Their language awareness of the discourse patterns of their fields is lacking, even though their general understanding of the content of their fields may be excellent. Their responses to questions about what the writing is like in their fields tend to reflect their views of academic writing per se, as discussed above, for example, expectations of organization, and grammatical and orthographical correctness. Thus, adjunct writing instructors need to acquire enough knowledge of the content to be able to discuss specific issues of discourse expectations with the content instructors.

We have found it futile to ask content instructors in the field of policy studies the extent to which they define terms in their writing and the extent to which they expect their students to do so. However, when we have asked about the need to define specific terms like *civil strife* or *agenda-setting* within the field of political science, we have found ourselves in the midst of a fruitful discussion on the discourse of defining terms. Likewise, content instructors need to be prepared to work with the adjunct writing instructors introspectively and analytically to help build an understanding of the discourse of their discipline. The discussion and analysis carried out between adjunct writing and content instructors may need to cover discourse parameters of professional writing in the field as well as university student writing, in order for the writing instructor to determine a pedagogical discourse grammar, if you will, appropriate for the particular adjunct course. Not that they should, but even if adjunct writing instructors immersed themselves in lectures, professional reading material, and sample student papers regarding the course content, they might still be unable to develop an insider's understanding of the discourse unless they discussed what they observed with the content instructors as members of that discourse community.

Just as adjunct writing instructors need to learn the discourse of the content area, so also do content instructors need to learn aspects of our field of writing pedagogy in order to provide complementary instruction to our common students. Our primary concern is that content instructors respond to student writing during the writing process in a manner that corresponds pedagogically to our manner of response to writing. Naturally, we also hope that content instructors will assess final drafts of papers in ways that correspond to our assessments. We need to develop with the content instructors a common understanding of the expectations of the discourse community that we are teaching, sharing views on guiding students during their writing processes, responding to student work in progress, and assessing final papers.

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As anyone who has been involved in writing-across-the-curriculum knows, writing instructors can come up against content instructors who consider it their responsibility merely to present writing assignments, answer questions if students come for help in office hours, and put letter grades along with a few justifying remarks on final papers. What needs to occur in the adjunct model is serious communication between adjunct writing instructors and content instructors regarding many issues, for example, (a) the types of written discourse the students should be working on, (b) the most appropriate ways to clarify writing assignments, (c) the types of difficulties students are experiencing in writing various assignments, (d) characteristics of both excellent and inadequate papers from the content instructor's perspective and ways to clarify this for the students well before final drafts are due, (e) given specific assignments, the areas which adjunct writing instructors should help students with and the areas the content instructor should help students with, and (f) what the adjunct writing teacher should assess and what the content teacher should assess.

Clearly, what we are suggesting here – developing an understanding of the discourse community at hand as well as sharing a common view of writing pedagogy – requires work from both the content instructor and the writing instructor. We are calling for reciprocal communication regarding entire fields of academic thought. This type of communication cannot be accomplished during a couple of meetings before the term begins but requires consistent communication throughout the course. It has already been noted in the literature that a most important factor assuring the success of an adjunct language program is regularly scheduled meeting time with content and language instructors, meeting time which is paid and scheduled at a time of the working day when all instructors have plenty of energy (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989; Mundahl, 1993). Without paid, rested time, meaningful communication cannot occur among content and adjunct language instructors; neither can communication take place successfully if the status of the adjunct writing instructor remains marginal. Boundaries need to be crossed by both the adjunct writing instructors and the content instructors such that the pedagogical responsibility and authority for writing and content is shared.

Concluding Remarks

Teachers need to approach adjunct courses with caution. In the best of circumstances, adjunct courses are a powerful means by which we can integrate content and writing instruction. They can allow us to open doors to the academic world for our students, helping them to understand the content and discourse of the communities within which they are learning and to become more effective writers within that community. The best of circumstances, however, are often difficult to find. Institutional parameters find many of us working under conditions that do not easily lend themselves to sound adjunct courses. We are suggesting that ESL writing teachers be wary of situations in which they have lower status, in which the content teachers do not value the writing teacher's content nor attempt to learn it, in which the institution does not support the adjunct model by providing paid time for collaboration, in which there is not common ground for teaching and responding to writing between the content and writing teacher, or in which the students themselves are not vested in the content or the adjunct model. We are not suggesting that teachers avoid these situations, but we do believe that for the adjunct model to work, these conditions must be overcome. In the end, working under such conditions is not only demoralizing to students and teachers alike, it ends up separating what is inherently inseparable – content and writing. ■

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Developing Communities Of Reflective ESL Teacher-Scholars Through Peer Coaching

Individuals entering or continuing in the teaching profession across the state of California face a paradox. Their credential and graduate school preservice training is generally inadequate to prepare them to confidently and competently enter today's classroom. Furthermore, inservice opportunities may actually fossilize rather than foster professional growth by failing to provide for teachers exemplary models to emulate and opportunities to engage in reflective practice, collegiality, and shared leadership. At the same time, these teachers are charged with the responsibility of educating a student population that is daily becoming strikingly more diverse with regard to home language and culture, learning and working styles, socio-economic privilege, and degree of social and academic preparation for school success.

Providing effective preservice or inservice training for California's educators in order to better serve such a diverse and changing student population is a formidable challenge for both teachers and administrators. When we ask faculty across the content areas and grade levels to embrace innovative approaches to language, literacy, and concept development for nonnative English speakers such as cooperative classroom structures or specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE), we are not simply asking them to fine tune existing knowledge and skills. We are asking them to adopt instructional approaches that require a fundamental reconsideration of underlying issues of educational access and equity, power and privilege, and individual professional responsibility.

Professional development of this magnitude requires an approach that challenges and integrally involves teachers in the creation and validation of their own knowledge. Current professional development efforts, however, are frequently inadequate to affect long-lasting, significant changes. One day or half-day inservices, regardless of the charisma, credibility and expertise of the trainer, do little to assist and sustain meaningful professional growth. Conferences in specific subject matter fall equally short of addressing educators' needs for complex and ongoing learning about culturally pluralistic pedagogy. In most cases, the rhetoric of instructional innovation touted in the inservice or conference presentation and the initial enthusiasm with which teachers leave the session surpass the reality of institutional or classroom change.

Professional Development and Transfer of Training

Few new or experienced teachers, despite the best of intentions, can move from either a conference workshop or a more intensive staff development program directly into the classroom and begin implementing a new approach with noteworthy success. To acquire even moderately difficult instructional approaches, many teachers need as much as 20 to 30 hours of instruction in its theory, 15 to 20 demonstrations, and an additional 10 to 15 feedback sessions to apply what they have learned (Shalaway, 1985). Programs or innovations that require major revisions in the way teachers presently organize their curriculum and conduct their classes are unlikely to be implemented very well, if at all (Doyle & Ponder, 1977). Predictably improbable is immediate or appropriate use of strategies which require new ways of thinking about learning objectives, and the processes by which students with diverse linguistic, cultural, and educational backgrounds may each achieve those objectives and be fairly assessed.

In most cases, teachers need considerable time and experimentation to fit the sociolinguistically and politically grounded practices we expose them to in teacher education courses or staff development sessions focusing on instruction for bilingual/bicultural students to their unique pedagogical premises and classroom conditions. Even when professional development includes clear modeling followed by a hands-on practical component, any skill developed in training does not appear sufficient to sustain actual classroom practice with more complex models of teaching. Instead, nearly all classroom practitioners need social support as they labor through the transfer of training process (Showers, Joyce, & Bennett, 1987).

Berman and McLaughlin (1976) introduced the concept of *mutual adaptation* to describe the process by which teachers try out new practices, then adapt and modify them to fit their unique teaching contexts. These Rand researchers found that both the new instructional practices and the classroom setting into which they were brought were gradually changed, but that when staff development sessions were spaced over time, the likelihood of successful implementation and mutual adaptation was far greater. A one-shot workshop (even if the workshop extends over two or three consecutive days) does not allow for any period of trial and experimentation or for mutual adaptation. Teachers thus need adequate exposure to the major tenets of a new instructional approach and effective modeling along with time for classroom application.

Another indispensable feature of this fitting process must be opportunities for teachers to do detailed and continuing analyses of their teaching in a context that is both supportive and nonjudgmental yet personally and intellectually stimulating. Goldenberg and Gallimore (1991) maintain that professional development must be "grounded in the mundane but very real details of teachers' daily work lives and in a form that provides the intellectual stimulation of a graduate seminar" (p. 69-70). Certainly, teachers need ongoing guidance and validation to make successful adaptations of new instructional practices to their specific content areas and the special needs of their students.

Norms of Collegiality and Experimentation

Indeed, new school programs and innovations have been found to be most successful when teachers have regular opportunities to meet to discuss their classroom experiences in an atmosphere of collegiality and experimentation (Little, 1982). For most teachers, having a chance to share perspectives, raise questions, and seek solutions to common problems is extremely beneficial. In fact, what teachers appear to appreciate most about professional development is not the actual training, regardless of the expertise of the facilitator or relevancy of the topic, but the opportunity to explore issues and workplace challenges with colleagues (Holly, 1982). Since the power and attraction of staff development appears to lie in the opportunity to interact with fellow teachers, the vital role of follow-up collegial dialogue and positive reinforcement for participants in professional development activities cannot be overemphasized. It is as crucial as the preceding introduction to innovative practices and supporting theory through training. As Guskey (1986) persuasively points out, "Since ... changes (in teacher attitudes and beliefs) occur mainly *after* implementation takes place and evidence of improved student learning is gained, it is continued support *following* the initial training that is most crucial" (p. 10).

Unfortunately, few teaching contexts have strong structures to support the norms of collegiality and experimentation so vital to professional growth and renewal. Frequently, the sociology of a school or a particular department discourages colleagues from soliciting help or offering assistance to fellow teachers. The milieu of many schools fosters isolation, not interaction, and independence, not team orientation. Teachers largely work alone, in their classrooms and offices, some out of desire and some out of necessity. A new faculty member may work in isolation, not yet having formed comfortable collegial relationships; other novice and veteran teachers may feel that to seek advice actively on curriculum, instruction, or classroom management is admitting a lack of competence and a potential threat to their professional status. Consequently, the critical decisions many faculty members make about teaching and learning stem more from their solitary reflection than from dialogue with trusted and respected colleagues.

Given the challenges of equitably serving California's diverse student learners, often without adequate or appropriate professional support, it is no wonder that many teachers vacillate between the impression that what they are doing is working fairly well and therefore does not warrant any change and a sense of general futility about the teaching profession and their ability to help the majority of their students learn (Moran, 1990). If we want schoolwide faculty to more responsibly and effectively educate their diverse and changing students, creating school norms of collegiality, experimentation, and support is essential.

Peer Coaching

School-based peer coaching is one proven way to improve faculty relations, encourage teachers to talk about teaching in a purposeful manner, and try new instructional practices. Peer coaching is a process in which colleagues voluntarily assist each other in developing their teaching repertoires through (a) reciprocal, focused, non-evaluative classroom observations and (b) prompt, constructive feedback on those observations.

But like many educational innovations, peer coaching is considerably more complex than it appears at first glance. Peer coaching can offer unparalleled support to teachers in their efforts to find new and better ways to educate their diverse students only if a program is supported by both teachers and administrators and carefully designed and implemented with an individual school's or department's culture and needs in mind. To implement a peer coaching program which indeed strengthens professional preparation and helps build a community of reflective educators, careful consideration must be given to the selection of the coaching model and coaching partners, the nature and extent of the training provided in coaching, and any logistical or financial constraints.

Coaching Models

Although various coaching models exist, the three most prevalent are technical coaching, collegial coaching, and challenge coaching. The *technical coaching* model stems from the work of Joyce and Showers (1982) and is used in conjunction with professional development to provide a structure for the follow up that is essential for mastering complex teaching methods and curricular reforms. This model pairs teachers or teachers and consultants during the professional development session and provides training in using an assessment form designed to capture the key components of the new teaching method. The coaching partners use this form during classroom observations to record the presence or absence of specific behaviors and to later provide focused, nonevaluative feedback. Garmston (1987) highlights the multiple benefits of technical coaching when offered as a complement to quality staff development: enhanced collegiality, increased professional dialogue, creation of a shared pedagogical vocabulary, and maximum transfer of training.

Collegial coaching, most often conducted by pairs of teachers, concentrates on areas the observed teacher wishes to improve. This coaching approach leads colleagues to reflect together on personally relevant issues of teaching and learning. It encourages teachers to develop a habit of self-initiated reflection about their professional practice. The observed teacher's priority, rather than an instructional approach introduced in a staff development session, therefore determines the coaching focus. For example, a teacher may question the equity of student participation in class discussions and activities. Together, the coaching partners would then identify performance indicators for this instructional goal. The coach routinely gathers relevant data during classroom observations, then helps the observed teacher analyze and interpret it. This kind of coaching may be particularly helpful when a teacher wants assistance in getting an objective reading on the classroom dynamics, interaction, or atmosphere. The major goals of collegial coaching thus are to deepen collegiality, increase pedagogical dialogue, and facilitate professional instrospection rather than to assist a colleague in mastering specific new instructional practices.

Challenge coaching differs from technical and collegial coaching in both its process and projected outcomes. This coaching format enables teams of educational staff to conduct action research by coming up with creative responses to persistent problems they are experiencing in their daily practice. The term *challenge* refers to resolving a problematic instructional situation. Challenge coaching is conducted in small groups called *challenge teams* rather than pairs. These teams are commonly comprised of fellow teachers; however, unlike technical or collegial coaching practices, administrators and key support staff such as instructional aides and counselors may also be included because of their special perceptions or expertise. The result of challenge coaching is ideally a set of fresh perspectives and alternative strategies to use in the classroom and insightful, supportive feedback as an individual instructor strives to achieve a personal goal. Since collegiality, trust, and protocol in problem solving through professional dialogue are essential conditions for challenge coaching, this model most successfully evolves after other coaching programs have already been successfully established.

An initial coaching program borrowing from both the technical and collegial coaching models promotes maximum transfer of training while creating a more collegial school environment which promotes professional dialogue and problem solving. Teachers first receive comprehensive training in instructional strategies in tandem with constructive coaching strategies. They are then encouraged to select a colleague as a coaching partner to mutually observe class sessions and collect objective data on specific teaching behaviors, utilizing a practical feedback form but focusing on the partner's preestablished instructional priorities.

Coaching Versus Evaluation

To wholeheartedly embark upon a peer coaching endeavor, most faculty members need to be solidly assured of the trustworthiness and confidentiality of the process. The goals and guidelines for peer coaching must therefore be clearly distinguished from professional evaluation. Traditional teacher evaluation typically implies summative judgment by an administrator or superior about an individual's total professional performance, whereas coaching implies formative assistance by a colleague/peer in a professional development process. It is thus critical that a coach not fall into the role of an evaluator during a coaching session even though it is a challenge for most to refrain from offering occasional unsolicited criticism and advice. Successful coaching programs can only be established in an atmosphere of mutual trust and support where teachers feel it is safe to experiment, fail, reflect, question, solicit help, revise, and try again. Nothing could be farther from this atmosphere than is the practice of traditional teacher evaluation, particularly when a performance evaluation is combined with an assessment for retention, tenure, or promotion. It is not surprising that teachers appear more concerned about negative evaluations for career advancement than in availing themselves of opportunities for professional growth (Corcoran, Walker, & White, 1988; Rosenholtz, 1985). Because an administrator frequently plays a relatively threatening evaluative role with teachers, peer coaching provides an alternative means for instructional support and goal setting in a school. While administrators may reasonably and sensitively help a teacher establish goals for improvement, in true peer coaching programs the process of refining curriculum and instructional delivery is primarily left to teachers working with fellow classroom practitioners.

The Coaching Process

Typically, the peer coaching process involves a preobservation conference and establishment of observation criteria, classroom observation, collection of data, a postconference, and establishment of subsequent observation criteria.

Preobservation conference

During the preobservation conference, the teacher makes explicit for the observer: (a) relevant background information about the class; (b) the intended purpose of the lesson; (c) expected student outcomes and behaviors; (d) planned teaching behaviors and strategies; (e) any special concerns about the lesson; (f) the desired focus of the observation; and (g) logistical arrangements for the observation. It is useful for each coaching partner to complete a preobservation form during this conference to record any pertinent information for the mutual upcoming classroom visits (see Appendix A).

The most difficult aspect of this step in the coaching process is identifying goals and concrete criteria for measuring those goals. Teachers must decide what is really important in their professional development and then try to operationalize those goals. It isn't manageable or fair for a coach to have a partner evade this crucial goal formulation and simply state: "Just come to my class and give me feedback on whatever you observe." The end result is generally counterproductive. The observed teacher may end up with an overwhelming amount of comprehensive feedback which smacks of evaluation, or very general, impractical comments which fail to engender enthusiasm for the program or faith in the partner.

Some teachers find their observations and conferences to be more focused and beneficial if they share common criteria than if they examine completely different aspects of teaching. Many novice coaches find it particularly useful at this stage to have a summary sheet of observable behaviors for specific instructional approaches. When coaching is intended to promote transfer of training, an observation form which recaps major tenets of a staff development session is generally appreciated by faculty (see Appendix B). Another suggestion is that partners select no more than five observation criteria per session. Otherwise, just as when a partner fails to establish observation criteria, the observations lack focus and the follow-up conferences lack substantive data.

Classroom observation

During the actual classroom observation, the peer coach records descriptive data but does not interpret or evaluate concrete classroom action, and instead focuses exclusively on the instructional elements previously identified by the teacher partner. Multiple data-gathering procedures exist, including record keeping on an observation instrument, audiotaping, and videotaping. Educational researchers have generated a variety of observation instruments which can facilitate data collection during classroom observations, depending on the nature of the instructional behaviors and goals specified by the teacher partner. Good and Brophy's (1984) *Looking In Classrooms* is a particularly good source of observation instruments. However, when coaching is encouraged to accomplish transfer of training, the most logical and manageable instrument is one which outlines the target improvements in instructional design and delivery. This focused observation form can be distributed and discussed during the actual training session and serves as a summary of the major tenets of the new instructional approach. Taking descriptive notes on the observation instrument helps improve the quality and extent of information a partner can share after a visit. However, for some teachers, a classroom observer absorbed in taking copious notes can be distracting to the point of being counterproductive. In such cases, teachers should stipulate during the preobservation conference whether they would be comfortable with a colleague observer taking notes. If not, the coach should be sure to budget 10 to 15 minutes immediately following the classroom visit to complete the observation form and note specific examples and comments. Moreover, to relieve any residual apprehension about peer observations being used for performance reviews, any and all data gathered during the course of the coaching sessions becomes exclusively the property of the observed teacher.

Postconference

During the postconference, the two colleagues discuss what actually happened during the lesson as opposed to what may have been planned. Rather than making recommendations, the observer facilitates this process by asking non-threatening questions. Questions such as "Is that what you expected to happen?" or "How would you do that differently?" prompt the teacher to reflect on the lesson, recalling actual teacher and student behaviors. When offering this feedback, the observer comments on elements of the lesson other than those established in the preobservation conference only if the colleague solicits additional information. In summary, peer coaches provide specific, solicited, limited, constructive feedback on what they see rather than what they feel. To close this session, the observed teacher decides upon the focus for the next observation, directly stating the aspects of curriculum or instructional delivery which should serve as follow-up observation priorities. The coach can facilitate this step by making sure that the items of focus are specific, manageable, and actually observable.

Selecting Coaching Partners

Coaches who are experts on enabling instructional practices in a multicultural classroom, such as bilingual or ESL resource teachers and teacher educators, can indeed provide invaluable professional input on curriculum and instruction if teachers perceive them as trustworthy, skilled colleagues and are willing to solicit their help. However, expecting resource teachers, project directors, or department chairs to provide the bulk of technical assistance following staff development is neither efficient nor realistic. Even exceptionally conscientious resource teachers and administrators, with superb interpersonal staff relations, can only provide ongoing assistance to a fraction of their teachers.

It is also worth noting that most faculty are strongly opposed to attending an inservice or being observed and coached by someone who is not currently teaching in a context similar to their own and experiencing what they view as the realities of the classroom. Furthermore, teachers are apt to resent mandates for schoolwide or departmentwide coaching rather than voluntary participation. Faculty are also likely to react negatively to administrative appointment of coaching partners rather than self-selection.

On a practical basis, most coaching should be performed by teams of classroom teachers working together to broaden their teaching repertoires. They are logistically and psychologically closer together, and if provided with effective, incremental training in new instructional practices as well as in coaching techniques, they are in an ideal positition to carry out all coaching functions. Further, if the major responsibility for coaching is placed with peers, status and power differentials are minimized and a more open, trusting, and collaborative atmosphere is created.

To help ensure faculty buy in and reduce anxiety, teachers should definitely be allowed to select their regular coaching partners or to form teams of four to eight colleagues who rotate observing each other. Teacher partnerships may be based on similarity in teaching context or partners may vary considerably in experience, content area, and level. The main ingredients for successful coaching relationships are mutual trust and respect. Nonetheless, there is at least one decided advantage to heterogeneous, interdisciplinary grouping. As members of instructional support teams structured across departments, courses, or grade levels, colleagues become more aware of their common resources and challenges. They also tend to focus their observations and ensuing discussions on target instructional practices and broader educational issues rather than primarily on curriculum.

Training of Coaches

Training in coaching is an essential condition for peer coaching to succeed and not be counterproductive. Although on the surface it appears that observing another teacher conduct a class is a relatively simple, straightforward process, teachers who participate in coaching programs are generally astonished by how challenging it is to be truly objective and faithful to a partner's requested observation criteria when recording data and conferencing. An effective training-for-coaching program trains teachers before they coach and includes follow-up training while the coaching program is under way. If, as Crandall (1983) and Guskey (1986) claim, teacher commitment follows practice rather than preceding it, then follow-up sessions in which all participating teachers can openly discuss their coaching experiences and refine their understandings and skills are even more crucial than initial formal training activities.

Training in coaching must empower teachers by helping them identify practices that impede movement toward collegiality and by equipping them with an extended repertoire of coaching skills. Among these skills, training in factual data gathering is fundamental, yet providing prompt, descriptive, nonevaluative feedback is perhaps the most crucial. A peer coach must have initially collected adequate relevant data on the colleague's preestablished target strategies and behaviors during the classroom observation. The coaching partner must then be ready to praise the observed colleague's efforts step by step while giving specific nonthreatening feedback which is grounded in the observation data. A supportive coach must also know how to ask nonjudgemental questions that help the partner to analyze and evaluate instructional decisions and that prompt reflection and improvement in teaching performance.

If logistics and trust factors favor peers as coaches, it follows that the training of coaches most sensibly takes place during the training of the teaching behaviors and strategies that require coaching. The goals of staff development should provide the broader structure for follow up observations. It is particularly helpful for beginning coaches to establish a narrow observational focus for gathering and reporting data. Some coaching partners experience unexpected difficulty identifying observable instructional goals and performance indicators and find their observations and conferences to be more beneficial if they share common criteria. Again, coaching program administrators can facilitate the process of establishing reasonable observation criteria by ensuring that faculty receive a feedback form which synthesizes target skills and behaviors from the staff development session. With such a form teachers will have not only a common vocabulary for discussing teaching and learning processes but a framework for selecting instructional goals that are personally significant yet familiar to both members of the coaching partnership.

For example, the observation form in Appendix B was used to summarize the major tenets of a training session focusing on effective small-group work design and implementation in multicultural/multilingual high school and college classes (Kinsella & Sherak, 1993). For that session faculty selected no more than five initial instructional goals to serve as observation criteria for their peer coach. After receiving constructive feedback from their partner on these specific aspects of their classroom small-group work, each teacher then established a new set of criteria for the subsequent observation.

During the coaching training session, teachers greatly benefit from practice in conferencing skills and giving focused constructive feedback using a manageable observation form and watching classroom footage of instructors experimenting with the target instructional goals. The coaching trainer can establish clear observation criteria before teachers view each lesson segment, then facilitate roleplays in which participants provide facilitative feedback to the observed teacher. This crucial observation practice helps minimize any residual reticence about being evaluated rather than assisted by a peer coach.

Another way to help a school community develop a shared professional language and norms of experimentation is to structure regular coaching meetings. Monthly sharing sessions offer coaching teams comprised of faculty from different content areas and grade levels a chance to celebrate and demonstrate their successes, share perspectives, seek solutions to common problems, and gain new motivation to persist and refine skills.

Administrative Support for Peer Coaching

Any effective coaching program requires an active instructional leader. The cellular organization and the prevailing milieu of many schools makes coaching extremely difficult. A congenial, laissez-faire administrator does little to inspire faculty buy in, remove obstacles, foster collaboration, or eliminate teacher isolation.

Truly supportive principals, project directors, and department chairs provide both verbal and tangible support for a coaching program. Initially, they help faculty identify an appropriate coaching model, taking into careful consideration the school or department's culture, history of past change efforts, interstaff trust levels, and the size of the staff. They then lend direction and validation to a program by actually attending all staff development sessions and coaching training sessions, modeling positive coaching behaviors, and responding to coaches' concerns and constraints. Empathic administrators know how important it is for teachers to work in a climate that supports collegiality and continuous growth. They reflect on their own collegial experiences and recognize how difficult it may be for many teachers to expose themselves to even a peer observer when they have been assigned to classes and largely left to fend for themselves for years.

Active instructional leaders and colleagues, therefore, support coaching efforts as a constructive formative alternative to merely summative evaluation. These administrators further demonstrate their recognition of the value of peer coaching by freeing up time and money to help a program flourish. They offer to take over classes, secure roving substitutes for the program on given days so that teachers can observe each other, and devote faculty meeting time for coaching teams to regroup for collegial sharing. Furthermore, they provide incentives to motivate reticent faculty, who may most benefit from participation, such as small stipends, release time, professional credits, and letters of commendation for personnel files. Finally, they regularly applaud the efforts of coaching teams in departmental and schoolwide staff meetings, personal memos, and campus newsletters.

The Role of Schools of Education

Norms of collegiality and experimentation have been shown to be necessary ingredients for the most effective teacher training (Little, 1982). Collegiality among faculty members means more than friendliness; it entails mutual respect and assistance and connecting on a professional level with a diverse staff. Further, while credential courses may be starting points for theoretical foundations and methodology, they do not begin to cover the wide range of classroom situations and student responses a new teacher is apt to encounter. Teachers in training need to be comfortable fluctuating between the comfortable and the unfamiliar, sharing successes, and openly seeking support in disappointments. This ability to take the risks necessary to teach more effectively and to constantly adjust goals and strategies necessitates a trusting, collaborative environment.

Schools of education can play key roles in preparing teachers who are advocates of reflective practice and collegiality. In their training programs, teacher interns can be shown how to effectively observe and coach each other. Instructional support teams can easily be formed within credential courses to provide mutual support for microteaching endeavors. These same team members can later take turns coaching each other during actual student teaching, as long as master teachers also advocate peer coaching and welcome scheduled visitors. In this way, developing education professionals can receive more extensive and varied feedback on their classroom practice along with more encouragement to persist and refine skills. Moreover, these coaching opportunities will hopefully instill in new teachers a value for reflection, collaboration, and experimentation which they can carry along with their credentials into the workplace.

Developing Communities of Teacher-Scholars

Peer coaching is certainly one of the most promising avenues for teacher growth, rejuvenation, and empowerment. Used to complement culturally responsive teacher education, a coaching program equips school staff with skills in collaborative reflective practice as well as a structure for supporting ongoing curricular and instructional experimentation. Of perhaps greater importance, coaching strengthens collegial relationships. Whether with a partner or with a team, coaching affords teachers a safe, structured opportunity to raise questions and admit challenges. In this climate of safety and trust, an individual teacher is encouraged to actively seek suggestions from fellow classroom practitioners while undertaking an instructional leadership and guidance role traditionally reserved for administrators. Within such a community of faculty-scholars who continuously engage in the study of their craft, teachers are more likely to find the strength and support to become agents of change who strive to create more democratic schooling environments and who assume responsibility for contributing to the knowledge base of their profession. ■

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Appendix A

Preobservation Conference Form

Teacher ____________________ Peer Coach ____________________

1. **Observation Logistics**
   a. date ____________________
   b. classroom ____________________
   c. beginning time ____________ ending time ____________
   d. relationship of observer to students:
      detached ____________ involved ____________
   e. seating arrangement for observer:
      anywhere ____________ assigned ____________

2. **Class Background**
   a. subject area ____________________
   b. grade level ____________________
   c. number of students ____________________
   d. class make-up ____________________

3. **Lesson Description**
   a. learning objectives of the lesson:
   b. planned teaching behaviors and strategies:
   c. any concerns about the lesson:

4. **Specific Areas for Observation**
   a.
   b.
   c.
   d.

5. **Postobservation Conference**
   a. place ____________________
   b. date ____________ c. time ____________

Appendix B

Peer-Coaching Observation Form: Groupwork Design and Implementation

Instructor ______________________ Class __________ Date _________

Peer Coach ____________________

Directions: Provide feedback for your colleague on the aspects of effective classroom groupwork implementation which she or he has asked you to focus on during this observation. Write specific examples, comments, or questions which you want to be sure to discuss in your postobservation meetings.

___ 1. Prepared students with vocabulary and language strategies necessary for the group activity.

___ 2. Selected an activity which clearly lent itself to task-based, active collaboration.

___ 3. Related the activity to previous lessons and previous activities.

___ 4. Made explicit the purpose, procedures, and expected outcome of the group activity.

___ 5. Broke a more complicated task into manageable, clearly delineated steps.

___ 6. Gave clear oral instructions for the activity, accompanied by a visual aid; wrote the goals, time frame, and procedures on a handout, an overhead transparency, or the chalkboard.

___ 7. Modeled the task or a part of the task and checked to see if all students understood the instructions before placing them in groups.

___ 8. Established a clear and adequate time frame for students to complete all parts of the task.

___ 9. Explained the group member roles with behaviors necessary for completion of the task.

___ 10. Appeared to have a clear rationale for small-group formations.

___ 11. Encouraged cooperation, mutual support, and development of group accomplishment.

___ 12. Took an active, facilitative role while the small groups were in progress by providing feedback and guidance and getting students back on track.

___ 13. Saved adequate time to process the completed small-group activity as a unified class, clarifying what was learned and validating what was accomplished.

___ 14. Incorporated listening and responding tasks for students to complete during group reports to facilitate task processing and ensure active listening and accountability.

___ 15. Provided feedback to students on their prosocial skills and academic accomplishments during and/or after completion of the small-group activity.

___ 16. Asked students to evaluate their individual and/or small-group's performance by means of a form, quickwrite, or journal entry.

___ 17. Made sure that students saw the connection between what was generated, practiced, or accomplished during the small-group activity and any follow-up individual assignment.

Additional Notes and Comments:

Instructional Goals for Future Observations:

1.

2.

3.

4.

Kate Kinsella and Kathy Sherak, 1993

The CATESOL Journal

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An Overview of The Rights of Immigrant Parents

The rights of immigrant parents and students have not been handed to them on a silver platter, nor is one to assume that the existence of protections implies wholesale embrace or acquiescence by school districts. Whether because of racism, anti-immigrant attitudes, or plain lack of imagination, most of the rights described in this article have come about only as a result of civil rights litigation and political advocacy by representatives of minority groups. Unfortunately, litigation and advocacy will likely continue to be necessary in many jurisdictions to insure that the rights are honored. However, the information provided here may inspire voluntary change in districts and schools that violate these rights out of ignorance rather than malice.

In thinking about the rights of immigrant parents it is crucial to remember one axiom: Immigrant parents have all of the rights of every other parent. The guiding principle that should thus govern a school district's response to these parents and their children is one of equality. If a school district through design, practice, policy, or even inadvertence has placed barriers in the way of full and meaningful access of immigrant parents or their children to educational opportunity, there is a significant possibility that legal rights are being violated.

Legislatures and courts have created some specific rules which respond to common barriers to equal access. In the following pages we will explore some of these. It is important to understand two things about the rights discussed herein. First, the reason that they exist is a recognition that affirmative steps are oftentimes necessary to secure equal access for those who come to our schools with needs which are different from English-speaking long-term residents of this country; secondly, these rights are in an evolving state. As advocates, legislatures, and courts develop a fuller recognition of the barriers that confront immigrant parents and their children, new rights and new remedies are likely. CATESOL members can assist in this process of refining the knowledge base about practices that inhibit full access and help in the creation or expansion of the rights of newcomers who have so much to offer if given a fair chance.

The Right to Enroll a Child in School

The most basic right that a parent has is for his or her child to attend school. Immigrant parents often confront barriers that unlawfully inhibit this right which is taken for granted by others. It is unlawful to demand that a parent present evidence of lawful status in the country, a social security card, or a birth certificate as a precondition to admission to the elementary and secondary schools of the state. A school has no business asking about undocumented status. If social security numbers are used as a student ID or a birth certificate is used as a way to establish age for placement, alternative systems must be adopted for a parent who cannot produce these documents. The right to enroll in school also extends to children who reside with someone other than a parent for reasons beyond merely attending a certain school district. These children must be admitted even though their protectors do not have formal legal guardianship.

Right to Demand Equal Access to the Curriculum

Under both state and federal law, all students are entitled to equal access to the full curriculum offered by a school. The major barriers confronting immigrant students are those posed by limited English proficiency. Federal law recognizes that a student classified as limited English proficient (LEP) has two needs that must be addressed by a school district: (a) the need to learn English so that within a reasonable time students can be competitive with their English-speaking peers, and (b) the need for access to the curriculum. A district must address each of these needs in a pedagogically sound manner, using adequate resources (trained teachers, materials, etc.) to accomplish the goals of equal participation and must regularly assess the program to determine if students are achieving parity; if not, the program must be adjusted to give a reasonable opportunity for its accomplishment.

Despite the fact that Governor Deukmeijian vetoed the reauthorization of the state bilingual law in 1987, school districts which continue to receive state bilingual education funds must meet the general intended purposes of the vetoed act. These have been construed by the state Department of Education in ways that often give greater rights under state law than the more general federal provisions. For example, state law requires a native language (bilingual) program for students who cannot otherwise have access to the curriculum, unless the numbers are so small that it is impossible to do so. A plan to remedy the shortage of bilingual teachers must ordinarily be developed where there are not enough certified bilingual teachers.

Equal access to the curriculum certainly means that LEP pupils be able to participate in the entire curriculum. Thus at the secondary level, steps must be taken to insure that LEP pupils can participate meaningfully in the full range of offerings – not just the remedial track but also the advanced track. Where choice programs or magnets are offered in a district, meaningful access to these programs must be provided. A system that fails to provide opportunities to participate in gifted and talented programs is legally flawed as is one that does not accommodate those with special needs. Denial of access to Chapter One is a common barrier that is unlawful.

Specific Parental Rights to Access the Schools

All of the rights of students discussed here entitle parents to go to court or other forums to enforce their rights. Over and above those rights, which come to them as protectors of their children, are certain statutory rights given to assist parents to participate effectively in the schooling of their children and the governance of their schools.

In California, a school district with 50 or more LEP pupils or a school with 20 or more must have a parental advisory committee. While these committees are viewed as advisory, they also were the product of legislation that saw active and informed parental involvement as central to the development of responsive programs. Thus the law envisions that the membership is to be a majority of parents chosen by parents and that they will have access to documents and information so that they can intelligently contribute to the development and oversight of the LEP programs.

The federal migrant education program similarly envisions a parental advisory committee composed of a majority of parents, chosen by parents, with a right to access information needed to fully participate in the development and oversight of the program. There is furthermore a statewide parent advocacy group designed to influence state policy.

Linguistic accessibility is an important determinant of whether one can participate in governance activities such as advisory committees and in the education of one's child. The law requires that parental advisory committees be linguistically accessible to non-English speaking parents. This is specific with respect to the two committees discussed above and fairly implied with respect to other committees.

Both federal and state laws require that important notices be sent to parents in a language they can understand unless not practicable. While there are some debates over the threshold number of LEP parents that triggers such notices, at a minimum a school or district with a 15% LEP membership of a single language group must prepare such notices. Bilingual information should include report cards, test information, parental activity information, required discipline notices, and other forms or specific notices that call for decision making by parents.

Like all other parents, an immigrant parent has the right to visit a child's school and classroom, subject, of course, to reasonable regulation.

Right to Respond to Low Achievement

Rights of parents to influence the education of their children through legal remedies have typically focused on inputs; thus the discussion above focuses primarily on inequalities in the delivery of services rather than on equality or adequacy of output or achievement.

There is increasing discussion in legal circles about rights of parents to secure a legal response to failure of their children. Due to the nascent state of this discussion and the lack of space, no more will be said.

However, two recent bills signed into law deserve some mention. Under these laws parents who are dissatisfied with their schools have rights to transfer under certain circumstances. These rights belong to immigrant parents like all others. This might be an alternative response to the enforcement of the equality principle set forth above.

Right to Adult Education

While this article has focused on the rights of parents to secure equitable educational programming for their children, one should not overlook the very real rights that these parents have to better themselves, and, thus indirectly, the life chances of their children. Federally funded adult education programs require consideration of the needs of non-English proficient immigrants in their programming; this is in addition to requirements in civil rights laws that these programs be accessible to these persons. While it is not uncommon to find ESL programs in adult education (though usually far fewer slots than are needed), it is not common to find adequate access to substantive offerings. This can constitute a legal wrong.

Conclusion

As stated at the outset, it is hoped that a school district, principal, or teacher armed with the information in this article will move to assure that the rights of immigrants are honored. Indeed it is important to remember that the law generally sets minimums. Nothing prevents, and often logic suggests, expansion of the rights mentioned here. In any event, if rights are not honored, political and possibly legal action is the appropriate response of parents. ■

The CATESOL Journal

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Putting Grading Into Context : From a Nightmare to a Learning Experience

As a teacher, I try hard to ensure that students have opportunities to be thoughtful, informed, and self-directed learners. This is true whether I am teaching elementary-aged children or graduate students. I now spend most of my time teaching prospective and practicing teachers and, although we meet only infrequently, I am determined to put into practice learning and teaching principles that guide me as a teacher of all learners. They include the following:

1. Learning is socially constructed, so it is essential that the classroom environment foster learning in and with both students and teachers;

2. The primary role of a teacher is to guide and challenge students, not to transmit information; and

3. Assessment procedures should inform the teacher about students' accomplishments as well as needs and encourage student self-reflection.

For the most part, I am successful in implementing the first two principles, even though students are usually not accustomed to being invited to take a more active role in their learning. What has been most difficult for me at the university level, however, has been to institute an assessment system that is consistent with my teaching goals and principles. As a teacher, I am most interested in using assessment to inform myself about individual students' growth, interests, and needs so that I can make appropriate instructional decisions. Student self-assessment has a key role to play in this endeavor. However, in higher education the most common form of assessment – grading – is seldom used to inform teachers and learners. Instead, grading simply judges students' worth. Some teachers claim that through grading we are able to "maintain standards" and ensure that students will work, the assumption being that without this type of extrinsic motivation students will not work.

Perhaps this is true in some teachers' classrooms. But while I have taught in situations in which students were allocated credit/no credit grades and in situations in which letter grades were allocated, I have not found that the presence of grades has had this effect of keeping students on task. Instead, I have found that the allocation of a grade can transform engaged, responsible learners into dependent students who seem to be more concerned about the grade they will receive than with the quality of their work. This can be a very distressing transformation to witness and be a part of.

About two years ago, concerned about the negative impact of grading on students, I decided that I would try to eradicate the nightmare that was building around me and petitioned to teach credit/no credit courses. After my requests were denied, I realized that I needed to explore ways of better integrating university requirements with my own teaching principles and priorities. I began to explore alternative ways of arriving at grades, ways that would recognize the effort and achievement of students, and encourage students to view assessment as a means to learn about one's learning and learning processes.

One of the first changes that I instituted was to collaborate with students on grades. At mid-semester and end-of-semester conferences we now discuss their progress and grades. In preparation for these conferences, students hand in a written self-assessment in which they discuss their progress in each component that constitutes the final grade (e.g., participation, self-chosen reading and writing goals, and special project). I also refer to anecdotal records that I keep (e.g., observational notes, dialogue journal entries, records of short-term assignments). In most cases, students and I agree on the grades that they receive. On occasion, I believe that students are earning a higher grade than they credit themselves with. In other, usually more difficult, cases, I believe a student is not earning the grade that s/he suggests. In all cases, both the student and I explain our reasons for generating the grades we do. I listen carefully, look at the evidence, and make the final decision. At one point, I discovered that I was referring to this collaborative venture as a *negotiation*. This seemed to be more problematic than when I used the term *arrive at collaboratively*. Overall, this process has proven to be a less stressful and more meaningful way of addressing grading. Because we begin with self-assessment, the process reinforces students' investment in their own learning.

In a preservice reading/language arts course that I teach, I ask my graduate students to focus on developing their own literacy. I ask students to set reading and writing goals for themselves because I believe that, in order to be an effective teacher of reading and writing, one must be actively engaged in reading and writing. Two years ago, I did not ask students to grade their reading and writing because I thought that to do so would involve assessing the quality of their reading and writing and was afraid that doing so would undermine their development as readers and writers. However, students were adamant about the need to include this important aspect of the course into the grading system.

Eventually, I realized that the grade could be arrived at by looking at the degree of challenge inherent in the goals, and how successfully students have met their goals. I ask students to set six-week long goals that they are interested in working on and which will challenge them. I then meet with each student in a brief, beginning-of-semester conference during which we discuss the goals, consider alternatives, make changes, and finalize them. The goals are highly idiosyncratic and have included, for example, making time each day to write, reading and writing poetry, writing a children's picture book, completing and sending off a short story to a publisher, and reading six pieces of extended nonfiction.

In preparing for the mid- and end-of-semester conferences, I ask students to comment on several features, including "What have been your major accomplishments?" and "What else would you like to have accomplished?" I have been struck over and over again by the magnitude of their accomplishments, the honesty of their responses, the ability they possess to express developing philosophies of how to teach language and literacy, and the degree to which focusing on developing their own literacy has altered their reading and writing habits (as well as how they view themselves as literate people). The following excerpt from Victoria's self-assessment illustrates these points:

> Reading, reading, reading. I've never before done so much reading in this span of time; in fact, I've never even come close. Although I didn't read a few of the articles in their entirety, and I didn't finish the Rigg/Allen book (I got sick when I was half way through and then many projects were pressing on me), I read ten professional journal articles (the last four are still pending), four and a half professional books, many books for young people ... I feel much more informed on books that I would want to include in my class library and also on reference books and articles to turn to for activities and guidance.
>
> I've also become much more comfortable with writing, and have even developed a desire to share some of my writings. This is a big step for me. Before I only asked a friend to proof read a paper, and it was hard enough to ask that much. Now I have shared stories and poems that I have written because I think the reader might relate to them in some way. I've also become much more interested in others' writings. The most challenging writing process I undertook was trying to write

> meaningful poems for my mother. I struggled a great deal with this, but the result of sharing these poems made the effort well worth it.
>
> ... The group Poetry Project was my biggest disappointment ... I think I had unrealistic expectations about how much time it would take to do this and how much we could accomplish during class workshop time. I've already told you that I didn't communicate as effectively as I would have liked on this project ... I also need to make greater efforts to stay in touch with and to be receptive to others' points of view in a group process. (Victoria, end-of-semester self-assessment)

When I read these comments from Victoria, I was struck by how much more I knew of her as a learner by reading them. I knew that Victoria had become a prolific reader, but I didn't know what and how much she read or the depth of its impact on her. I knew that she had been unsure about the wisdom of selecting the writing goal for herself of writing poems about and for her mother, a person with whom she had a difficult relationship, but I did not know whether she had met her goals and what the impact had been on her as a human being and writer. I also knew that working on her special project had not always been easy, but I wasn't sure what she had learned from the experience. The written self-assessment allowed me to gain insights into Victoria's learning processes, get answers to questions I had. It also offered me an opportunity to assess the degree to which Victoria had set challenging reading and writing goals and had met them. When we met for an end-of-semester conference, during which we collaboratively arrived at her grade for the course, I had read Victoria's self-assessment and was able to explore issues with her that seemed important, for example, why she was now more interested in reading other people's writing and how her special project group had resolved its differences.

Another student, Youngshin, decided to use her reading and writing goal setting to: (a) write about her experiences with racism as an immigrant in a U.S. elementary school, and (b) learn to read in her parents' native language. In preparation for the midsemester conference , she wrote:

> I have been keeping up with my goals. I have been writing a collection of reflections and poems on my childhood and the racism I have encountered while growing up in the States. I've gone through a few drafts on some and conferred a couple of times on some as well. It was difficult getting it out and facing those locked up memories. The major difficulty I'm facing though is that I have never really written poems or long narra-

> tives except for reports and journals and I am finding it difficult to get a final draft on any of my work.
>
> My reading goal has done me a big favor. It has given me a new look into my culture. I try to read the Korean newspaper every other day. What I cannot read is the ancient Chinese-style writing the articles have ... It is exciting ... I'm learning to read all over again.

Youngshin is a fairly reticent member of the class and I was not quite sure how she was doing. Through this written self-assessment, I was able to understand her much better as a person and as a learner. In the conference, we talked about the influence of audience on one's writing. I asked Youngshin about the extent to which her goals had challenged her and she explained how difficult it was for her to read Korean and how her father had been helping her, including buying books in Korean. She also talked about the emotional difficulty of writing in a sustained way about an era in her life that had been so painful.

Through these self-assessments I have learned about the intellectual and practical accomplishments, stumbling blocks, and future goals of students. Self-assessment is not an easy proposition for many students. They are generally not accustomed to stepping back and consciously reflecting upon what they have done, what they have accomplished, and what they plan on doing in the future. Students are more accustomed to someone else placing value on their efforts and work, and, in some cases, they are reluctant to place their own grade on their work. I originally introduced the written self-assessments as a means for students to become more knowledgeable about their learning, an experience with meta-learning. I have since found it to be a very helpful and less stressful mechanism for arriving at grades. While I am perfectly capable of assessing who is doing A-work or B-work, if that is all that occurs, then assessment will not serve to help students become reflective learners who continually challenge themselves.

As in so many other aspects of my teaching, grading is in a state of flux. I search for a system that is entirely valid, supportive of learners, and manageable for me. Recently, I began to involve students in the development of grading criteria. This began to evolve last summer as I spent hours trying to figure out how to grade students in a language assessment course I was about to teach. I struggled for weeks to develop grading criteria that would be consistent with the goals of the course (e.g., read widely about second language acquisition/teaching and assessment ; develop alternative assessment procedures with students acquiring English and analyze the results; become an "expert" in an assessment-related topic and write a document that would be of interest and use to other teachers; and critique existing tests). It then occurred to me that I should turn over the development of this part of the course to the class—I argued to myself, "This is, after all, an assessment class, and in the United States grading is a key component of assessment." And that is exactly what I did.

I offered sample grading criteria for them to use as a point of departure. Students selected the component of the class that they wished to work on in a group (participation, evaluation of a standardized test for use with learners acquiring English, and an assessment-related special project). The groups drafted grading criteria, which they brought back to the class for discussion. I had been conducting beginning-of-semester conferences during the group discussions, but stayed in the classroom to listen to the whole class discussion so that I would be better able to understand the grading criteria that I would then be implementing collaboratively with each class member. The discussion was lively, led to important clarification of key elements (e.g., what a minimal level of involvement in the class would look like compared to a superior engagement in the class), generated a very valuable discussion of peer assessment versus self-assessment, and even initiated a new requirement for class members (each person would briefly assess in writing his/her preparation for and participation in class at the end of each meeting and set goals for him/herself for the next week). I listened carefully and spoke only when asked to clarify a point. I met the next day with representatives from each of the groups to finalize the grading criteria. The one issue that required a fair amount of discussion was the elimination of subcategories and sub-sub-subcategories of grade components, each with their own percentages. I explained that the system was far too convoluted, and I wasn't willing to spend so much time trying to calculate grades. This process of involving the whole class seemed to have a positive effect upon students' willingness to focus more on the content of the class than grades.

A grading-related issue that I am now exploring is the use of portfolio assessment in university graduate classes. I already ask students to put together a course portfolio in which they illustrate and reflect upon their learning during the semester. At the moment, this course portfolio is not designed or used as a formal assessment tool, except that it informs me about students' accomplishments and the development of their knowledge and what they think about this development. I would welcome any suggestions from readers who have had experience with this approach to assessment. ■

The CATESOL Journal

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Collaboration Across Disciplines In Postsecondary Education: Attitudinal Challenges

To begin this discussion of collaboration across disciplines, I would like to present three common concerns about teaching in the multicultural university of the 90s which I frequently hear from content-area instructors:

- My classes are filled with students who don't speak the language, can't read the textbook, and can't write a decent paper. These kids have graduated from American high schools, but they're not ready for college.
- I'm an economics professor. You can't expect me to become an English teacher, and anyway, I don't have the time.
- I would really like to reach these students, but I don't have the background or training.

These comments reflect the attitudinal continuum among teachers I've met in working across the disciplines in the postsecondary setting. These teachers range from those who are having trouble accepting the reality that demographic changes in California have profoundly affected the type of student coming into our colleges and universities, to those so entrenched in their traditional roles that they resist changing their instructional strategies, to those concerned faculty members who recognize that accommodations are in order but who feel at a loss in terms of expertise and experience to make the accommodation.

As an increasing number of language minority students enroll in college and university classes, content-area faculty require assistance in dealing with the instructional demands of teaching second language students. While many are indeed skillful teachers, there is a growing mismatch between the teaching strategies they have honed over the years for one type of population and approaches which will engage the linguistically and culturally diverse students presently enrolled in their classes. The pedagogy exists in TESOL to collaborate with our content colleagues, but an attitudinal backdrop must also be considered for meaningful, sustained change to occur. In keeping with the theme of this special issue, I'll address some of the challenges of interdisciplinary collaboration which typically fall outside of discussions of pedagogy per se. Specifically, I'll discuss attitudes that content-area faculty hold about students' educational backgrounds and language skills and strategies for countering some of the obstacles that prevent faculty involvement in interdisciplinary collaboration. This discussion is based on my experience at California State University, Los Angeles where I codirect Project LEAP: Learning English for Academic Purposes, a program funded by a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) grant in which general education faculty, peer tutors, and language specialists work together to assist language minority students to improve their academic literacy skills.

Let me say at the outset that responsibility for meeting the needs of our language minority students is a two-way street. TESOL professionals in higher education must, in my opinion, take a broader view of their roles and responsibilities. We have much to offer our colleagues across the disciplines. The impact we can make in our individual ESL classes, while certainly significant and not to be underestimated, is limited when one considers the far greater amounts of time our students spend outside ESL courses in the real world of content-area classes. In addition to providing a critical outlet for our expertise, cross-curricular collaboration presents an opportunity for increased visibility and stature in the eyes of our campus communities as our content-area colleagues look to TESOL professionals for answers to their vexing questions about how to reach second language students.

In convincing our content-area colleagues to take greater responsibility for reaching all students, we need to begin by dealing head on with attitudes about who these students are and what kind of skills they bring to class. Content-area instructors must be sensitized to the complex social and demographic factors involved in educating language minority students in California's schools. From my experience, faculty simplify this complexity in two different ways. In one scenario, faculty make no distinction between the native English-speaking students taking their classes and their second language counterparts, and, thus, fail to understand the tremendous academic demands placed on language minority students in their classes. In this regard, I have found that Cummins' work provides insights that content-area faculty find very enlightening (see Cummins, 1981, 1992). In the other scenario, faculty refer generically to nonmainstream students as *for-*

eign students. While clearly there are many international students attending California colleges and universities, by far the majority of language minority students on our campuses are immigrants who have no plans to return to their home countries or U.S.-born students who have a second language in their personal or educational background.

The following characteristics of language and educational background may be helpful in distinguishing language minority students from each other and in assisting content-area faculty to understand their complex profile:

1. Some of the students we see in our college and university classes are recent immigrants who have developed social communicative skills in English through beginning-level ESL classes or through exposure to an English-speaking environment but have not yet developed academic language skills appropriate to their educational level;

2. Other language minority students have acquired academic language skills in their native language and initial proficiency in English but need assistance in transferring concepts and skills learned in the first language to English;

3. Still other students may have lived in this country for a long time or been born in the U.S. While usually bilingual, they are English-dominant as they have received little or no schooling in their first language. These students may have done quite well in their high school courses but are often not prepared for the increased demands of college or university study because they lack sufficient experience with or systematic instruction in academic language skills.

To deal with the attitudes exemplified in the faculty comments which appeared at the beginning of this article, TESOL professionals have to think realistically about what will motivate faculty to collaborate. In other words, how can we get faculty to buy in to cross-curricular collaboration? I believe that the answer requires several strategies. First, we must assist content-area instructors in improving their approach to teaching. Secondly, we must convince content-area faculty that they will see improvement in their students' mastery of course content if they assist them with academic language skills. Successful marketing of cross-curricular collaboration must also cast the ultimate objective of such activities as that of raising standards and course rigor rather than expecting less of students.

To meet the attitudinal challenges posed by interdisciplinary collaboration, we at Project LEAP look to Meyer (1993) who said, "Teachers should have two goals: to teach the content, and to teach the necessary conditions for learning it" (p. 106). We have seen dramatic changes in the attitudes of faculty after they have experienced a positive washback from being attentive to students' language needs and changing their own instructional strategies.

For example, faculty in Project LEAP general education courses have seen significant improvement in the quality of student writing and content understanding after redesigning their previous one-shot term paper assignments into multistep exercises whereby students submit assignments in stages. In an introduction to a political science course, Project LEAP students received very detailed guidelines at the beginning of the term, participated in a library tour, completed a homework assignment in which they learned to use on-line data sources such as LEXIS/NEXIS and CARL to conduct their research, reviewed model papers, and turned in the introduction and literature review sections of their research papers at the midterm point. They then added a discussion and conclusion, incorporating peer and instructor feedback in the production of the final draft.

Professors have also seen tremendous payoffs after experimenting with different ways to help students prepare for exams. In a humans-and-their-biological-environment course, for instance, the biology professor permitted students to submit questions to be used on examinations. By the third midterm exam, 42% of the questions which appeared on the exam were student generated. In cultural anthropology, a professor has seen an increase in the number of A and B grades awarded after asking students to bring mock essay questions to class and giving them time during class to brainstorm possible answers in groups.

In addition to revamping paper assignments and experimenting with student involvement in examinations, we have found content faculty receptive to a variety of other strategies for enhancing their own teaching approaches and so improving student mastery of course content. These include ways to:

(a) revise their course syllabi to make expectations clearer;

(b) accommodate diverse learning styles in the classroom through a variety of instructional techniques (e.g., increased wait time, avoiding spotlighting students, group work);

(c) craft writing assignments which make explicit the critical thinking or analytical requirements of the assignment;

(d) encourage more interaction between faculty and students (e.g., making one visit to the professor during office hours a course requirement);

(e) make students more accountable for keeping up with reading assignments (e.g., pop quizzes, study guides);

(f) assist students with note-taking strategies; and

(g) improve lecturing strategies such as:

- reviewing key concepts from the previous lecture,

- writing an agenda on the blackboard for each class session,
- not taking for granted that students possess general academic vocabulary (e.g., terms such as *hypothesis, watershed*),
- minimizing cultural, generational, or class-based references which might not be part of students' background experiences (e.g., *Alice in Wonderland, Gary Cooper, mortgage payment*).

Project LEAP faculty have also welcomed suggestions for responding to student writing and designing better multiple choice and short answer test items.[1]

Selecting faculty to participate in cross-curricular collaboration is tricky business. We have found that junior-level faculty who themselves were educated in a multicultural milieu may be more likely to embrace the notions of diversity and equity in education. On the other hand, nontenured faculty, in general, do not hold leadership positions within their departments and, thus, the multiplier effect may be harder to achieve when working with them than when aiming at the outset to convert senior faculty to cross-curricular collaboration. The two most critical characteristics in selecting faculty, in our experience, are flexibility and willingness to change – attributes which know no age or status limits.

Other attitudinal challenges exist. We have found that, while many faculty members are very committed to improving their instructional skills, they are also wary of being perceived in their departments as too involved in teaching concerns when it comes time for review for promotion. Or, when they have innovated and produced positive results (i.e., students performed better in their classes), they are criticized for giving too many high grades or it is assumed that they grade too leniently. We have to accept that these kinds of biases and misperceptions exist and be prepared to help content-area faculty prove to their colleagues that they have, in fact, raised course standards by giving more complex assignments and holding students accountable for demonstrating high levels of content knowledge and language skill.

In short, TESOL professionals should take the initiative to share what we know about teaching language minority students by offering workshops and training sessions or developing comprehensive cross-curricular programs. Several recent CATESOL presentations have reported on efforts at the community college level aimed at assisting content-area faculty to meet the needs of second language students at Contra Costa College (Fragiadakis & Smith, 1992) and Santa Monica and Rio Hondo Colleges (Hartnett & Chabran, 1993). Beyond the workshop level, a variety of models of interdisciplinary collaboration exists at the postsecondary level. To cite two, writing across the curriculum is well-documented in the composition community (see Fulwiler & Young, 1990) and the adjunct model in the ESL literature (see Benesch, 1988; Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989).

The stage is set for collaboration across the disciplines in California's multicultural colleges and universities. While there are many attitudinal challenges inherent in cross-curricular endeavors, we have much evidence that indicates that ESL and content-area faculty can successfully join forces to insure that language minority students develop the skills needed for academic success. ■

Footnotes

1. To receive Project LEAP training manuals containing instructional materials designed to assist language minority students in the development of their academic language skills, please write or call: Project LEAP, Learning Resources Center, Library South, Room 1040A, California State University, Los Angeles, 5151 State University Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90032, (213) 343-3970.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Influences From Beyond The Workplace ESL Classroom: The Relationship Between Traditional, Transitional, and High Performance Organizations and Workplace ESL Teachers

In California and the rest of the country, increased education, particularly in the area of basic skills, is a necessity for today's workforce. Jobs which once required only the use of a person's hands to complete routine tasks with assembly line efficiency are disappearing quickly. In the past, "the only prerequisites for most jobs were an ability to comprehend simple oral and written directives and sufficient self-control to implement them" (Reich, 1992, p. 59). The fluid demands of today's workplace require that individuals have the ability to communicate successfully. Employees must be able to interact with one another to convey basic information and use critical thinking skills in order to troubleshoot and problem solve together. Teamwork is valued, and members of teams, who come from all areas of the organization, must feel comfortable communicating within their group and being active contributors to the process.

Twenty years ago, immigrants wanting to enter the job market had access to vocational ESL and basic skills training in preemployment training programs, adult schools, and community colleges. These local, state, and federally funded programs suffered a severe blow during the 1980s. The need for this kind of education, however, did not diminish but, in fact, has grown in tandem with the continued influx of immigrants. Due to insufficient government funding and the lack of a cohesive national policy on workplace education, some businesses began to look for their own solutions to providing basic skills training for their immigrant employees (Chisman, 1992).

Businesses in the United States have traditionally offered in-house training programs and opportunities for continuing education, most often directed at managers rather than employees in nonmanagerial positions.

"Each year, American employers spend an estimated $30 billion on formal training. At most, however, only one third of this amount is spent on our noncollege educated workforce, affecting no more than 8% of our front-line workers" (National Center on Education & the Economy's Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 1990). Our experience shows that many on-site ESL programs, on the other hand, are directed toward these very employees who have not benefitted from workplace education in the past.

Today both the government and the business community recognize the need for increased attention to and funding for workplace education to keep the U.S. globally competitive. Over the last several years, driven by economic necessity and California's increasingly diverse demographics, proactive California businesses have begun initiating workplace education programs either on their own or in partnership with other organizations. Frequently, these programs have included an ESL component.

Sondra Stein (1991) and her colleague, Laura Sperazi, have developed a framework that describes two kinds of organizations: traditional and high performance. We see this framework as one means to inform the perspectives of current and future worksite ESL teachers and provide them with a tool to better understand the volatile nature of today's workplace.

Stein and Sperazi describe traditional and high performance work organizations in the manufacturing industry according to their views of the production process and work organization, the role of workplace education, and the development and implementation of workplace education programs. Though created with the manufacturing industry in mind, these categorizations, with some adjustment, can also be used to examine service-oriented organizations.

In summary, traditional organizations use a scientific management approach, in which complex jobs are broken into simple, rote tasks which workers can repeat with machine-like efficiency. Work is performed on production or assembly lines by individuals working alone on discrete tasks. Because cost is the driving factor, workers fear that improvements will lead to elimination of jobs.

The traditional company does not have a long-term strategy that integrates a comprehensive education and training program into the overall business plan. Often, training is task oriented and job specific. The presumed conflict between education and production is reflected in the fact that workers are not given release time for participation. If a workplace education program does exist on-site, neither workers, supervisors, nor unions are involved in the process of planning, implementing, and evaluating the program. Finally, the company makes no plans to institutionalize the program.

The Stein/Sperazi framework also describes high performance organizations. These organizations prefer a total quality approach to management in which a key goal is to involve every member of the workforce in the processes of improving quality, efficiency, and customer satisfaction. Work is done in self-managing groups, by individuals working in teams. Because incremental improvement is the driving factor, workers are rewarded for innovations.

Unlike traditional companies, high performance organizations view education and training as part of their long-term strategic plan for continuous improvement. No conflict is perceived between production and education, and education takes place on work time. Top management is invested in setting goals and outcomes for workplace education programs, and participatory planning, implementation and evaluation processes involve all stakeholders in the workplace education program. Companies plan to not only institutionalize programs but also integrate education into on-the-job practices (Stein & Sperazi, 1991).

In these changing times, most organizations fall somewhere in between the traditional and high performance categories, with some striving to become high performance organizations and others struggling to make the shift with great difficulty if not reluctance. Still other organizations find that traditional business practices work for them, and they continue to run their businesses in a way that has proved successful for years.

We believe Stein and Sperazi's (1991) characterizations of traditional and high performance organizations can provide ESL teachers with a framework in which to understand and discuss the influences that affect their workplace teaching. We also see this framework as a tool that can help ESL teachers adjust their curricula and expectations to a particular workplace situation.

Conversations With Workplace Teachers

We shared Stein and Sperazi's framework with seven workplace ESL educators. Because we wanted to learn from the experiences of a cross-section of teachers who had taught in workplaces, we first identified educators or organizations that we knew to have good reputations in this field. We then invited two independent contractors, one teacher employed by a community based organization, one employed by a community college, and three from a state university extended education program to participate in focus groups or individual interviews. During these meetings, we asked them to consider the various workplaces in which they had taught and then respond to a set of questions.

Of this group, four had MA degrees in TES/FL, and one had gone on to get a PhD in linguistics. The other three teachers had masters degrees in related fields. The least experienced of the group had been involved in language teaching for five years while the most experienced had taught for 22 years. Among them, they had taught at 37 large, midsized, or small companies (three had experience within the same organization) over the last five years and had been teaching ESL in workplaces from 2 to 15 years.

We asked the teachers to view the Stein/Sperazi framework as if it represented two poles on a continuum. As workplace program administrators, while we have both been involved with companies that are on the way to becoming high performance organizations, we had yet to work with one that had truly achieved that goal. Thus, we modified the high performance category calling it *approaching high performance*. In addition we created a third category called *transitional* to represent those organizations with developing awareness about the need for change but limited or no resources to alter how work gets done at this time.

Our use of the terms traditional, transitional, and high performance should not be viewed as indicators of how successful a particular business may or may not be. While high performance organizations, by their nature, are far more conducive to workplace ESL programs, on-site teachers who recognize the confines and needs of traditional and transitional organizations have run successful courses in these contexts. As one informant told us:

> Regardless of whether a company is traditional or high performance, I always think of myself as a consultant to the company, asking the question, 'What do they need?' ... Companies don't always see themselves as moving toward high performance when they contact me to do this work, but when they make the connection, their eyes light up.

For the purpose of this paper, we will refer to 12 of the workplaces our informants discussed. The way they grouped these workplaces is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Workplace Groupings

TRADITIONAL	TRANSITIONAL	APPROACHING HIGH PERFORMANCE
Hotel Group 1	Hotel Group 2	Hotel Group 3
Insurance Company 1	Government Agency 1	Insurance Company 2
High Tech Company	Government Agency 2	Bakery
Garment Manufacturer	Computer Manufacturer	Medical Equipment

Previous literature on workplace ESL (Alamprese, 1993; Andrews, 1990; Ford, 1992; Hayflich & Lomperis, 1992; Sarmiento, 1991; Spruck Wrigley, 1991) tells us that the following elements are key to successful on-site ESL programs: (a) company (and union where appropriate) buy in for the program; (b) use of a needs assessment; (c) customized and flexible curricula; (d) on-going program evaluation; (e) voluntary employee participation; and (f) instructor flexibility. These elements, when considered alone, exist as generic categories that mask how profoundly the workplace context (traditional, transitional, approaching high performance) can alter the experience of the teacher, the design of the course, and the development of the program.

By asking ESL providers to identify where their workplace clients fit into the traditional to high performance continuum, we were able to highlight common influences on the teachers' experiences that emerged from outside of their workplace classrooms. The characterizations of traditional and transitional organizations as well as those for organizations approaching high performance override many differences due to company size and the nature of the industry. Key points from our conversations with these teachers are summarized below.

Traditional Organizations

Attitudes toward workplace programs in the traditional organizations were varied. Insurance Company 1 took an exceedingly long time to decide to conduct an on-site ESL program and to select a provider. The company wanted the provider to conduct a 45-minute lunch hour [sic] customized course in oral communication skills. The provider indicated that this would not be adequate for teaching a pronunciation and conversation class, especially if employees were expected to eat during that time. When senior management refused to provide employees with an additional 45 minutes of company time for each class meeting, the provider and human resources representatives concurred that it would be inappropriate to run the course at all. By not having executive buy in for a sound educational program from the start, this company demonstrated its lack of readiness to engage in on-site ESL training.

As in the case of Insurance Company 1, lack of buy in at Hotel Group 1 was a problem. The teacher was expected to meet company goals without getting company support for the program. Because there were many levels of hierarchy and only one supervisor who championed the program, the instructor felt stymied at every step of the way. By only providing materials specific to the employees' current jobs and not geared toward enhancing their promotability, hotel management further demonstrated its traditional view of workplace education. Because workers were not viewed as whole people and the emphasis was on cost cutting rather than true employee development, employees didn't always show up for class and often felt depressed, tired, and overworked when they did. In addition, the amount of time allocated for this program was limited.

Stein and Sperazi (1991) note that in a traditional organization, "management treats employees as 'hands.' The worker is not a whole person (check your brains at the door)." The relationship between employees and management at the garment manufacturer was challenged as employees in the ESL program began to understand more about their rights as workers. In fact, workers' rights was the intended topic for the sixth module of the training. In the instructor's opinion, management cancelled this module because they felt the curriculum to be too threatening. The instructor believed that management preferred to view their employees as "programmed little sewing machines" and not as confident, thinking adults.

At the High Tech Company, the instructor reported,

> I worked in fear because I didn't know if I was giving them what they wanted because they didn't know what they wanted. ... I was supposed to be able to read their minds and have all the answers. It took a long time to figure out needs because there was not only no support, but also no awareness. The attitude was, 'You're the teacher; you should know what to teach.'

Transitional Organizations

Many transitional organizations revealed an inconsistency between their philosophy and their actions. This was usually reflected throughout the organization and particularly in the inconsistent goals for and attitudes toward workplace ESL programs.

In the case of Hotel Group 2, management had begun to view itself as moving toward high performance. The intention to bring in an on-site ESL program was a reflection of this shift. This view, however, had not filtered through to the employees, who still saw management as traditional and, as a result, continued to view their own work in a job-specific, less team-oriented manner. Thus, management and employees had differing goals for the outcome of the program.

A similar discrepancy existed in Government Agencies (GA) 1 and 2. In both situations, employees viewed themselves and management as traditional in regard to their notions of ESL as a job training tool. Management in GA 1 knew they needed to change, but felt bound by the endless bureaucracy and preexisting hierarchy of the organization. In GA 2, a human resource representative was the beacon for change. Senior management, however, was not tapped to participate in the on-site ESL program, and while employees and their supervisors all bought into the program, they had different expectations about what the outcomes might be.

In this situation, supervisors estimated their nonnative English-speaking employees to have far less skill using English than observed by the instructor. They also had very specific goals and expectations for their employees, among them to improve pronunciation and better manage telephone calls. The employees, on the other hand, felt demoralized by their own perceptions of how they used English and how coworkers and supervisors related to them.

The instructor often felt like a therapist, helping employees to overcome feelings of inferiority because they had received so much negative feedback from internal and external clients. So, while supervisors felt the problems grew out of specific language issues, the instructor saw the overriding issue to be one of confidence. At the end of the course, employees reported being more assertive and comfortable with their use of English, and many of their supervisors acknowledged progress had been made. As in many on-site classes, the first round of improvement grew out of an increase in confidence rather than a dramatic change in language use.

In one department of GA 1, where traditional forces were evident, the instructor felt the need to be very results-oriented, always having to validate her presence in the organization. In addition, she felt the need to constantly promote the program, "to explain the process, not the training" because ESL differs from other types of training with which the organization was more familiar.

At the Computer Manufacturer, the instructor summed up her feelings this way:

> Trust is not total. I had to perform a balancing act, working with a very controlling management at their level, while trying to be true to what is best for the students. You have to try to help management grow in how they view the class; play on their strong points; keep your boundaries clear, know your objectives and be able to clearly state them ... and, the teacher needs to work on not getting mad.

Approaching High Performance

The organizations in this category had gone through perceptual shifts about how to do business which were clear throughout all levels of their organizations. Employees understood that the company had a mission that involved their personal development as part of the organizational strategy for growth and change. The instructors who taught at these sites each acknowledged that these organizations allowed them to focus on not only job-specific language, but also higher order thinking skills that ultimately would increase employees' potential for promotion and their ability to contribute more fully to the company.

Hotel Group 3, for example, moved toward a high performance model because they understood they needed to view training as an investment rather than as a cost. This perception grew out of their ability to view themselves as internationally competitive, competing for business with not only other hotels in the city but also other cities around the world. The instructor who worked with this hotel explained that management had a long range view of workplace education and was more interested in having ESL classes focus on the teaching of processes and procedures rather than simply job-specific, formulaic language.

One of the instructors for Insurance Company 2 reported how well informed employees and their supervisors were about the value of the ESL classes. Information about the ESL program had been integrated into the company's larger restructuring process; this created a real awareness of the company's commitment to long-term training and, as a result, fostered company support throughout all levels of the organization. Another instructor at this company noted that because the attitude of management toward the ESL program was such an open one, employees didn't view language issues as so closely connected to their self-esteem; she stated, "I felt freer to ask questions, to explore and try new things because the goals weren't so narrowly focused."

The Bakery's attitude toward the on-site program came from a different source – viewing themselves as "being on the cutting edge of social awareness." They wanted employees to be "better workers and people." Their company philosophy included seeing workers holistically, with training viewed as a return on investment and not a lost cost. The Medical Equipment Firm echoed these views as well, in particular, "seeing people as resources not liabilities." This attitude was reflected through support for the ESL program and within the organization as a whole.

The instructor who worked at the Medical Equipment Firm commented, "These companies are visionary. Dreamers work here. But how realistically can we ESL teachers affect or reach this vision through our work?" Then she raised a point that was validated by three of the other teachers, "[At high performance companies] they trust you too much, and this can be scary."

These companies gave instructors lots of access to the organization and its people as well as significant freedom in determining what was taught. As instructors worked toward developing more and more customized materials, shaping their classes to mirror employee and company goals, some voiced concern that as their programs became more established, management and supervisors became increasingly "hands off."

Said one instructor:

> Management has a certain passivity because they see teachers as experts; if we know what we're doing, they don't understand why we have to keep going back. They wonder, "Wasn't the needs assessment long enough?" My job is to go back and educate them, to make them realize their continuous involvement is needed [Without their regular input,] I find out half way through a module other things that could have been included. Their passivity results both from their lack of involvement and respect for our professional space.

The reality is that to keep these programs vital and relevant, instructors need to maintain their relationships outside of the classroom. Thus, ironically, the teacher-as-mind-reader syndrome, which afflicted instructors in the most traditional companies – where they had no access – can return for different reasons in the most forward thinking of organizations.

Conclusion

Clearly, there are numerous influences affecting workplace teachers that come from beyond their classroom walls. Understanding where an organization fits into the traditional–high performance continuum can provide workplace ESL educators with a framework to help them learn how to approach individual contracts. By knowing the broader goals and aspirations of the business, instructors can better plan how their courses will fit into the larger organizational structure they will temporarily join while teaching on-site.

Thus, when a company decides to set up an on-site ESL program, the teacher and the business need to understand how that program will be related to the organization as a whole. Regardless of where the company falls on the traditional–high performance continuum, the provider will probably need to make a consistent effort to educate all levels of the organization about the nature of language learning, the relative slowness of the process, and the need for support from the native English speaking population. In addition, the teacher will often need to reframe the language "problems" of nonnative speakers as an organizational need for improved communication among all employees.

In traditional companies, the teacher is likely to be bound by more definitive goals (i.e., improving pronunciation, refining telephone skills, etc.) than those identified for high performance organizations. Providers in this type of organization can expect to conduct a limited needs assessment with a narrow focus that can be correlated to measurable gains or changes in how an employee communicates. The traditional company is less likely to spend resources on a full scale assessment; however, if the program is being funded through outside sources (i.e., a federal workplace literacy grant), the company may have to comply with the terms of the grant by participating in a thorough assessment process. As stated previously in this paper, ESL courses in these organizations are unlikely to be institutionalized, and, in general, will focus on helping employees to do their current jobs more effectively.

Because transitional organizations are in a state of flux, they are the least predictable, and for this reason, while they are very commonplace, they may also be the most difficult to work with. Organizations of this type may have an individual, a department, or representatives in upper level management that support workplace education in general and ESL in particular for their employees. At the same time, however, other large pockets of the organization may not share or even be aware of their views, and the teacher may therefore be met with lots of contradictory information about the need and support for teaching ESL on-site.

Consequently, teachers in transitional organizations need to search out those managers and supervisors who can help champion the program to not only give them greater insight into the workings of the organization but also advocate for the educational process and its long-term benefits to all employees.

Organizations approaching high performance already understand the intrinsic value of becoming *learning organizations*, places where on-going education is valued for all employees because these companies recognize the relationship between continuous learning and their ability to improve continuously as a result. ESL educators in companies such as these have fewer challenges in regard to helping organizations acknowledge the benefits of providing educational opportunities for all employees.

Here, however, teachers need to remember that while the company may have a philosophy that supports on-going learning, many individuals within the organization will not have an understanding about the ways in which language learning differs from other types of training. Though the environment may be favorable to running an ESL program, the teacher needs to be responsible for clarifying what results can realistically be achieved through on-site classes. This is true for on-site ESL programs within any organization. In addition, these organizations may not readily understand why the teacher has an on-going need to maintain relationships with managers and supervisors once the program is established.

To keep classes current and to stay abreast of the company's often changing internal dynamics, teachers should not allow themselves to become isolated once a program is underway even though the organization may assume the program is ready to run itself at this point. By staying in touch, instructors will be able to demonstrate how the teaching of English is one piece in the larger education and development process that fosters organizational change. Through this process, the organization will be better able to tap their nonnative English speaking employees as resources and value the contributions of this population.

By coming to understand how an organization perceives itself, by having a lens through which to view that organization, and by helping to educate the business about language learning and the complexities of communication, the workplace ESL teacher can produce positive results within that organization. Unlike teachers in other settings, a teacher in the workplace needs to develop and maintain rapport with supervisors and managers who will be measuring the program's success not only by observing changes in the communication skills of their employees, but also through their sense of the instructor's credibility outside of the classroom.

Finally, it is not enough to ask about the outside influences affecting workplace teachers. While this information is vitally important, it has a necessary corollary that quality educators will not ignore. Workplace teachers must not only be respondents to company and employee needs. They must also be advocates for the multicultural employees they serve, educating the people around them about ways in which they can extend and refine their own communication skills so that the burden of change does not fall unduly on a single segment of the workplace population – nonnative English speakers. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

The Missing Link: Workplace Education in Small Business

Forrest Chisman.
Washington, DC: The Southport Institute for Policy Analysis. 1992.

The Workplace Literacy Primer: An Action Manual for Training and Development Professionals

William J. Rothwell and Dale C. Brandenburg.
Amherst, MA: Human Resources Development Press. 1990.

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In ESL, more than any other field of language learning, the range of ideas which represent current practices in teaching, research, and theory is a vibrant, sometimes volatile mix of sociopolitical concerns, public policy issues, and linguistic/pedagogical research. Because this range of disciplines informs ESL teaching practice, the ESL instructor can choose from a wide variety of teaching resources. In the nascent practice of workplace ESL, the field of business management and administration also has an obvious, substantial influence upon instruction and theory.

The primary teaching resources coming from the business world for workplace ESL instructors take the form of generalized how-to manuals for human resources and training professionals, which barely touch upon ESL or language training. *The Workplace Literacy Primer* falls into this category. The other book reviewed in this article, *The Missing Link: Workplace Education in Small Business*, looks at workplace education from not a business, but a public policy standpoint. Thus, these two books provide the ESL instructor with two different and nonpedagogical perspectives on workplace instruction.

The Workplace Literacy Primer is, as it is subtitled, an action manual for training and development professionals. As such, it provides a means for

ESLers to understand what human resource (HR) people do: their role in an organization, what they must do to get a training program off the ground, their jargon. Part 1 of *The Workplace Literacy Primer* briefly defines the problem of adult literacy on a national scale and shows how to recognize basic skills problems in an organization through a needs assessment. Part 2 helps the HR person figure out how to address those problems discovered through the needs assessment. Parts 3 through 6 show how to set up, operate, and evaluate an in-house training program.

Being a manual, this book reads like a university textbook. All the ideas are laid out precisely and repeatedly; each chapter has an overview, "application activities" (also known as exercises), and endnotes. Dozens of models, charts, flowcharts, graphs, and survey results provide the reader with plenty of visual reinforcement. This book provides readers with a good, if rather pedantic, understanding of how training and development professionals view (or are supposed to view) workplace literacy and basic skills training. However presented, this kind of knowledge is critical for anyone in the field of workplace literacy training.

In addition, the book provides some thought-provoking nuggets of information within the vast groves of "exhibits" (all that visual stuff), most gleaned from already well-known publications such as *The Bottom Line* and *Workforce 2000*, that are of interest to ESLers. There is a brief discussion of the legalities of pre-employment testing. (It's legal – with certain exceptions. Is language testing okay?) Numerous surveys are cited. In one, HR professionals rated the relative importance of various reasons for offering in-house training. (The most important reason was to "improve the organization's ability to respond to technological change." How would one achieve this goal in the context of an ESL workplace class?) The most common skill taught in basic skills courses, according to one survey, is not reading, writing, or math, but listening. (What's the difference between teaching listening skills to native speakers and nonnative speakers?) Exemplary, established, basic-skill programs by well-known companies have three things in common. They are: (a) delivered on the employees' own time, (b) offered more by educators than by in-house trainers, and (c) organized more by elementary or secondary grade level and subject matter than by subject or job-related activities. (How does this jibe with your own experience?) In addition to the numerous studies and surveys quoted, this book lists many kinds of organizations involved in the field and commercially available training materials.

The Workplace Literacy Primer serves much the same purpose as a general ESL text: It doesn't directly address the teaching of ESL in the workplace, but it does have within it some potentially useful ideas and information that the workplace ESL professional can adapt to his/her own situation. Sound familiar?

The Missing Link is a summary report of an 18-month study of formal employer-sponsored basic skills (or workforce literacy) instruction in small and medium-sized firms, conducted by the Southport Institute for Policy Analysis, a think-tank based in Washington, DC. Thus, rather than describe, as *The Workplace Literacy Primer* does, what should be done and how, *The Missing Link* tries to describe what is being done and how it is being done. In addition, *The Workplace Literacy Primer* focuses on developing training programs for large corporations (500 employees or more); *The Missing Link*, as described above, focuses on smaller companies.

According to the author, Forrest Chisman, *The Missing Link* focuses on the gap between "the need and demand for workplace education and the supply" (p. 14). Noting that currently only 3% to 5% of small and medium-sized businesses are providing training for their employees and 20% to 30% want to implement such programs at their companies, Chisman writes that the challenge is to take what has been done at the 3% to 5% and make it happen at those companies that want it – "in such a way that the distinctive character of workplace education as a system for building both better workers and better firms is not lost (p. 14)." This can be done, he says, "by stimulating the public-private partnerships that are at the heart of the small business approach" (p. 14). Chisman devotes the rest of the book to an overview of the different types of workplace education programs currently being used, an analysis of why some businesses have implemented workplace education programs while others haven't, an overview of the providers of workplace education programs, and finally, a model for a federal role in workplace education – as he calls it, "A Federal Initiative To Create A New Partnership For Workplace Education" (p. 106). Chisman's message resonates throughout the entire report: This is a new, worker-centered orientation towards workplace education, one which mirrors the change in work organization which many small companies have already implemented and which should be nurtured and promoted by the federal government.

In advocating the involvement of the federal government in workplace education, Chisman specifically recommends that the federal government provide a "core" of experienced workplace educators to address problems of "market failure, quality, and funding at every level" (p. 106). Drawing an analogy with the Cooperative Extension Service, an agricultural program started in 1914 to help small farmers increase the productivity of their yields, Chisman envisions the creation of a federal Office of Workplace Education, as well as similar state offices, to be partners with small businesses in establishing workplace education programs.

While the idea of expanding the size of the federal and state bureaucracies may not be everyone's cup of tea, Chisman's ideas are clearly worthy of serious consideration and debate, particularly in California, which faces enormous challenges in improving both the educational system and the economic climate.

So, are these two books useful? Yes, and for different reasons. *The Workplace Literacy Primer* helps one gain insight into the way training professionals are taught to think about workplace literacy programs. *The Missing Link* gives one a clearer view of what is actually happening out there and more specifically addresses the issues and concerns that are relevant to the ESL workplace educator. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Language and Discrimination: A Study of Communication in Multiethnic Workplaces

C. Roberts, E. Davies, and T. Jupp. London: Longman. 1992.

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Have you wondered, as I have, what became of Britain's National Centre for Industrial Language Training (NCILT) projects, the efforts that produced the now-classic videotape *Crosstalk* (Twitchin, 1979), a staple of North American cross-cultural and sociolinguistics courses since the 1980s? This provocative volume presents "the rest of the story," a comprehensive and insightful account of the rise and demise of NCILT's collaborative training efforts involving ESL professionals, employers, training institutions, and nonnative English-speaking workers in Britain from the mid-1970s to mid-1980s.

This book is well worthwhile for ESL professionals (and any other audiences concerned with workplace training and worker relations) for several reasons. First, from a theoretical and practical standpoint, is the insistence that linguistic and cross-cultural training be reciprocal, involving all parties, not just the relatively powerless workers or learners. This is a refreshing change from past studies of workplace training, which often reflected solely the institutional interests of employers and the views of the dominant culture (Hull, 1993). To get a good orientation to the broad social context motivating the NCILT projects, it is useful to read chapters 1, a general overview of issues in language and discrimination, and 6, the conclusion, in which the authors assess the social context and overall impact of the project, before reading the other chapters, which describe some of the linguistic and educational topics in more detail.

Chapter 6 shows that, as NCILT continued, program designers developed greater insights and more appropriate methods for balancing the perspectives of the participants served with those of the diverse teachers, sponsors, and funding agencies which participated. Their candid admission that many of the paths of action taken by NCILT were relatively unplanned at the start, and their honesty regarding the constraints affecting program development will ring true to the experience of anyone who has ever attempted to implement a real life language project. Throughout the volume, the authors disavow overly simple, linear models of curriculum design and program implementation and thus reflect current scholarship regarding the messiness, dynamism, and blurred boundaries (or "indeterminate zones of practice" [Schön, 1987, p. 6]) of human problem-solving activities.

Chapter 2 provides a careful consideration of several available scholarly approaches (e.g., ethnography, social semiotics, pragmatics, discourse analysis) – each with its advantages and disadvantages – toward the practical issues of gathering and analyzing data on worker selection and workplace communication which arose during the course of the project. This chapter by itself is a welcome answer to the question of what various disciplines can and cannot offer to practitioners and service providers engaged in addressing real world problems. It documents the project teams' engagement with current developments in all the fields they drew upon as they went about planning and delivering services to program participants, who were, in the main, unemployed (or *redundant*, as the term is used in Britain) Black and Asian workers in Britain's industrial Midlands.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 offer fuller descriptions of how planners, teachers, and participants proceeded to identify and then deal with issues of cross-cultural and linguistic misunderstanding in the workplace through pedagogical interventions. NCILT courses went well beyond the usual general cross-cultural training programs in several ways by (a) spending time (up to a full week, far shorter than a traditional ethnography but much longer than allowed in many workplace training projects [McGroarty & Scott, 1993]) doing participant observations as a means of needs assessment in relevant settings; (b) hiring and collaborating with professional service providers and instructors who spoke the languages of the participants; and (c) paying close attention to how communicative exchanges were evaluated by all parties involved, not just by employers and supervisors. This latter effort led to the establishment of training programs that were more specifically suited to the situations of various groups of workers and, equally significant, explicit training in antiracist interviewing procedures for government service providers.

Chapter 4 demonstrates NCILT's dual-track approach to analysis of ethnographic data, with consideration of overarching matters of conflicting cultural schemata, expectations, and assumptions, coupled with a closer, but still selective, examination of specific linguistic features (i.e., prosody, syntax, and lexis). Some miscommunications were indeed caused by different uses of the latter features, particularly prosody, but far more often the mismatch of culturally based expectations regarding roles and behavior played a larger role in creating and maintaining communicative barriers.

Chapter 5 focuses directly on language teaching and learning through summaries of four different NCILT projects related to addressing the needs of intermediate-level learners, developing student autonomy, linking language classes more closely to occupational skill training, and preparing bilingual staff. Discussion of the relative success of programs to promote learner autonomy was particularly interesting. Both teachers and students were unfamiliar with the premises and methods of self-directed learning, indicating once more that authoritarian classroom expectations and participation structures are as deeply rooted in workplace training as in other educational institutions.

For North American readers, slightly more explicit orientation to the data and to the research context would have been useful. Even with consistent use of standard transcription conventions, it is difficult to derive a sense of exactly how language functioned to discriminate against nonnative speakers in a few of the many transcripts included. As the authors note, much crucial information is carried by either intonation or implicature; for Americans unfamiliar with conventional British intonation, it is not entirely clear what, precisely, made nonnative speakers of English feel demeaned by a particular speech segment. (The authors are careful to acknowledge the extremely subtle nature and interactive effect of the cues studied. One wishes for an accompanying cassette or video to get a firmer grasp of the interpretation of data here. In a time-honored southern California tradition, I suggest it is high time for *Crosstalk II* to accompany this book.) More extensive discussion of the relationship of workers and union stewards to management in the British industries studied would also assist North American readers in understanding whether and how labor organizations contributed to training efforts, though authors do report that the influence of British unions waned greatly during the period under study. Additionally, more information about the types of adult education available (or unavailable) to members of minority language groups outside their workplaces would help readers on this side of the Atlantic grasp the extent of educational alternatives available, either through classes or self-access education centers, for workers who did not have access to NCILT, which was implemented in selected sites rather than nation wide.

These are minor quibbles, though, for this is an ambitious volume that succeeds in thoughtfully summarizing and critiquing more than a decade of high-level professional effort informed by sociolinguistic sophistication and genuine social commitment. The short bibliographic essays at the end of each chapter, the extensive bibliography, and the thorough index make the book a valuable resource for researchers as well as teachers. Language professionals and the many other audiences of service providers, policy makers, and community advocates interested in workplace language must take the findings and cautions of *Language and Discrimination* to heart to advance the field. This book is a landmark both because of the scope of the project it reports and the even-handed presentation of the theories, data, analyses, and assumptions driving the effort. The occupationally stratified and linguistically diverse multiethnic workplaces considered here are ubiquitous in California and in most large cities of the industrialized world. It behooves language professionals to see what projects such as NCILT can and cannot do to promote equity, harmony, and autonomy in workplaces and in workers' lives. Through publication of this book, the authors have enabled ESL professionals to learn from NCILT's many successes, few failures, and, more importantly, its efforts to develop imaginative approaches to workplace training. No one interested in language and workplace training can ignore their considerable achievements. ■

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REVIEW

Immigrant America: A Portrait

Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut.
Berkeley: University of California Press. 1990.

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> When it comes to immigrants, the mood is getting ugly ... Jobs are scarce and as the U.S. economy sputters, people accuse foreigners of stealing paychecks from Americans ... Anger is heating to a fever pitch in California where citizens' groups are calling for a crackdown on further immigration. Meanwhile politicians vow to seal U.S. borders and halt the flood of newcomers. (Getlin, 1993, p. E4)

In this climate of economic scarcity and rising anti-immigrant sentiment, we ESL teachers and administrators in all educational segments must serve the needs of our students. It behooves us, therefore, to gain some understanding of the complexities of contemporary immigration and a perspective on what the past has taught us to expect.

Portes and Rumbaut's *Immigrant America: A Portrait* provides a valuable analysis of the complexities concerning immigration that differs from simplistic public perceptions. In the preface, the authors state that their aim is to make accessible to the general public a comprehensive and comprehensible synthesis of the major aspects of the literature on immigration. The book focuses on the diversity of today's immigrants' origins and contexts of exit from their home countries, as well as the diversity of their adaptation experiences and contexts of reception into American society.

The book consists of seven chapters. It begins with a discussion of who the immigrants are and where they come from, including a typology of present-day immigrants that provides a framework for the authors' analyses of their processes of economic, political, social, cultural and psychological adaptation. The second chapter examines their points of destination and patterns of settlement, and the formation and function of new ethnic communities in urban America. Chapter 3 looks at the incorporation of immigrants in the American economy and seeks to explain differences in education, occupation, entrepreneurship, and income by examining not only immigrants' resources and skills but specific government policies, labor market conditions and characteristics of various ethnic communities. Chapter 4 analyzes immigrant politics, including the underlying questions of identity, loyalty, and determinants of current patterns of naturalization among newcomers who are "in the society but not yet of it" (pp. 95-96). Chapter 5 focuses on the emotional consequences of migration and acculturation and the major determinants of immigrants' psychological responses to their changed circumstances.

Of particular interest to language teachers is Chapter 6, "Learning the Ropes," which provides a detailed discussion of English acquisition, the loss or maintenance of bilingualism across generations, and new data on the educational attainment of diverse groups of migrants in American public schools. The goal of the concluding chapter is to clarify the origins of today's undocumented immigrants and to assess their effects on America in the future.

This book not only contains a wealth of information about current immigrants and an analysis of what they mean to America, but also challenges the common media clichés and widespread stereotypes. These public perceptions often contribute to the xenophobic fears which fuel political agendas of nativist groups and also often affect the various contexts in which we ESL teachers do our work.

The authors present research findings which refute such public perceptions as the following:

1. It is only desperate poverty, squalor and unemployment in the sending countries which propels people to America.
2. Only the people with the least skills immigrate to the United States.
3. Concentrations of immigrants will lead to separatism and cultural alienation.
4. Undocumented immigration stems solely from the economic needs of the immigrants.
5. Immigrants steal low wage jobs from citizens, particularly minorities, or they cause wages to be lowered because they will work for less money.

One popular nostrum with which we ESL teachers are all familiar is that English should be the official language of the United States because of the fear that the preeminence of English is being threatened by other languages, particularly Spanish. Research findings reported in the book indicate, on the contrary, that native language monolingualism rarely outlasts the first generation, that English monolingualism is the dominant trend among the second generation, and that maintenance of fluent bilingualism is the exception which depends on the intellectual and economic resources of the parents and social supports like an ethnic enclave. The authors point out the irony that, although foreign language fluency is an asset and a scarce one at that in the United States, preserving the languages of immigrants is seen as a threat and so is not supported by the society at large.

ESL teachers should particularly take note of the common assumption that acculturation has generally been considered to have beneficial consequences for the economic progress and psychological well-being of immigrants. Portes and Rumbaut present contradictory findings. For example, a study of Mexican immigrants, native-born Mexican-Americans, and non-Spanish whites in California's Santa Clara Valley found that a pervasive sense of cultural heritage was positively related to mental health and social well-being among both immigrants and native Mexican-Americans. Another study found that the higher the level of acculturation or "Americanization," the greater the prevalence of such disorders as alcohol and drug abuse or dependence, phobia, and antisocial personality.

The last chapter includes some sensible recommendations for immigration policy concerning the various types of immigrants previously discussed, such as manual labor migrants, professionals and entrepreneurs, and refugees and asylees. The authors conclude that "clearly, the United States cannot be the last place of refuge for everyone in need, and in this sense some form of control is well justified. However, restrictionists' gloomy rhetoric concerning all present immigration is likely to prove as groundless as in the past ... Although problems and struggles are inevitable along the way, in the long run the diverse talents and energies of newcomers will reinforce the vitality of American society and the richness of its culture." (p. 246)

For those who are stimulated to delve further into the topic, the 23-page bibliography is a good resource. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Language Planning and Social Change

Robert L. Cooper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989.

ERIKA L. KONRAD
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Language planning may seem like something done only by high-ranking political officials. However, language planning or the implementation of those plans is carried out by teachers' associations (Bamgbose, 1989) and by individual language teachers whenever they choose a text (Tollefson, 1991), administer a proficiency exam, make decisions on which variety of English to teach (Nelson, 1985) or how to treat the learner's native language in the classroom. ESL teachers in particular know firsthand that learner problems are not strictly language problems but are related to the history that each learner brings to school – the political and economic forces that bring them to our classrooms and their struggle to find a new way of life amongst neighbors who may or may not espouse cultural and linguistic pluralism as a core value (Smolicz, 1980). Therefore, for ESL/EFL instructors or trainees who have an interest in how language planning and social change are interconnected, who are curious about how learner motivation is affected by forces beyond the classroom, and who desire to get a more global perspective of their profession, this book is a valuable resource.

As an introduction to the field of language planning, Cooper's work is designed not specifically for the TESOL professional but for anyone with an interest in language. In fact, Cooper's presentation presupposes no prior knowledge of sociology or linguistics. Nevertheless, it is scholarly in nature and would be appropriate for a graduate-level course in sociolinguistics for future TESOL professionals.

In the first chapter, Cooper uses four examples to show that language planning is never carried out in a vacuum nor is it ever carried out for purely linguistic purposes. The first example is that of the circumstances behind the founding of the Académie Française. For those who have little time or inclination to follow, much less comprehend, the connection between politics and language policy decisions, this is an accessible account of the very human elements that go into these decisions. The second example is that of the promotion of Hebrew in Palestine – a language planning success story – and the factors that led to the flourishing of this language for everyday life. Following this is the example of the feminist movement in the United States and its efforts to reduce sexist usage of language such as androcentric generics. Cooper outlines the historical events and social climate surrounding this movement, which is still in progress. Indeed, this movement is one of the areas that affects the English teacher directly in her or his decisions about teaching such things as generic pronouns and names for professions. Finally, Cooper traces the history of the language situation in Ethiopia from the fourth century A.D. to the revolution in the 1970s, giving us another example of how the course of human events is affected by language and its inextricable links with mass movements and group identity.

The second chapter of the book is devoted to a thorough coverage of no less than 13 different definitions of language planning. The third and fourth chapters deal with frameworks for language planning in which Cooper presents four analogies for describing the workings of language planning: (a) as an instance of innovation management, (b) as a type of marketing, (c) as a tool in the acquisition and maintenance of power, and (d) as an example of decision making. The organization of this chapter is hard to follow, but Cooper gives the reader a helpful outline at the end. In fact, if you believe that language is solely a tool for communication, chapter 4 will give you some reasons to reevaluate your position.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present definitions and many examples of three different kinds of language planning: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. For example, status planning – the allocation of function to particular language varieties – is seen in the declaration of statutory official status of English in California in 1986. Those involved in bilingual education will be particularly interested in this chapter, as will those who are working to secure the linguistic rights of language minorities (Ruiz, 1984). Corpus planning, Cooper explains, involves standardization, modernization, and the reduction of language into written form. This chapter is particularly helpful in demonstrating both the need for a standard and the transitory and arbitrary nature of such standards. EFL teachers and curriculum designers will find Cooper's historical background on the English language helpful in making decisions about whose English to teach and whose standard to enforce (Nelson, 1985).

Classroom language teachers and administrators will find that the chapter on acquisition planning relates directly to them, while the last chapter on social change is a good introduction to the various theories developed in the field of sociology to explain how and why societies change. This last chapter of the text may be of help in empowering TESOL professionals who feel ignorant of the sociopolitical processes that bring learners to them and that influence bureaucrats in making policy decisions that teachers and administrators find difficult to implement.

Cooper also includes an index to topics, languages, and countries mentioned in the book. For example, for those of us concerned and confused about the situation in the former Yugoslavia, there are entries on Serbo-Croatian and Bosnian. The Vietnam War, the Spanish language, and the former Soviet Union are also represented. Due to the introductory nature of the book, however, some of the treatments of language situations are not as detailed as others. In addition, some of the language situations described by Cooper have changed since 1989, when this text was published. In light of this, further work like Cooper's – on learners' historical and cultural backgrounds – is needed in order to provide deeper insights into the dynamics of multicultural classrooms and design policies and programs that take into account the connections between language and culture. ■

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The CATESOL Journal REVIEW

Planning Language, Planning Inequality

James W. Tollefson. New York: Longman. 1991.

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Enthusiasm, appreciation, perturbation, anger – rarely has a language book engendered the diversity of strong reactions that I have heard expressed in discussions of Tollefson's *Planning Language, Planning Inequality*. Although several recent publications have emphasized the political nature of language planning (e.g., Coulmas, 1993/1994; Luke, McHoul, & Mey, 1990), few are as clearly written and accessible to nonspecialists as is Tollefson's book – and it is precisely because it causes such diverse and sometimes uncomfortable reactions that the book is valuable reading for anyone involved in language teaching or program administration.

The main aim of the book is to show that language planning is inherently ideological and that language policies are used to maintain or further social inequalities. Tollefson argues that, despite the energy and resources put into language teaching, our language policies are driven by systems which ensure that millions of people will not be able to acquire the language competence necessary for social and economic success. As Tollefson puts it

> ...while modern social and economic systems require certain kinds of language competence, they simultaneously create conditions which ensure that vast numbers of people will be unable to acquire that competence. A central mechanism by which this process occurs is language policy. (p. 7)

The strength of the book – and the primary reason for positive reactions to it – lies in the variety of contexts Tollefson uses to support his main point. Eight different countries are included in the discussions. Furthermore, the book's chapters are structured in such a way as to present the major issues from a variety of perspectives. In addition to analyses of national situations, the chapters include five other useful features. First, case studies give concrete and more personal examples of the issues being addressed. In addition, media examples are used to extend the issues to different contexts, with excerpts ranging from United Nations resolutions to the *TESOL Newsletter*. At the end of each chapter, the "For Discussion" section raises some provocative points and suggests activities such as comparing the ideologies underlying certain textbooks, while the "For Action" section encourages observations, interviews, and visits to schools or agencies to discover more about the local situation. Finally, each chapter concludes with brief annotations of related readings.

The book is divided into eight chapters, with the first two chapters providing background information. Chapter 1 introduces the main idea of the book with discussion of language use in the United States and Namibia and defines terms from social theory, such as *power* and *hegemony*, which are important in later chapters. Chapter 2 contrasts two approaches to analyzing language situations – the *neoclassical approach*, which emphasizes the role of the individual and attributes any lack of success in a language to the individual's motivation and choices, and the *historical-structural approach*, which emphasizes social, political, and economic factors which shape a given context and constrain individuals' choices. Tollefson applies the latter approach in subsequent chapters in order to explain language policies and their consequences.

Chapters 3 to 7 comprise the heart of the book, each giving a different perspective on ideology and language planning. Chapter 3 focuses on mother tongue maintenance and second language learning in England, highlighting the "monolingual ideology" (p. 43) of both government reports and theories of language behavior. Chapter 4 then examines situations in which English is promoted as a tool for modernization, though it actually serves to maintain inequalities in society; Iran and China are used to demonstrate contrasting attitudes towards English. Issues of migration and language policies are discussed in chapter 5, in which Tollefson argues that U.S. education policies for refugees and immigrants ensure that they will stay in marginalized, low-paying jobs. Chapter 6 investigates the situation in the Philippines to show how English as a second language can also serve to benefit those established in power, just as does English as a native language for powerful groups in other countries. Finally, chapter 7 discusses countries where language rights have been protected. Australia is presented as a more stable example, and Yugoslavia is used to show that the protection of rights requires constant struggle, with their withdrawal leading to crisis. Though the description of this crisis is outdated, it does provide useful background on events which dominate international news today.

Chapter 8 provides the conclusion to the book, reviewing its main points and adding critiques of language policy research and language policies in the workplace. The ability to use one's own language at work is emphasized as central to a democratic system; however, the discussion of language at work is surprisingly brief considering the importance Tollefson attributes to it.

In addition to the variety of contexts presented, another strength of the book is that it goes beyond large-scale language planning situations and includes issues related to language acquisition research and pedagogy. Most useful for teachers and materials writers is likely to be chapter 4. The issue of modernization is expanded to discuss many language teachers' desires to empower their students, and Tollefson critically assesses common communicative and humanistic techniques used to do this. His conclusion is that many activities, such as personal discussion, are actually counter to the empowerment goal, and like other language policies, give "an illusion of progress that may help to sustain unequal social relationships" (p. 101). This conclusion may be one reason for some readers' uncomfortable reactions to the book, but raising this issue and asking teachers to examine their practices is certainly a useful contribution.

By the end of the book, it is difficult to argue with Tollefson's statement that, "... language policy is inseparable from the relationships of power that divide societies" (p. 203). However, the weakness of the book – and the reason for many negative reactions – lies in a lack of thorough discussion of what realistically can be done to change situations. Nowhere are concrete, realistic alternatives given for the unjust language policies which are described. Although promoting awareness may be Tollefson's goal, the lack of serious alternatives weakens the impact the book can have.

In the chapter about mother tongue maintenance, for example, Tollefson uses the case study of Harib, a child from Bangladesh, who is attending school in England. Harib speaks Bengali and Sylheti already but is pressured by teachers and other students to use English at school. Tollefson criticizes the situation: "The alternative that might be best for Harib – for his teachers and friends to learn Bengali or Sylheti – is not considered" (p. 78). Such an "alternative," however, is not truly an alternative. Even readers sympathetic to Tollefson's point can see that learning the language of every immigrant child who comes to the school would be an impossible task for teachers. For readers who are not sympathetic, a suggestion such as this and the lack of other, workable alternatives makes it too easy to dispense with the book as unrealistic liberal ideology. Tollefson thus misses the chance to be truly persuasive with people who are skeptical of his ideas or who appreciate the ideas but are skeptical of their practical implementation.

Despite its shortcomings, however, Tollefson's book is valuable reading. It presents a great deal of information about language policies in the U.S.

and other countries, and convincingly makes the point that ideology is part of language planning. A reader's reaction may be enthusiastic adoption of Tollefson's ideas and appreciation that the political nature of language has been openly discussed, or it may be anger and frustration at criticism of existing programs and the lack of concrete alternatives – or it may include both of these. Whatever the reaction, however, the book is bound to be effective in meeting one of Tollefson's aims: to facilitate language professionals' exploration of the ideology behind their activities and theories and to encourage them to make their values explicit. Reading and discussing *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* does promote clarification of one's own values and one's beliefs about the best language policies for a classroom or program, as well as for larger regional, national, and international contexts. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

EDITORS' NOTE

This volume is concerned with teaching in different arenas. The articles by Johns, Hafernik & Messerschmitt, Brown & Terdal, and Wenzell, Hedgpeth & Rightmire are concerned with teacher education. The articles by Kurita, McCarthy, Pulido, Russikoff, Vandrick, and Uram deal with curriculum issues and the teaching of students from specific cultural backgrounds. We hope these will provide something of interest to members at all educational levels.

This issue marks the opening of the second era of *The CATESOL Journal.* Peter Master now shares the editorship with Denise Murray, who will be stepping down in November.

Denise E. Murray
Coeditor

Peter Master
Coeditor

Farewell Note:

As Dodie and I mentioned in volume 6, I am leaving the position of coeditor as of this volume. My seven years as a coeditor of *The CATESOL Journal* have been rewarding and exciting. I have enjoyed seeing the journal grow. I have been delighted to see previously unpublished authors' work in our journal. I have been thrilled to see two special issues. And I am proud to have been associated with the birth of a new CATESOL publication.

Now is the time for other coeditors to develop and nurture this communicative vehicle of our organization and profession. I look forward to reading future issues.

Thank you to the CATESOL board, to *CATESOL Journal* contributors and readers, to the Editorial Advisory board, to the copyeditor, to the proofreader, to the reviews editor, and to Dodie Messerschmitt and Peter Master, the coeditors I have worked with. Without you all these seven volumes would not have seen the light of day.

Denise E. Murray
Coeditor

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The CATESOL Journal

ANN JOHNS
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Literacy Portfolios in a Teacher Education Class: Learning by Doing[1]

■ This paper advocates the use of a literacy portfolio in ESL teacher education classes. Integration of this tool into such classes provides hands-on experience as well as opportunities for students to reflect upon their own literacy histories, their teaching practices, and the graduate class in which they are enrolled. The author's portfolio design and student reflections are offered as examples.

In the past few years, literacy portfolios for reading and writing classes have evoked considerable interest in CATESOL circles. There are several good reasons for this trend. First of all, there is a growing interest in student empowerment and ownership (Johnson & Roen, 1989). Most portfolio programs are designed to enable students to make choices and to control classroom decisions about their texts (Belanoff & Dickinson, 1991). Secondly, portfolios enhance the development of metacognition, the ability to think about "what we can do and what we have difficulty with, how difficult specific tasks are and what strategies we use" (Garner, 1987, p. 18). Portfolios ensure that students pause to reflect upon their literacy strategies, processes, and products (Murphy & Smith, 1992) and share these reflections with others. Thirdly, portfolios can assist students in reviewing their own literacy backgrounds. Many curricula foster student discussion of literacy life histories and theories of first and second language reading and writing (Evans, 1993; Schleffelin & Gilmore, 1986). Not incidentally, portfolios bring into focus the variety and richness of a class, providing opportunities to make the diversity among students a resource for understanding and developing literacy practices, as advocated by Murray (1992) and her colleagues.

Portfolios can also assist students in becoming aware of the many literacy challenges they will face in contexts outside of the ESL classroom and outside of the socially constructed nature of many texts (Johns, in progress). In some classes, portfolios are designed to enhance genre awareness: Entries include a number of different types of texts written for different audiences and purposes in various contexts (Johns, 1993). Literacy assessment can also become more realistic in a portfolio program. Wiggins (1989) comments that "(portfolio) assessment replicates the challenges and standards of performance that typically face writers ... they are responsive to individual students and school contexts" (p. 704). Students producing a number of texts to be evaluated in portfolios are given a fairer alternative (Simmons, 1992) than they are when administered a single timed essay test, characteristic of assessment in high schools and colleges and in international examinations, such as the TOEFL Test of Written English (Hamp-Lyons, 1991; Johns, 1991; Raimes, 1990).

Thus, the portfolio movement has provided a variety of curricular and assessment alternatives that are particularly attractive to those of us who teach linguistically and culturally diverse students.

Basic Portfolio Elements

Literacy portfolio goals, designs, and realizations vary substantially, depending upon context, curricula, student level and literacy histories, administrative realities, and other factors. However, my review of the literature indicates that there are certain basic characteristics that seem to apply wherever they are found. They are these:

1. The entries are goal driven. Portfolios have specified entry categories, which vary in number from one long paper (and the various drafts and preparatory activities leading to it) to several papers collected over a semester or, in one case at my university, to papers collected throughout an entire undergraduate career.[2]

The number and type of entries to be included are generally determined in advance and closely associated with the goals of the class or program. For example, if one goal is for students to understand their writing processes, then at least one entry represents a student's process in attempting to perform a particular task, including evidence of prewriting, drafting, and other steps taken for task completion. If a goal is for students to understand more about text readers, then there is an entry called *audience* in which students include one or more papers directed to a specified readership. If a goal is to develop strategies for academic reading, then students might include a portion of a textbook chapter and their notes on that chapter.

2. Entries are selected. Entries for a portfolio are chosen; they do not represent all of the students' work during a given period of time. In my ESL writing classes, for example, students complete two resumes, one of which they select to include in their portfolio. In many other classes, there are several possible choices. Who selects the work – the teacher, the student, or other students in the class – must be decided when planning a program. In many designs, the teachers decide upon the types of entries, then the students themselves select the papers or other artifacts representing these entries. In other classes, fellow students take part in the selection of entries.

3. They are collections. If we compare literacy portfolios with those of artists, we can understand *collected work*, often the best or most representative pieces completed during a particular period of time. As collections, portfolios often become souvenirs of the class. Students decorate their portfolio notebooks; they present their collections to other classes, and they take this work home to show their parents what they have accomplished.

4. Portfolios are compiled over time. One important purpose of a literacy portfolio is to show change in students' abilities and attitudes. Thus, portfolios are collected over a semester, over a school year, or during a longer period of time, depending upon program breadth. For this reason, many portfolios include a comparison entry, in which students insert work from the beginning – and from the end – of term, then reflect upon the changes that have occurred in their texts or literacy practices.

5. They require reflections. Literacy portfolio entries require written reflection on the part of the students.[3] The purposes for reflection are many, such as to think about reading and writing processes, about text types, about audiences, writers' purposes, and occasions for reading and writing. Students write reflections upon their entries and thus develop a metacognitive awareness of their literacy practices and the practices within the various communities with which they interact.

Beyond these basic features, there is so much variation in the ways in which portfolios are designed that any further descriptions would be impossible (see Seger, 1992). However, several volumes about these tools for classroom and assessment can now be acquired by interested readers. For research and theory, readers might consult Belanoff and Dickson (1991), Hamp-Lyons (1991), and White (1994). For practical advice, I suggest Gilbert (1993), Gill (1993), Murphy and Smith (1992), Tierney, Carter, and Desai (1991), or Yancey (1992).

Portfolios for Teachers: Some Background

Most of the discussions about portfolios have focused upon literacy development among primary, secondary, and postsecondary students.

However, after having conducted a portfolio workshop in Los Angeles for TESOL members in fall 1992, I decided that my graduate classes for teachers should include portfolios as well. The TESOL workshop had taught me that portfolios can introduce so many new possibilities and can lead to such fundamental changes in curriculum and assessment that only through personal experience can teachers begin to understand the problems and potential for portfolio design.

Assigning school literacy activities in ESL teacher education is common practice. Instructors in other institutions in California (e.g., Brinton, Holten, & Goodwin (1993), at UCLA, and Porter, Goldstein, Leatherman, & Conrad (1990), at San Francisco State) have explored the use of dialogue journals and learning logs as tools to "deepen the learning that occurs" (Brinton, et al., 1993, p. 18) in their graduate courses, thus preparing future teachers to understand the possibilities and effects of these approaches upon their own students. In the case of portfolios – as in the case of journals and logs – the purposes for their use in graduate classes are several. By compiling their own portfolios and by dealing openly with complex issues of goal setting, entry choice, management, and assessment, current or future teachers can begin to understand the challenges of designing a curriculum. Like their students, they can experience the pride of ownership and decision making that often results from implementing such a curriculum. In addition, portfolios can help teachers in their own self-discovery. They begin to discover how elements in their own literacy histories and first and second language experiences affect their theories of learning and teaching practices (Hansen, 1992).

Before I begin to discuss a portfolio design in a graduate program for teachers, I need to provide a context. I teach in a linguistics program at San Diego State University, in which about 100 students, both international (20–30%) and American, are enrolled. Most of our students have had some teaching experience either here or abroad; however, a few have had none at all. As is the case in many graduate programs in California, the students are a mixed group, linguistically, culturally, and experientially. The graduate linguistics curriculum at SDSU includes courses in syntax, phonology, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, a research seminar, and an MA examination or thesis for students selecting either the general linguistics or the ESL/applied specializations. In addition, the students in the applied specialization enroll in two of the following courses: materials design, immigrant languages, second language acquisition, or ESL/second language reading and writing. Classes in the applied specialization are relatively large; my ESL reading and writing class (Linguistics 653) for which the portfolio discussed here was designed included 25 enrolled students.

One of the many positive aspects of portfolios is that they require instructors to make many essential decisions as they construct the syllabus. One of my first was to decide upon importance, or weight, of the portfolio within the class structure and grading system. Because I was assigning a portfolio in Linguistics 653 for the first time, I decided that it should not represent the full student grade.[4] If it was complete at the end of the semester (with entries and reflections), a portfolio would receive the full 20 points allotted.[5]

A second, closely related task was integrating class goals and purposes with portfolio entries and reflections. The primary portfolio-related goals for Linguistics 653 related to teacher discovery, reflection, and practice, but I also hoped to garner information about my graduate class design, for example, whether topics were appropriate to the students' needs, whether assignments were clear, and whether the readings assisted students in their growth as teachers and scholars. As will be seen in the selected reflections included in this paper, my students commented not only upon the strengths of the class, but upon its weaknesses, all of which are useful to me as I perpetually revise the syllabus.[6]

A third, preclass decision category focused upon timing: when during the term entries should be inserted into the portfolio notebook. In Linguistics 653, the portfolio was compiled gradually; entries were added on specific, predetermined dates and reflections were completed either during or after class.[7] One result of my portfolio design that I did not plan in advance was how central it was for class focus, discussion, and closure. As it became whole, the portfolio served as the conceptual frame for the class: the focus and vehicle for teaching and learning about the two major theoretical traditions that have driven modern literacy teaching – the psycholinguistic-cognitive and the sociocultural (see Johns, 1990; in progress).

As the semester unfolded, I became convinced that I had made an excellent decision to require a portfolio; and, as I read the students' completed portfolios, I became increasingly enthusiastic about the results. Because of its apparent benefits to graduate students and curricula, I would like to share some of my thoughts and selected student reflections with the readers of *The CATESOL Journal*, and, in so doing, to advocate the use of portfolios in teacher education elsewhere.

The Portfolio and Student Reflections

The remainder of this paper is devoted to the portfolio design for my Linguistics 653 class, officially titled "Discourse Analysis and the Teaching of ESL Reading and Writing." First, I will describe each entry category; then, I will provide examples of reflections upon entries that the students selected, since they offer insights into the central purposes of literacy portfolios: opportunities for choice, chances to include entries in first and second languages, occasions for reflection upon text histories, upon processing texts, and upon the nature of the texts themselves.

I modeled the introduction to Linguistics 653 portfolios as if the graduate students were in an ESL literacy class. During the first week, after discussing portfolio principles, I asked students to buy a thin, three-hole binder in which there were at least five tabs. Each of the tabs was immediately labeled according to the entry category to be included, providing an opportunity for discussion of class goals and requirements. Then, as the class progressed, the students peer-edited, rewrote, and then selected entries for each of the categories.[8] At each entry insertion point, we discussed class goals, reflected upon practices, and reviewed portfolio principles.

In what follows, I will discuss each required entry and then provide sample reflections upon these entries, written by the Linguistics 653 students.

Entry 1: A Journal Response

I required 10 ungraded journal responses to the readings and assignments during the 15-week semester term. Students brought the journal responses to class, shared them with their cooperative learning groups, and used them for various class purposes, such as developing an ESL reading/writing lesson. During the final two weeks of class, the students chose one of the journal responses, wrote a reflection upon it, and inserted both items into their portfolios.

Reflections

One student included her journal response on Vivian Zamel's (1992) article entitled, "Writing One's Way Into Reading." Her reflection suggested how this article assisted her in understanding the relationships between reading and writing and the effects these relationships may have on her teaching practices:

> *Zamel's article on integrating writing with reading was a real eye opener for me. More often than not I have used readings as a point of departure for both discussion and writing, but not the other way around. I obviously had been working under the notion that reading comes before writing. I wonder how I developed that assumption. It may be partly due to the fact that, as Zamel points out, most ESL books have writing activities at the very end of the readings as a final activity and not as part of the process of interpretation and understanding, or a means for approaching a text.*

> *After reading [and responding to] Zamel's article, I can see how I may have been approaching reading and writing as separate activities, not recognizing that they actually have a lot in common: They both have purposes, goals and are recursive processes that are open to interpretation and reinterpretation…*

Another student chose a journal response about her own literacy practices and how they related to an assignment from our required textbook, *Understanding ESL Writers* (Leki, 1992).[1] She then discussed in the reflection the personal value of journal writing:

> *The free writing in class, both journal writing and quick writes, has really loosened me up to writing again. I chose this early example of journal writing for my portfolio because it gave me a chance to air some of my recent disgruntled feelings about writing. As the journal explains, I have been saddened by the decline of my passion for writing. Since this class has allowed me more freedom, I feel much more hopeful for the future of my own writing.*

However, in responding and reflecting, this graduate student was also able to identify some of the problems that journals may present for students in her classes, noting that we often send them mixed messages when we require this type of writing:

> *Keeping a journal has also made me understand my students so much better. For two years, I have been telling students to "let down their hair." Now I realize that it's not that easy for everyone. For most of my life I have kept a diary for myself, and I certainly never worried about how it would read for someone else. But I know [classroom] journals are not completely personal. I know that someone else may read them and have a chance to study my words and my ideas. I certainly do not feel that I can "let go."*

As this writer notes, in most classroom-assigned journals, students may have audiences other than themselves: other students in the class or the teacher. My graduate students' choices for the portfolio acknowledged these audiences and directed comments to them. In one case, a student had a complaint that she first aired in her journal; then, to be sure that I would not overlook her concerns, she included this complaint response in her portfolio. Here is part of her reflection on that entry:

> *I have chosen this particular journal entry because it contains a complaint that I have about this class that is very important to me … I still think that you should pay more attention to beginning or low-level students: … they constitute a far larger population … and*

> *it would do right to the teachers who work with this difficult population. It would address the fact that teaching ESL can be so hard sometimes. … There are many teachers who cannot apply (our class) plans and who are faced every day with an ESL environment that is less successful and less smooth.*

My students had 10 journal responses from which to select one. As these three example reflections upon their selections indicate, they made careful choices, revealing a great deal about themselves as students and writers, about the assigned readings, about class topics of interest, and about how I might revise my syllabus.

Entry 2: Writing Text Analysis (WTA)

Students had much less choice in the WTA entry; only two were assigned during the semester. In each of these WTAs, students were to complete evaluative commentaries, in the form of letters, on texts written by ESL students at a local community college.[10] In these letters, my students were to comment on the ESL papers in terms of the following: positive features, higher order and lower order concerns (Keh, 1990) that might affect reader response or evaluation, and some of the repeated sentence-level difficulties. My purpose was to have my students practice evaluation of "live" ESL papers in terms of a variety of factors, from response to the prompt to error classification. One of these analyses was selected by each student as the second entry and was inserted into the portfolio with a written reflection.

Whereas the reflections on Entry 1 had been open ended, the WTA reflections were scripted, that is, I gave my students a set of questions to which they were to respond. Discussion of what types of reflection questions teachers might ask and how scripting is done are important to understanding the uses of portfolios. Low-proficient ESL students, or students with no experience in reflecting upon their writing, often need to have questions to guide them (see Camp, 1992, and Gilbert, 1993 for suggestions). Thus, we practiced the scripting alternative with the second entry.

Reflection

> Q. 1a. *What did I learn from the WTA?* I learned several things from this first WTA assignment … I learned not to assume that this type of assignment would be an informal paper addressed to an ESL student. Although the audience includes the ESL student, it also includes my professor. Therefore, I should have written it with this more demanding audience in mind.

> 1b. *What do I wish that I had learned?* I wish that I had learned about my student's language and patterns of thinking. By knowing this, I believe that I could better address his linguistic and organizational needs.
>
> 2a. *What would I keep the same in this assignment?* The assignment is good in having me address the higher order concerns (meaning, organization) and then the lower order concerns (sentence-level issues).[11]
>
> 2b. *What would I change about the assignment?* If I were giving the assignment, I would tell the students about my criteria for grading prior to giving it out, specifying the points. This helps naive students like me to do a better job.
>
> 3. *How would I improve this assignment?* It would help me if several examples of good textual analyses were thoroughly discussed in class. Since I have not had much experience doing this, the more examples I get, the better.

As can be seen from this reflection, there is much for the teacher educator to learn from student comments, some of which relate to instructions for assignments and grading criteria. Though we may believe that our assignments are clear and our grading fair, our students may have considerably different impressions. One reason I scripted this reflection is because the assignment was experimental, and I was interested in eliciting comments such as the one included here.

Entry 3: Reader's Choice

In every literacy portfolio I assign, I include entry choices that are left to the students themselves, that tell me something about their preferences, their text histories, their first languages, and their problems and prospects as literate individuals. In this particular teacher education class, I included a reader's choice, anything read that had influenced the students' literate or teaching lives. My students included a recipe gone wrong, attempted when employed as a cook in a French restaurant; a thank you letter from a grateful learning-disabled student to his teacher; a paper written by an ESL student mainstreamed in a high school about his least favorite English instructor ("The teacher put me down so low, and he doesn't treat me like an equal with other U.S. student"), and a poem by a Chinese friend about a special New Year celebration. Reflections were fully as interesting as the entries, as they tend to be when we give students such open choices. From this collection, I have chosen to quote a student who included her diving charts and log as the entry and wrote this reflection.

Reflection

> *I chose an entry in my dive log and the charts that go with running and inputting each entry...The reading of the charts is not a relaxing experience. Any mistake, no matter how slight can be detrimental or even fatal...the diver must know what each number means in relation to [her] body, and how that in turn affects multiple dives and other activities such as flying.*
>
> *The charts have always been a threat to me. I never wanted to be responsible at first, but once I learned and practiced being able to interpret, react, and make decisions from these charts, I feel as confident reading tables as I do any other type of reading that I am familiar with.*

Reading these diving charts had taught this future teacher valuable lessons perhaps impossible for her to learn elsewhere: that we must process texts according to our purposes and their demands. As she indicates, in the most extreme cases, ineffective processing could be fatal.

Entry 4: Writer's Choice

As in the case of the reader's choice, the writer's choice was left completely up to the students, as long as it was a text that they themselves had written. Again, the entries were varied and interesting, often revealing turning points in the students' literacy life histories or in their teaching. Two students included their first attempts at grant proposals ad commented upon the delicate balance between pleasing a demanding audience and achieving their purposes.[12] A number of English-speaking students chose something in another language, for example, an A paper from an advanced German class and a note to a parent translated from English into Spanish. Students whose first language was not English sometimes chose English language texts they had written; others chose texts in their first languages.

Reflections

One student, whose first language is Italian, included a long letter (in English) that had been addressed to an American singer, inviting her to come to Italy for a week of celebrations in her honor. The letter was written at the request of an Italian friend whose English was inadequate to the task[13] and who had a much higher opinion of the singer than did my student. In her reflection, my student compared her letter-writing task to those tasks we ask our ESL students to perform:

> *So … I had been asked to perform a task whose purpose had very little relevancy [to me] and the instructions that accompanied it were so limited and vague that even the most well-disposed person would have been discouraged … On the other hand, the unusual content … made the assignment intriguing and fun to pursue. That flavor of challenge that the whole experience emanated together with it's problem-solving component captivated my curiosity and fueled my motivation.*
>
> *So then I started thinking about the second language learners in the classroom setting and their possible reactions before tasks that impose on them all sorts of unrealistic and artificial demands and how aggravating it must be when the teachers' instructions are unclear and insufficient … Usually students confronted with badly designed task/activity become passive and apathetic toward their learning material.*

This particular response to a writing task reveals a recurring theme in my students' writer's choice reflections: the problematic nature of some of the literacy tasks that we assign in ESL classrooms.

Other writer's choice entries dealt with text form. In the next reflection, an international student speaks of her own experiences in ESL classes and the attractive and problematic nature of the common classroom artifact, the five paragraph essay.

> *When I started to take English classes in San Diego I was taught to use the five paragraph [essay] format. At the beginning, I really liked it, but then I started to realize that it was like a prison. My mind, too, was "encapsulated" in this format. As a reaction, I wrote the attached paper [Appendix A] … of course we need some kind of format when reading or writing a text. The point I wanted to make is that if we care too much about form, we tend to focus on particular items (grammar or five paragraphs); as a consequence we miss the opportunity of seeing the general picture.*

In many of the reflections throughout these portfolios, the assigned readings were influential in student commentary. In this case, the reflection may have been inspired by a reading for my class about the interactions between process, content, and form (Coe, 1987), very important to student understanding of theoretical and practical issues.

Whereas in the above example, the writer is concerned with text form, other students selected entries that led to reflection upon their writing processes, in both first and second languages.[14] Here, for example, is an excerpt from a British student's discussion of her undergraduate thesis, written (at Cambridge) in German:

> *I vividly remember the process of writing this paper. I could not type and I had never touched a computer in my life. My bedroom was filled with mounds of papers and I would scribble furiously until my hand hurt. I was afraid to leave the house in case there was a fire and I lost the lot!*

I would be remiss if I did not include a reflection on a writing entry that is personal, for it is often our personal experiences with texts that are most memorable in our literate lives (see Chiseri-Strater, 1991, and Neilsen, 1989). Several students chose for the writer's choice entries that had little to do with academic experiences: There were letters from absent lovers, notes to children, and personal diary entries. Here is one reflection on a eulogy entry written for a lost grandparent:

> *When my grandfather died, my mom asked me to write something about his life and read it at his funeral. Although it was very painful to write so soon after his death, I think that it was a healing experience for me.*
>
> *I wanted to include this piece of writing in the portfolio because the experience of putting some of these thoughts on paper helped to remind me of the richness of my life. I realized that allowing time for more personal writing would be a very valuable investment.*

And finally, a writer's choice on the pride of authorship, an important aspect of the teaching of writing and often a goal in the assigning of portfolios.[15] This student had produced a professional monograph on the teaching of pronunciation to speakers of her first language, Dutch. In a long and revealing reflection, the student contemplated the effects of this volume upon her literate and emotional life, ending with these summary remarks:

> *This book means a lot to me: On the one hand, it is the most important piece of academic writing I did in my life; on the other hand, the writing process and the book itself have had a major impact on my emotional life.*

Entry 5: A Lesson Plan Segment

The final entry in the portfolio was directly linked to the culminating experience for the class. Throughout the semester, students had been drafting, peer-evaluating, and rewriting sections of their reading/writing lessons designed for a group of second language students whom they selected. In addition to a fairly elaborate justification for the lesson discussing theoretical foundations and needs assessments, students were required to write lesson goals, to select and analyze an authentic reading text,[16] and devise activities appropriate to the text. From these various tasks, students were to select one for Entry 5, upon which they reflected.

One student exploited what may be the best article every written on second language academic reading, "Text as a Vehicle for Information" (Johns & Davies, 1983). She adapted the authors' research and teaching suggestions for her own students' academic needs, something we hope will happen in assigning readings. Her entry was a reading matrix resulting from this effort (Appendix B). In her reflection, she discusses matrix use and then goes on to present some of the problems with text management that Carson (1993) has found are the most intractable for ESL students:

> *I chose the reading matrix that I designed for my lesson as the element to include because it was the one element that I kept from draft to draft as I made my revisions. I like it because I feel that it gives students a way to approach an academic reading assignment. It encourages students to work in groups, to share their knowledge, and to read for the main arguments that support an idea. It also provides students with a means for converting a large body of text into a manageable unit.*
>
> *I have learned that students are very intimidated by academic texts and that they have no idea about how to even begin to find the information they need. They assume that because they read through the text once and do not understand it that there is something wrong with them, and they are not smart enough to be in the class... They think that they have to read the information in the order that it is presented. They are also intimidated by charts and graphs in their texts and often do not even bother to look at them.*
>
> *One of the most important ideas that I have learned in this class is that it is important for teachers to help students to develop strategies for dealing with their academic work so that when students encounter other academic situations, they will have some base to work from. Hopefully, a matrix like this one provides a means for doing this.*

In addition to comments on the readings, lesson entries included selections that indicated what was unclear in my assignment. One student included her lesson goals because "they caused me too much time and a big headache." She identified my open-ended approach as the principal source of her frustrations:

> *The goals at first were not modeled in any particular fashion ... the goals were not clear as to how they should be represented in the class plan.*

This student also noted that after we had conferenced, the form and content of the goals became more transparent. Her entry concluded with this comment: "Of course, some guidance makes all the difference in the world, especially when you consult your audience."

Conclusion

Instructors in applied linguistics/ESL graduate programs are faced with many, sometimes conflicting demands. The literature is vast, and the students enrolled are diverse in terms of language, experience, and future plans. In portfolios, instructors have an organizing tool that can be adapted to the individual graduate students' needs and literacy life histories and to the levels and proficiencies of the ESL students they plan to teach. I find that this flexibility can be most effectively accomplished if entries include both items required in the class, such as the journal response, the WTA and the lesson segment, and texts from outside, allowing for considerable freedom, as in the case of the reader's and writer's choice entries. Reflection type can also vary, from the open ended, characteristic of reflections on the journals and lesson segments, to scripted, as shown in the WTA assignment.

In addition to allowing for individual needs and diverse interests, portfolios also impart the values that we expound in many literacy classes but often do not practice: giving students choices, recognizing and honoring their first languages, enhancing their theories of writing, developing metacognition through reflection, and providing opportunities for approaching and discussing a variety of literacy tasks. Finally, portfolios provide opportunities for the instructor to elicit feedback on the readings and other assignments, suggesting ways to improve graduate curricula.

Portfolios may be the most valuable assignments I give; they are motivating for my students and enjoyable and educational reading for me. As our classrooms at every level become more diverse and we need to prepare carefully for that diversity through CLAD/BCLAD and other initiatives, I highly recommend the use of portfolios for achieving the fundamental objectives in our teacher education programs. ■

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Footnotes

1 With reflections by Kim Benson, Cathy Coxey, Susana Dinorcia-Bassi, George Franklin, Mirella Heidrich, Carol Lowther, Amy Studer, Karolien Thio, and Monique Vigil-McAllister.

2 This large, undergraduate portfolio is required of all San Diego State University liberal studies majors. For information regarding this portfolio program, contact Phoebe Roeder, Division of Undergraduate Studies, San Diego State University, San Diego 92182.

3 Oral reflection does occur in other contexts (see, e.g., Camp, 1992).

4 This is common advice for any class in which portfolios are initially introduced. We should begin small and expand only when we feel comfortable with portfolios within our program structure.

5 Other class requirements included: journal responses and class participation (25 pts), reading text awareness project presented orally by each cooperative learning group (25 pts), two writing text awareness papers (15 pts each), and a reading/writing lesson, completed in steps (total: 50 pts). Total points = 150.

6 My ESL students are also encouraged to comment in their portfolio reflections upon the strengths and weaknesses in my classes. They have not been reticent, and I have benefited from their insights.

7 For graduate classes, I generally assign reflection writing for homework because the students want time to think, write, and rewrite. In my ESL literacy classes, reflections are often written in class on the day that the entries are included in the portfolio. This way, I ensure that reflections are written and included and assistance is provided if students have difficulty getting started or finding appropriate vocabulary.

However, there are problems with in-class reflection writing in any class. Students enjoy writing reflections and often complain that they are constrained by time limits if they have to complete them in class.

8 Though, as mentioned earlier, a number of selection procedures are available, in this case, I decided upon the entry category and the students selected which texts to include within the category.

9 I highly recommend this text for all teachers of ESL students. My students found it current, accessible, and very useful for their own teaching.

10 A San Diego City College instructor, Anne Ediger, and I had devised an exchange involving two sets of her ESL students' papers. Some day, Anne and I hope to publish a paper about this WTA assignment and the effects of the exchanges upon her ESL students and my graduate students.

11 These terms come from one of the assigned readings (Keh, 1990), which students find very useful.

12 See Johns (1993) for further comment on audience and grant proposals.

13 Many of our own ESL students also write letters for others because they are considered to be the best (or only) English writers in the family or the community. One of my Vietnamese students, for example, writes all the official letters for the family pharmacy.

14 For useful research and commentary on processes in first and second languages, see Casanave (1988) and Carson (1992).

15 Many ESL students also show pride in ownership, as many teachers have discovered. They buy nice folders for their portfolios and often decorate them in ways that make them unique (see esp. Tierney, Carter, & Desai, 1991).

16 Here, *authentic* indicates that the text was not created or adapted for classroom use.

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

Activities 8 & 9

Reading Matrix
Chapter 4 – Society

	The Lenskis	Marx	Weber	Durkheim
How do societies change?				
Why do they change?				
Model of society				
Paradigm				
Key terms				
Questions				

The CATESOL Journal

KIMBERLEY BROWN
and MARJORIE TERDAL
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Through the Looking Glass: Preservice Teacher Reflections on Prior Language Learning Experiences

■ **This paper examines the roles of autobiography, personal narrative, and reflection in the development of preservice teacher attitudes toward language instruction and choice of language teaching approaches. Through the presentation of authentic text, readers are encouraged to step into the sights, sounds, and feelings of preservice language educators' recollections to gain an understanding of the role of the past in the development of teacher attitudes and beliefs. The paper provides positive and negative extracts from assignments written by preservice language teachers. There are illustrations of the roles of self-esteem, motivation, and anxiety in learning; of the impact of power differentials and teacher belief systems; of the importance of language learning strategies; and of the effect of the physical environment. Suggestions are given for incorporating writing and reflection into a language teacher preparation program.**

Marcia was trying to decide which language class to enroll in. As she reflects back on this experience several years later, she writes:

> *Yesterday, halfway into the first week of classes, I started feeling dissatisfied with my Spanish class. The class isn't any worse than any other language class I've had, but my heart just isn't into learning Spanish. When I'm supposed to be thinking Spanish, I find French in my head instead.*
>
> *So here I am on Thursday of the first week of class, no longer deciding which language to take, but from which instructor to take*

> *French. I've decided to sit in on two different classes then decide which to add, based on the individual teaching styles of the instructors.*
>
> *This is the 11:00 class. It's large and it's full, and I'm anxious to find out what we are covering in class today to see if I'll be able to keep up after missing the first three days. As the lesson begins, it's all familiar; not only the vocabulary and the syntax, but also the heart-racing, dry-mouthed, sweaty-palmed anxiety that is making me wish I had just said no to that second cup of coffee. Familiar too, is the feeling of trying to become invisible in order to avoid being called on. Only since I started learning foreign languages did I develop the behaviors that I am now demonstrating: I'm staring intently at my blank notebook, and my brow is furrowed in a display of intense concentration.*

The above passage is part of a longer language learning narrative written by a participant in an introductory TESOL methodology course. This excerpt is part of a larger corpus of data collected over a three-year period in a series of methodology courses offered at one university. This particular selection reflects the thoughts, emotions, and behaviors of a language learner determined to become a speaker of French. The language learning system at the institution where she studied was not designed to promote a relaxed learning atmosphere. But in spite of her initial fears and a decision to drop out of this French class and try another, she did ultimately find a way to succeed in learning. In the last part of her narrative, we come to understand the importance of the learner's motivation and self-confidence, the influence of a different instructor, and the role of the teaching approach implemented by this instructor in the student's eventual success as a language learner.

> *My thoughts are interrupted when the door flies open and in strides this gray-haired, twinkle-eyed, tweed-jacketed, bespectacled, bearded professor. He's saying something about how our desks are scattered and wanting us to form a circle. I love this man already; he fills the room with his energy and enthusiasm. I get the feeling instantly that he loves teaching, and he likes us!*
>
> *The class is small – 12 students – and we have our desks in a circle. He is sitting to my right, and he's speaking French in such a friendly, animated way, that I almost know what he's saying! I want to respond, to speak that language he is speaking. I want those warm, twinkly eyes to look approvingly upon me.*

> *He wants us to stand up in a circle to play a game. He is standing in the center of the circle, surrounded by his 12 disciples of French, holding a bean bag. We are going to play a game in which he will toss the bag to us, and we toss it back to him. He will give us a verb to conjugate, and we will answer as we toss back the bag. We are to keep a rhythm going. Verb, toss, conjugate, toss. There is no pressure. If we don't know the answer, we are to do our best, and keep the rhythm going. Tossing and conjugating. I like this game. There's a rhythm in the tossing and there's a rhyme and reason in my head. I've got my thinking cap on; I know these answers! I'm feeling such gratitude for our ringmaster, for his patience, his charity, his blatant enthusiasm. For the first time in a language class, I don't feel the racing heart, the dry mouth, the sweaty palms. I'm relaxed and alert, my arms at my sides, my eyes on the man that holds the bean bag.*
>
> *Yes, I'm feeling grateful. And smart. This is the first time I've ever felt that I, too, can speak this foreign language. This is a language I can speak. No longer elusive, my goal feels attainable. Not only my goal for language learning, but also for language teaching, because I am now imagining myself in the center of the circle, tossing the bag to my students. Tossing and conjugating, conjugating and tossing.*

The voice of a learner, the often silent voice of a past experience in a present day TESOL methodology class, becomes audible when the learner is challenged to step through the looking glass and reflect on those prior language learning experiences.

Many teacher education programs devote an extensive amount of time to what Sandberg (1976) terms filling "the cognitive bin," (p. 299) i.e., providing would-be teachers with information to fill gaps in their knowledge of linguistics, psychology, and education. Frequently little time and attention are given to working with what these individuals already know. However, much of the literature in teacher education reveals that it is the attitudes and beliefs learners bring with them when they enter a teacher preparation program that most strongly affect who they will become as teachers (see Kagan, 1992). It is the compendium of their prior experiences with school, with teachers, and in particular with language learning that shapes how they will teach languages in their own classrooms. Unfortunately, the voices of students' past language learning experience are strangely silent in many language education programs.

This article discusses an approach to language education that draws heavily on students' prior learning experiences. It describes the insights and frames of reference evident in a series of autobiographical and reflective assignments produced by learners in a TESOL preparatory program. It also suggests ways to incorporate these assignments into a preservice program and into one's own classroom.

Reflective Teaching

When Lewis Carroll's (1981) Alice stepped through the looking glass she discovered a world in which everything familiar was seen in reverse. In order to understand this strange world, she observed, asked questions, and reflected upon the responses. Discovery-oriented learning and critical reflection are, likewise, key elements of the approach proposed in this paper and are discussed in several recent articles in the teacher development literature.

In a collection of state-of-the-art articles on second language teacher education, Richards and Nunan (1990) describe the current approach as a move away from a focus on "familiarizing student teachers with techniques and skills to apply in the classroom" to one that involves "teachers in developing theories of teaching, understanding the nature of teacher decision making, and [developing] strategies for critical self-awareness and self-evaluation ..." (p. xi).

Underhill (1988) also argues that educators need to get rid of rigid recipes, to reduce dependence on experts and other people's knowledge, and to pay more attention to the affective side. He suggests that teachers need to become better self-observers. Such reflective analysis is part of a discovery-oriented view toward language education, a view in which teachers use and develop their own knowledge and experience. When learners engage in a formal exploration of their attitudes and beliefs, they become what Parkay and Hardcastle term "more unique and authentic" educators (1990, p. 16).

A reflective analysis of early learning experiences can allow preservice teachers to understand the impact these experiences have had on their own private subjective view of teaching (Carr, 1989). After reviewing 40 studies of professional growth of preservice and beginning teachers, Kagan (1992) found that preservice teachers come into teacher preparatory programs with a set of attitudes, beliefs, and values that are linked to their prior classroom experiences, their interaction with various teachers, and their memories of these experiences. Kagan concludes that these prior beliefs and images must be examined and reconstructed for professional growth to occur. By sharing experiences and reflections with classmates, student teachers develop a "community of knowledge" (Bartlett, 1990, p. 204) and come to "value their practical knowledge instead of viewing it as inferior to the scientific knowledge produced by researchers" (Gore, 1987, p. 37). Bartlett sees reflection as involving both "the relationship between an individual's thought and action and the relationship between an individual teacher and his or her membership in a larger collective called society" (pp. 204, 205).

Byram (1989) also argues that reflective analysis plays a critical role in professional development. He views language education as providing the opportunity for learners to gain a perspective on who they are in the larger culture. By becoming aware of the perspective by which they operate, preservice teachers can become sensitive to the bases for their own approach to teaching and perhaps capable of changing their approach as they gain new ideas and new experiences from the teacher education program (Posner, 1985). Mantle-Bromley (1992) also emphasizes the need for learners to acknowledge the influence of their previous experience in order to "organize the new information in a meaningful way" (p. 120).

It appears from the literature reviewed above that classroom and school contexts, as well as images preservice teachers retain of their teachers and of themselves as learners all affect how preservice teachers develop their sense of themselves as teachers (Clandinin, 1989; Cole, 1990; Kagan, 1992). These images not only are part of the learners' collective cognitive memories but also involve actions on the part of the learners and emotional responses to events. Thus opportunities for reflection provide a link among the cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of the learners as they develop the knowledge and skills to become effective language teachers.

The process of becoming a reflective teacher involves answering questions such as: Why did I want to become a second language teacher? What does it mean to be a teacher? How have my present views of teaching emerged? Bartlett proposes that such *what-* and *why-* questions are more useful that *how to-* questions because they enable teachers to develop their own theories and ways to improve their classroom practice.

Before preservice teachers can respond to such questions, however, it is important for them to have a body of information to explore for answers. This body of information is available in the collective memories of groups of language learners and can be prompted through assignments such as those described in the next section: a language learning narrative and an academic cultural life history.

Writing for Reflection

Language Learning Narrative

The language-learning narrative is designed to tap into the learners' memories of a past language class. This narrative is a three- to five-page paper describing a prior language learning experience, either positive or

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negative. Writers use the present tense to describe the events and the sights, sounds, and even smells of a particular language classroom in which they were once a student. The purpose of this assignment is to show learners that they can reconstruct a prior experience with rich details or what Geertz (1973) terms *thick description.* Another purpose is to help them realize that they have retained vivid memories of their language-learning experiences, memories that color their present perceptions of how language should or should not be taught. Student teachers also become more aware of what to look for in their classroom observations.

Academic Cultural Life History

The second assignment is an autobiographical sketch focusing on marker or key events in learners' academic cultural life histories that led to their decisions to become language educators. A marker event is any event that has changed one's life. It may be a school-based event, a family event, or a social event. Many learners write about the influence of family members or of a particular teacher. Others choose as marker events their own experiences with teaching or with people from other cultural groups.

The purpose of this assignment is to help learners think about their reasons for choosing to become language teachers and about the events that have shaped their beliefs about language teaching. This assignment goes beyond description and requires learners to analyze why they have made particular choices and to synthesize by drawing events together into a coherent narrative.

In the first assignment, learners simply reconstruct one situation without analysis; in the second, events are reconstructed, interpreted to be of critical importance, and analyzed.

Analysis of Data

In the larger corpus of data that we have collected over the past three years from our preservice teachers, patterns and themes are beginning to emerge. In the language-learning narrative, learners who choose a negative learning experience often describe classrooms as windowless, overheated, crowded, devoid of decoration, and filled with distracting sounds, such as the hum of an air conditioner or construction noise outside. One described his first – and last – night in a Chinese conversation class for adults held in an elementary school classroom: "I slide into the small desk, my knees pressed firmly under the fixed top, and have visions of being permanently fastened there by used chewing gum – a sort of Flying Dutchman language student."

These learners describe their teachers as authoritarian, glaring, intimidating, "making me feel about five years old," "chaotic, unorganized, easy to get off an a tangent." One "shows his irritability when he is dissatisfied with the student by raising his voice and tightening his lips together." They describe themselves as afraid, humiliated, tense, or tired. In one particularly compelling example, it is clear that memories from almost 20 years past function to recreate a sense of pain:

> *For a 12-year old boy, in the seventh grade, learning Spanish in the classroom was Hell. Excruciatingly self-conscious of a body and voice that had begun the change into adolescence, I hated to speak aloud in front of the class. The dialogues we had to act out and speak seemed so stupid and 'foreign' when translated into English. I remember one about rice and meatballs for lunch. Such a big deal over nothing. No one I knew spoke like that. I remember feeling uncomfortable about possible dealings with Spanish people. Did they all talk like that? I also hated how my name, which didn't translate directly into a Spanish name, was changed to Paco during Spanish class. I felt a horrible sense of violation.*

Those who choose a positive experience more often recall their classroom as being "warm, inviting, and comfortable" and their teachers as having a warm smile, speaking calmly, "quietly inserting a humorous comment (in French)." They refer often to affective considerations, writing about the enthusiasm, support, praise, and comfort they received from their peers or the teacher. The teacher is often identified as the one who inspired such feelings:

> *Miss L. seems to like everyone equally, and to understand what every student's 'best' is. She is hard, she is fair, and she is definitely in charge at all times. Sometimes she gets cross when she thinks a student is lazy, but she never seems to lose her energy or enthusiasm.*

In this assignment students also often refer to effective language-learning strategies, such as taking notes, consulting a dictionary or pocket grammar book, copying tapes, practicing for hours, and seeking out native speakers to talk with or just listen to. One student comments that through this assignment, she has "become more aware of my personal language-learning techniques and what tools are effective." Another vividly describes his experience in the language lab:

> *I kind of like this. I am in a huge room with almost a hundred carrels with reel-to-reel tape recorders in them. Far away, at the front of the room, sits the work study student who will help you if*

> *you have problems. Oh good. The tape is working today. I hear a man's voice saying a phrase, leaving a pause for me to fill in the missing word, then saying the correct word or phrase, and leaving a pause for me to repeat it after him. This is an intriguing game. I enjoy this. I enjoy practicing privately.*

Evidence exists in these narratives of the impact of factors described in the language-learning literature as important to consider. There are clear illustrations of the roles self-esteem, motivation, and anxiety play in learning; of the impact of power differentials and teacher belief systems; of the importance of language-learning strategies; and of the effect of the physical environment. In the examples above, the richly textured experiences of the learners as they have described them are much more powerful than simply a list of qualities and conditions for success or failure in the language classroom. The authenticity of events as learners recount them helps fellow learners to understand how painful or how wonderful language learning can be in unforgettable terms. And as one writer concludes her narrative, "I am now all the more sensitive to my own students' feelings in and out of the classroom."

Events recounted in the academic cultural life history assignment also help fellow learners to understand the variety of reasons why their peers have chosen to become language educators. Many students write about the influence of family members who are educators, volunteers with refugees, host families, or immigrants themselves. Many describe the influence of particular teachers – a high school swimming coach who "knew his swimmers and knew how to motivate them"; "an excellent French teacher who made learning French relevant to my life by telling amusing stories in French"; and "a teacher who used to check books out from different libraries and ask us if we wanted to take some home to read and who was willing to read anything we wrote" – this last comment from an international TESOL student. In each case these teachers provided motivation and made learning relevant to their learners' lives.

Intercultural experiences are a marker event for many preservice teachers who have hosted exchange students from other countries or been an exchange student themselves. Several lived as children in other countries and acquired a second language while attending school in another country. Others lived in multicultural communities within the Untied States where they either witnessed or experienced discrimination and learned early about cultural diversity.

Those who describe early experiences in learning languages as a marker event discuss the influence on their ideas of the methods and approaches used by their teachers. One who had studied three languages writes:

> *The most effective experience I have had is learning Russian. The texts are based on actual situations, but are not the main focus of the courses. Conversation in Russian occurs on an almost daily basis, and students are encouraged to do volunteer work with agencies serving Russian-speaking immigrants. At the third-year level, grammar is lightly reinforced, but the emphasis is on creative writing, problem-solving tasks, and conversation skills. Authentic texts are used, including bus and train schedules, newspapers, advertisements, and literature. This approach is similar to the way I was taught Spanish for several years in high school. I learned, or rather studied, French using a Reading Approach. As a result, I speak Spanish and Russian, but can only read French. I believe the best approach is a communicative one, using techniques from various methods, such as the Natural Approach, TPR, and CLL. This view is reinforced by what I have learned in my linguistics courses.*

Many preservice teachers in our classes are older and reflect on reasons for embarking on a midlife career change. They are often attracted to language teaching for idealistic reasons, seeing it as a way to a more satisfying life or a means to empower others. Others are drawn by the desire to travel and live abroad, hoping to support their travel by teaching English as a foreign language.

Sharing the Reflections

The two assignments described above draw upon self-reflection through what Spradley (1982) calls *right brain excursions.* These techniques can be used with any group of learners to elicit prior knowledge. By encouraging learners to write about their own experiences, we give them a powerful statement that their stories need to be told and need to be read. Through writing, our preservice teachers take the first steps toward making explicit their assumptions about language learning and teaching. But, as Bartlett (1990) points out, it is through sharing with fellow learners that they can extend their insights to a larger community and begin to question their ideas about and reasons for teaching.

An effective technique to encourage sharing of reflective writing is to break learners into groups of three or four. All authors read from portions of their papers if they are comfortable doing so. The listeners' talk is to focus on what cognitive, affective, and behavioral information is being shared and to provide supportive feedback regarding the experiences of the readers. As a group, the class then highlights what commonalities have come out in this sharing of narratives in order to create a summary analysis of the role these elements play in the formation of learners' images of themselves as learners and as teachers. In the analysis of their own experiences, learners can identify what their attitudes, beliefs, and values are; in the group feedback sessions, learners can see what aspects of the collective perspectives are common to them.

Providing Feedback

In reading these papers, it is the instructor's task to help the learners identify themes that have come up. Below are sample summary comments received by various learners on the language-learning narrative and academic cultural life history.

> *M—Your essay is one of the only ones to bring in such factors as how students are enrolled in classes and how different systems can make all the difference between successful and unsuccessful language learning. I'm glad that your connection to things French has not been severed by your initial negative experience.*

> *A—Your phrase 'It is terrible to learn a language from a person whom I am uncomfortable with' is a very important one. It illustrates the influence of affective factors on language learning. You have also illustrated how easily one person can silence the voice of another. I realize that it may have been difficult for you to relate this incident and relive the tensions you felt in the class. Hopefully, you will be able to turn the negative things from this experience into positive choices for yourself when you are at the head of a class.*

In responding to this type of writing, it is imperative to remember that the teacher is not a reviser or editor but an interested reader, committed to responding not only to the thoughts expressed in these assignments, but also to the emotions of the writers. It is important to frame the comments the learners make in order to set the stage for their later challenging of their beliefs and actions. Our learners can get a sense of what it means to be a professional language educator by seeing the links between these elements of their past and the theories they are studying in their preparatory programs.

These two assignments are, of course, only one part of a year-long TESOL preparation program, which includes study of linguistics, culture, and literature, as well as methodology. (For a description of other elements of the program, see Terdal & Brown, 1993). As preservice teachers gain new information through methodology texts, classroom observations, and practicum experiences, they often find challenges to their previous views on language learning. In his reflections near the end of the course, one student wrote:

> *As I have progressed through the program, I have gained a clearer understanding of myself as a potential teacher, and am liking what I see. My ideas about teaching have certainly changed dramatically. I realize now that most of the work comes in preparation, that it is impossible to be a good teacher for every student, and that most of the problems come with conflicts between ideals and reality. I'm still excited and eager about my new career goals, and look forward to learning more about teaching.*

Another commented on his emerging self-confidence as a teacher:

> *I realize that I already know a lot about tutoring and teaching from my previous experience [at a private for-profit language institute], and that I should not be afraid to apply my own intuition to situations, or to invent exercises or explanations on the spot. Helping someone improve their English is not as difficult or as new a pursuit to me as I sometimes let myself think.*

In view of the often stated assertion that teachers tend to teach as they learned, it is our hope that when our teachers enter their own classrooms, they will find ways to incorporate reflective writing into their teaching. Even in beginning language classes, students can write and speak in their first language about their anxieties and motivation for studying another language. As they develop skills in the new language, they can begin to write journals. Later these students can use their own past experiences as a basis for writing in the foreign language. Through such narrative writing, ESL students might develop awareness of differences between the classroom culture with which they are most familiar and that of their ESL teacher.

Summary

The past has a role in language education, as do learner voice and reflection. When learners can recreate parts of their pasts, find value in these recollections, share them with fellow teachers, and analyze the systems they learned under, then their pasts can be integrated into their present and future teaching careers. When Alice stepped back through the looking glass, she recognized that she had changed and that her view of the world had changed. Likewise, when our learners step into their first classrooms as teachers, we hope they will be able to make reflective judgments and will be more flexible, willing to view situations from multiple perspectives, and able to solve problems unique to their teaching situations.

Near the completion of the teacher preparation program, one of our students reflected in his journal about the value of the program and of his past experience:

I've been thinking about my past experiences as a teacher, and I've come to the conclusion that I've been devaluing the experiences I've had. As I've gone through this program, I at first felt that my time spent previously in Japan as an English teacher hasn't counted for much from a pedagogical perspective, since I'd had precious little training and even less in grammar and literature – the hallmarks of "real" ESL/EFL teachers.

My thinking has been changing, however, in large part due to my exposure to the ideas of this course, the classroom observation I've done, and my practice teaching. There's an aspect of teaching that can only be learned by doing it. I suppose this aspect is simple confidence, though I can't help wondering if something more is involved.

Anyway I'm coming to see, and appreciate, that my experiences have not been as "useless" as I had felt they were, but have, rather, helped me in my practice teaching. So even if I am faced with the prospect of having to study grammar for the rest of my life, at least I can say that some things I have learned already and can build on them. Perhaps all this is just a matter of perspective – seeing the glass as partially full, rather than mostly empty.

■

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The CATESOL Journal

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University ESL Student Reading Patterns: The Tip of the Iceberg

Reading is a critical skill (perhaps the most critical) for university students. Therefore it is important for ESL educators to know about the reading patterns, practices, and preferences of university-level ESL students. Based on a questionnaire survey of ESL students at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, this paper describes the reading behaviors and attitudes of these students, provides some discussion of the results, and offers suggestions for improving the teaching of reading to such students.

Reading is an important skill for all university students and a significant means of obtaining comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985) for second language learners. Therefore, the reading practices and preferences of ESL students in university courses may be related to their academic success and may provide insight into their relative success or failure in acquiring English.

Of special concern are students who do not read enough to become proficient readers. They represent a problem that ESL educators at the high school, community college, and university levels need to take special note of and find some way of addressing.

This paper presents findings based on a survey administered to ESL students at a major state university. It describes their reading abilities, behaviors, and attitudes, highlights areas of concern, and offers suggestions for improving the teaching of reading to second language students.

The Study

Subjects

At the time of the study, the subjects (n=177) were undergraduate students enrolled at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, in nine classes of English Composition for Nonnative Speakers, a course which fulfills a general education writing requirement. Placement in this course is determined by means of the state-wide English Placement Test (EPT) for the state university system.

The majority of students were legal residents (with green cards) or had refugee status; in addition, several students in each class were U.S. citizens. Only 17 from the entire sample were international (visa) students. Most had attended high school in the United States (some also junior high). Their English skills were competent at the Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) level, but many needed help in attaining Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), the level at which they were expected to perform and compete in their university coursework.

Nearly all were fully admitted to the university as full-time students; the few exceptions included international students who attended through continuing education (with minimum TOEFL scores of 535).

While a heterogeneous group, the majority (95%) were of Asian ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, including Mainland Chinese, Taiwanese, Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Korean, Thai, Indian, Pakistani, and Indonesian. The remainder included Filipino, Hispanic, Middle Eastern, and Romanian students.

In contrast to the variety of national backgrounds, the students' choice of academic majors was limited to a few schools and departments. Most frequent were engineering (mechanical, electrical, computer, civil, aeronautical, chemical, and electronic). These were followed by business (accounting, computer information systems, marketing). The few remaining students majored in environmental design, biology, history, art, or hotel and restaurant management (especially attractive to international students).

The average age of the students in this sample was typical for undergraduates, ranging between 18 and 23. There were 53 (30%) women and 124 (70%) men. Of significance to their academic goals, especially regarding English proficiency, was the fact that the majority anticipated remaining in the U.S.

Instrumentation

For this pilot project, an original survey instrument was developed (see Appendix A). The coursework in Composition for Nonnative Speakers requires considerable output in written production, but this project sought data regarding input, that is, student reading practices. Consisting of 20 questions, the survey covered a range of reading patterns (frequencies and types of materials), reading attitudes (positive and negative, explicit and implicit), and reading motivators (intrinsic and extrinsic). All questions were open-ended in order to gain as much information as possible at this early investigative stage; however, examples to clarify the direction of certain responses were provided in three questions (3, 4, and 5), which resulted in categorical responses.

Administered over an 18-month period, the survey was conducted in nine separate English classes. Initially, the timing of the survey appeared potentially significant since increased leisure or academic pressure might slant the direction of the responses. To control for this possibility, the teacher-researcher distributed the questionnaire to groups of three classes at three different times during the term. Thus, one-third of the sample responded to the surveys during the first week of a term; the second one-third during the seventh week near midterm exams; and the last one-third during the final week as part of the course evaluation.

Another concern for instrumentation was the impact of question order on the respondents. To address this, the survey was purposefully adjusted to encourage students to carefully read and thoughtfully consider their responses. Therefore, the second question, which requested information about learning slang, was positioned early in the survey to require students to consider language practices other than reading patterns. In order to discourage an automatic response (e.g., "from reading"), it was placed at a significant distance from Question 7, which asked for similar material on vocabulary acquisition. The order of Questions 13 through 16 was also changed to deter similar responses.

After the first group of surveys (n=60) had been administered, an additional concern emerged. While completing the questionnaires, students in the first group responded verbally that they worked long hours at off-campus jobs and studied during the remainder of their time, leaving little or no opportunity for reading, especially free or pleasure reading. In response to this condition, Question 6 (which sought to discover the amount of time potentially available for reading by determining television-viewing hours) was added for the remaining groups (n=117).

Findings

The survey findings from the 20-item questionnaire may be readily classified into four categories: (a) abilities, (b) behaviors, (c) attitudes, and (d) miscellaneous.

The first category, *abilities*, is composed of responses to Questions 13, 14, 15, and 16, which asked students to reveal the languages they were able to use for reading and for speaking and then which they preferred to use for each skill. Tables 1-3 show the results.

Table 1.
Number of Languages Students Could Read

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
1	19%	33
2	64%	114
3	14%	25
4	1%	2
5	2%	3

Table 2.
Languages Preferred Reading

LANGUAGE	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
English	62%	109
Other	22%	38
Both / All	16%	29

Note: One student responded that no language is preferable.

Table 3.
Languages Spoken Most Often

LANGUAGE	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
English	40%	71
Native Language	51%	90
Both / All	9%	16

Students reported that they spoke from one to six languages, including Chinese dialects (including Taiwanese), Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Korean, Japanese, Thai, Urdu, Hindi, Farsi, Arabic, Indonesian, Hebrew, Tagalog, Spanish, Romanian, French, German, Portuguese, and English. The majority of students (81%) said that they could read two or more languages. But the languages they listed for reading preferences did not necessarily match those listed for speaking ability. While 51% of the students reported that they spoke their native language most of the time, 62% reported that English was their preferred language for reading.

The second category of survey findings is *behaviors*. In this category amounts of time devoted to reading and numbers of pages read are important, as are types of materials covered and motivating causes or purposes for reading. How often students read is summarized in Tables 4, 5, 6.

Table 4.
Hours of Reading Per Week

Number of Hours	Percentage	Number of Students
0-7	57%	101
8-15	25%	44
16-23	12%	21
24-48	6%	10
50	0.7%	1

Table 5.
Frequency of Pleasure Reading

Frequency	Percentage	Number of Students
Every day	8%	15
Several times a week	41%	72
Several times a month	17%	30
Rarely	31%	55
Never	3%	5

Table 6.
Frequency of Newspaper Reading

Times per Week	Percentage	Number of Students
0	12%	22
1	26%	46
2	19%	34
3	16%	29
4	5%	8
5	7%	12
6	2%	3
7	13%	23

Of the 177 students responding, 25 (approximately 14%) said that they had not completed a whole book, while 152 (80%) said that they had. The majority of students (52%) who had completed a book did so a year or more in the past.

Over half of the students (55%) reported that the book they completed was for an academic course. The titles of books cited are often found in high school literature course lists even when students said the books they read were not read for a course (see Appendix B).

The third category of survey responses is *attitudes* toward reading. Students said that their main reasons for reading were school (60%), work (25%), personal knowledge (8%), pleasure (6%), and other (1%). They said that they read novels, newspapers, letters, magazines, poetry, comics, and the Bible. Their favorite sections of the newspaper were sports (28%), world and local news (22%), and entertainment (11%) followed by features, comics, ads, and business (6% to 7% each).

In response to the question, "If it rained all weekend, would you choose to read or to do something else?" 67 students (38%) said that they would read and 110 (62%) said that they would do something else.

Questions 19 and 20 asked students whether they liked to read, providing space for them to explain why or why not. Eighty-six students (49%) responded positively, 49 students (27%) responded negatively, and 40 students (23%) responded to both, citing conditions and materials that created both positive and negative reactions.

Students who responded positively most frequently asserted that reading could "build up vocabulary" and help them "learn about the world." Students who responded negatively most frequently asserted that they do not like to read because "it's boring" and "it takes too long." (For a more complete list of responses see Appendix C).

In the last category of survey findings, *miscellaneous data*, students were asked how they acquire slang and vocabulary, how much time they spend watching TV, and what grade level they would assign themselves in reading.

Students listed friends, TV, radio, music, and lastly, magazines and books as sources of slang; and school and schoolwork, friends, newspapers magazines, TV, ads, books, dictionaries, and English class as sources of new vocabulary.

The amount of time they spend watching TV is summarized in Table 7.

Table 7.
Frequency of Viewing

Hours per Week	Percentage	Number of Students
0-7	46%	54
8-15	37%	44
16-23	10%	12
24-44	7%	7

The final survey question, which asked students to assign themselves a grade level in reading, elicited no useful data.

Discussion

The results of the survey indicate that students have a variety of patterns and preferences for reading, but some trends may be noted. Since one of the assumptions underlying this research was that university students must read and in considerable amounts, it is compelling to see that 57% of these students stated that they read fewer than eight hours per week. While the number of hours may seem surprisingly low, Grabe (1986) has discussed the fact that undergraduate engineering and natural science majors often do less reading than those in other academic areas. His comment may have application to this result since most of the students in the sample are declared majors in the disciplines he refers to. However, the excuse that they have no free time for reading, especially pleasure reading, does not seem valid since they indicate nearly as many hours for TV viewing as they allot to reading.

The few hours assigned to reading in general may seem to relegate this activity to a low priority, but nearly half (49%) of the students stated that they read for pleasure either every day or several times a week. This response must mean that they read for only short amounts of time, yet they still find some reason to do it. Can a degree of proficiency be attached to this type of reading? While not conclusive, it is interesting to consider these responses in light of Nell's (1988) finding that less proficient readers think that they must have large amounts of time, while *ludic* readers (Nell's term for readers who treat reading as play) know that they can read anywhere for any amount of time. However, Nell was not describing second language learners. In contrast to the positive interpretation of the students being ludic readers, it is possible that the short periods could also be attributed to language difficulties which cause fatigue and confusion and thus interfere with the amount of reading a student might do. When asked what they read for pleasure, the students partially echoed the examples provided and noted novels, newspapers, letters, magazines, poetry, comics, and the Bible. However, 34% said they rarely or never read for their own enjoyment.

One specific short-interval type of activity which students mentioned is newspaper reading, labeled as short interval since it contains relatively brief articles and can be put aside without any imperative to return. In response to a question on this type of material, 45% of the students said they read a paper once or twice a week, and 43% said they read it more than three times per week. The kinds of features preferred in the paper tell us something about student levels and interests. Ads were the favorite section for 6% of the students, perhaps because of the need for products, jobs, apartments, and cars. Comics were listed by 12%, features – such as entertainment, business, cooking, and travel – were the attraction for 24%, and sports drew another 28%. Twenty-two percent read the paper for the local and world news.

Questions 8-10 focused on the completion of a whole book. Another expectation prior to the study was that students would have completed several books before reaching the university, whether in their native languages or in English. It is, therefore, important to note that nearly 14% (25 students) could not name a book read entirely. Of those who did, 64% said it was for a course. Significantly, another 15% had not read a book for at least two years; 40% had not read a whole book since high school. In addition, students who were able to list a title often cited books read in high school literature courses, which are usually required texts, possibly read as a group assignment, and not necessarily completed. Of particular interest to teachers is that books on curriculum lists were frequently included even when students stated that they were not read for a course. This suggests that students sometimes elect to read a book recommended by teachers even though they are not required to. Thus, a teacher's (or curriculum's) influence may extend well beyond a course. With respect to the reasons students read, the survey results were not surprising. Sixty percent said they do it primarily for school, 25% for work, and 15% for other reasons. During an academic year and in response to a survey administered in an English class, these results seem predictable. But the disclosures of languages in which the students read were interesting: Most (64%) read in two languages, but 19% read only in English, which means that one-fifth of the students surveyed have become fully literate in English since arriving in the U.S. or since they began studying English. Along with this finding, 62% acknowledged that they prefer to read in English, and while no question in this survey elicited the reason for this preference, the results suggest that their reading skills may be stronger in English than in any other language, and/or that they recognize the demand for reading in English (e.g., for their coursework). However, their preferences for reading do not follow their speaking abilities and choices: over half of the students speak their native languages most of the time.

Uncovering student attitudes toward reading was a goal of this research. Therefore, one question asked students what they would do on a rainy weekend. Most (62%) responded that they would do something besides read. About one-third said they would read, but it is unclear whether this would include academic or free reading.

The last questions in the survey explicitly asked for the students' attitudes and reasons for these feelings. Confirming Krashen's (1987) condition for optimal input, students liked to read when it was interesting and important to them (i.e., when they learned from it or when they did it in

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order to learn something they cared about); they did not like reading if they found it boring. The negative responses (27% responded only negatively while 23% responded both positively and negatively) stressed these conditions, with the most common responses being "it's boring" and "it takes too long." Several responses suggested that the difficulty of the task prevented enjoyment: "It's hard to understand," "I have to read it twice to understand it," and "When I read, it never stays in my mind."

The positive responses (49% positive only; 23% both positive and negative) most commonly stated that reading was important because it helps students to "build up vocabulary" and "learn about the world." Students explained that it opens doors to knowledge, "to new places," to learning "from characters' mistakes," and could offer them chances to "experience more than in [their] real [lives]." Yet students were particularly insightful when they recognized the advantage of reading as a language-building opportunity. They noted that it helped with writing in such areas as grammar, vocabulary, and spelling. Supporting these ideas were responses to the questions asking where students learn words and phrases. While some students identified magazines and books as a source of slang, an overwhelming number responded that their vocabulary came from print sources, citing newspapers, magazines, ads, books, dictionaries, and English class (which can be interpreted to include reading).

Pedagogical Implications

From the survey findings of university ESL student reading patterns and preferences, several points related to the teaching of these students can be inferred. The first and most often overlooked point is that teachers of L2 students of all levels need to know what, how and if their students are reading. Teachers and students must recognize that "reading is a skill which must be developed and can only be developed by means of extensive and continual practice" (Eskey, 1986, p. 21).

With this knowledge and recognition, teachers can be in a position to help students in the most effective and efficient ways. Reading labs or tutoring systems may be established if appropriate and feasible, and students can be directed to appropriate books, magazines, newspapers, and other reading materials. A variety of types of materials can and should be offered. For ESL students at the university, reading needs to be given at least as must weight as the other language skills of writing, listening, and speaking. Reading classes should be offered for students at various proficiency levels, not only at the beginning stages.

While the survey indicated that about half the students read for pleasure regularly, many university ESL students are surprised to discover that pleasure reading is an acceptable activity and has much to offer in developing both linguistic proficiency and general subject matter knowledge. Research (Russikoff & Pilgreen, in press) has shown that access to more difficult reading material is often provided by initial reading for pleasure in a variety of materials, such as comic books, novels, serialized works, and magazines. Thus, fostering this early means of access may confirm future ability.

Explaining ways to read certain materials can also be helpful to ESL students. Some students still need to understand that limited time is not an issue; it is possible to read anywhere for a limited (or lengthy) amount of time, as Nell's 1988 study on pleasure reading confirms. Most of the students in this sample read newspapers, one form of quick reading, but many do not recognize that a newspaper holds a variety of offerings. Some ESL students, in fact, may not understand the manner in which to read a newspaper. For example, one worried student explained during an office visit how he had started a newspaper on Sunday but could not fathom how other people read a paper every day since he had only completed the first section of the Sunday paper by Wednesday. As it turned out, he was reading the paper as he would a book, from the top of the first page to the bottom, from each word in every article through all the advertising copy. He did not know, until it was explained, that the headlines provided clues for interest and that it was acceptable to skip pages and whole sections if he chose to do so. He knew he certainly could not do that with a textbook. Our assumptions about our students' reading practices are not always accurate, and we may be overlooking some of their basic needs.

Some ESL students with interests (and at the university, with majors) that emphasize, for example, math, computers, and art, may not recognize the value of reading. But a teacher can explicitly validate what some students in this sample already know, that reading can provide access to English language skills, especially vocabulary, grammar, genre styles, and spelling, as well as expose students to a broader view of the world. In addition, reading offers language learners the ability to "acquire many words with many nuances of meaning" (Krashen, 1993, p. 15). Replacing vocabulary lists with this painless yet effective alternative should be welcomed by teachers, students, and administrators.

While at the university, students will be expected to read vast amounts of material. Therefore, it is important for teachers to encourage practices that will support extensive reading and to offer access to reading as a positive experience. In addition, it is also necessary for teachers to know when students are not reading. Some students have confessed after class or during conferences that they would rather risk a low grade on a test or quiz than attempt to complete any sort of reading assignment. More understanding of the lack of or resistance to reading by ESL students is necessary. Even in the absence of such understanding, however, teachers may be able to get students to read more by giving conscious attention to the problem.

The data from this study raise certain global questions for teachers and students. First, if ESL students are not reading frequently and are losing positive opportunities for language acquisition, are they compensating for this loss in other ways? Are some students attempting to substitute BICS for CALP, that is, getting by on BICS alone? Additionally, even if some students are not reading much but are still being admitted to the university, are there many more ESL students who are not reading and, as a consequence, not attending college? The recognition of ESL student reading patterns, practices, and preferences is an important concern and needs to be carefully investigated and individually considered and monitored. It may be one of the best and most efficient ways to help our students achieve the CALP-level of English that they must have for success in the university and beyond. ■

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Appendix A

Questionnaire

1. How many hours per week do you read? ____________________

2. Where do you acquire English slang? ____________________

3. What is your main reason for reading? (school, work, personal knowledge, pleasure, or...?) ____________________

4. How often do you read for pleasure? (every day, several times a week, month, rarely, never, or...?) ____________________

5. If so, what do you read for pleasure? (newspapers, novels magazines, letters, poetry, nonfiction books or...?) ____________________

6. How many hours per week (average) do you watch TV? ____________________

7. Where do you acquire English vocabulary in general? ____________________

8. Write the title of the last book that you read completely.

____

9. When did you complete this book? ____________________

10. Was it for a course?________ If it was for a class, write the course name:

____

11. How many times a week do you read a newspaper?____________

12. What section of the newspaper is your favorite? ____________

13. How many languages can you read?____________________

What are they? ______________________________

14. What language do you prefer to read in? ______________

15. What language do you speak most of the time?____________

16. List all the languages you speak? __________________

____

17. If it rains all weekend, would you choose to read or would you select something else to do? ______________________

What?________________________________

____

18. At what grade level do you think you read English? ____________

19. If you like to read, briefly explain why: ________________

____

____

____

____

20. If you do not like to read, briefly explain why: ____________

____

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Appendix B

Titles of Books Students Cited as Having Completed

The titles of books students cited were often from high school literature courses even when students said they were not read for a course. They included:

Of Mice and Men*
Huckleberry Finn
Organic Gardening
Life Without Friends
The Diary of Anne Frank
Murder on the Orient Express
The Shadow Dream
War and Peace
The Joy Luck Club
The Maltese Falcon
Rise of Globalism
The Pearl
The Lord of the Ninjas
The Fourth Deadly Sin
Ghostbusters
Honey, I Shrunk the Kids
Lord of the Flies
Grapes of Wrath
Animal Farm
Divorce
Heart of Darkness
The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes
The Old Man and the Sea
On the Beach
Tex
Promise
A Tale of Two Cities
The Sun Also Rises
Native Son
The Boy Who Could Fly
Water Quality Engineering
The Pursuit of Happiness
Ordinary People

Great Expectations
Treasure Island
American History
America Is in the Heart
Snowbound
Surely You're Joking, Mr. Feynman
Frankenstein
Hamlet
To Kill a Mockingbird
The Stranger
Shogun
The Firm
Terminator II
Hunger of Memory
Halloween Horrors
Beowulf
The Scarlet Letter
Macbeth
Hinduism
Tortilla Flat
Brave New World
Les Miserables
Wuthering Heights
Gilgamesh
The Great Gatsby
Senior Prom
El Toredo
Captains and Kings
Anthills of the Savanna
Things Far Apart
The Same Last Name
Catcher in the Rye
Scruples
Lucky

The Assistant
The Player Piano
The Way We Lived
My Brilliant Career
A Kiss Before Dying
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court
That Was Then
Encyclopedia Brown
Working with DOS
In Cold Blood
Flowers in the Attic
Sands of Time
Black Boy
The Psychic
The Jungle
Ten Little Indians
The Good Earth
A Separate Peace
1984
Jane Eyre
Lady Chatterly's Lover
Rocky
Joe Namath
Obasan
Nam
Phantom of the Opera
Romeo and Juliet
Four Temperments
Lost Horizon
Dragonlance
Little Women
A Train to Pakistan
Rendezvous with Rama
Artificial Insemination

*Most frequently cited

Appendix C

Additional Responses

To the question "If you like to read, briefly explain why" students also replied:

It's interesting.
It helps me know how to spell.
It helps me with the grammar.
I want to know more about the environment.
I can experience more than I can in my real life.
It helps my writing ability.
I enjoy stories.
I want to know more about the stuff that I like to read.
I like to improve my reading speed.
I can improve myself by learning from the characters' mistakes.
I keep up with current events.
It kills time.
It answers my curiosity.
Better descriptions in books than movies.
I can learn about new technologies.
Most efficient way to learn vocabularies.
I like to imagine rather than just seeing it on TV.
Takes me to new places.
I can learn about something as I learn a more sophisticated vocabulary.

Students also replied negatively:

It has to catch my attention.
My parents never read to me.
I don't have time.
Makes me sleepy.
I keep thinking of other stuff.
I cannot stay in one place longer than an hour.
It's too hard to understand.
If it's long I don't understand what's going on.
I don't think it's important.
When I read it never stays in my mind.
I have trouble making time.

I read kind of slow.
Because some books do not interest me.
I could watch TV more easily.
I have to look up many vocabularies as I read.
I have to read it twice to understand.
I only read when I have to.
I have better things to do.
I like to do things with my hands, not read about them.

The CATESOL Journal

YUKIKO KURITA
Vietnam Political Detainees Mutual Association

A Study of Japanese Students' Problems In a Communicative ESL Classroom: The Pedagogical Implications for Japanese Students

■ **It is often pointed out that the Japanese are weak in their use of spoken English compared to other non-English speakers. This paper discusses the nature of Japanese students' problems in a communicative ESL classroom by focusing on cultural factors. First, it analyzes how Japanese cultural background influences students' interaction patterns in a classroom by reviewing research on Asian students' interaction patterns in the ESL classroom. Then, it considers the consequences of these interaction patterns in terms of Japanese students. This includes ESL teachers' cultural understanding, discourse management in the classroom, and classroom activities.**

It is often pointed out that the Japanese are weak in their use of spoken English compared to other non-English speakers. Some attribute this to the significant difference between Japanese and English syntactic structures; others attribute this to Japanese people's limited exposure to spoken English in their homogeneous society. Based on her experience as a foreign faculty member at a Japanese private university, Locastro (1990) also points out that the Japanese are very poor at learning foreign languages and, more specifically, have great difficulty engaging in conversation with native and nonnative speakers of English. Furthermore, Japanese students have the lowest average scores when compared to other groups on standardized tests of English proficiency (Busch, 1982). In her paper, Busch presents the hypothesis that in countries where introversion levels are high, such as Japan, "cultural and social barriers" prevent a person from going out and getting input in the second language. Japanese students' lower scores in English proficiency tests may be attributable to this fact.

In fact, when this writer was studying at a private language institute which offered a course to prepare Japanese students for study abroad, one American teacher was frustrated about his students' "quiet" and "unresponsive" attitudes in class. From his point of view, students were expected to initiate class discussion. However, contrary to his expectations, none of his students ever did so. Instead, all of the students waited to be called upon by the teacher. Ultimately, he blamed the students for their irresponsibility as class participants.

If the cultural barrier Busch (1982) notes applies to the above case, what aspects of Japanese culture inhibited the Japanese students' interaction in the classroom? Also, what are the pedagogical implications for Japanese students?

In order to investigate these issues, this paper briefly reviews the relevant literature and looks at the research on Asian students' classroom interaction patterns. Then, it analyzes the aspects of Japanese culture that influence these interaction patterns and considers the consequences of Japanese students' interaction patterns. Finally, it presents pedagogical implications for Japanese students.

Background

ESL students' interaction styles in the ESL classroom are largely influenced by their native conversational styles. Serious misunderstandings caused by culturally different conversation styles were studied by Gumperz (1990). In his study, he observed the conversation between an Indian worker and a British female staff member. He found that culturally different use of contextualization cues (pitch, register, intonation, tone, etc.) caused communication difficulties. He compared this case with discussions conducted by Indian social workers who shared similar communicative backgrounds. In this case, even though the workers' use of English was not nativelike, there was no communication breakdown. It is clear that the understanding of others' speech depends more on the shared conversation style than on accurate grammatical knowledge. Gumperz points out that communication breakdown caused by different conversation styles does not favor the minority group. He asserts that "because of the elements of power and economic inequality that prevail in minority/majority contact, it is generally the minority group member who is judged and evaluated and therefore has most to lose if communication breaks down" (p. 237).

The importance of classroom interaction in language learning is well-researched, for example, by Seliger (1977). He conducted research in order to find out whether high input generators benefit more from classroom instruction and achieve a higher level of proficiency than low input generators. According to his definition, *high input generators* are "learners who interact intensively, who seek out opportunities to use L2, and who cause others to direct language at them" (p. 263). On the other hand, *low input generators* are "learners who either avoid interacting or play relatively passive roles in language interaction situations" (p. 263). The results of his study on students in an intensive ESL program generally support his hypotheses.

All of the above studies clearly suggest that it is important to study the influence of students' native conversational styles on their interaction patterns in classrooms. By doing so, one can discover the cultural influences on students' interaction patterns, examine the consequences of these cultural interaction patterns, and identify potential problems in the ESL classroom.

Japanese Students' Interaction Patterns In the ESL Classroom

Few studies have analyzed Japanese students' interaction patterns in the ESL classroom. In one study, Sato (1990) compared Asian students' and non-Asian students' patterns of participation in two ESL classrooms. The subjects of her study were two groups of university students enrolled in intermediate ESL courses consisting of both Asian and non-Asian students. The data obtained through videotaping and tape recording showed the following differences between the two groups of students:

1. The Asian students took significantly fewer speaking turns than their non-Asian classmates. These speaking turns included both general and personal solicits (teacher solicitation to students) and self-selections. Although Asian students comprised roughly 61% of the group of learners, the Asians took only 37% of the total (n=293) turns.

2. The Asian students took significantly fewer self-selected turns than did non-Asians (34% to 66%). In other words, Asian students' participation was largely dependent upon teacher solicitation.

3. Asian students received significantly fewer personal solicits (speaking turns) allocated by the teachers than did non-Asians (40% to 60%).

4. The Asian students bid (gave paralinguistic cues such as handraising, eye contact with teacher) before their self-selected turns more often than did non-Asian students (38% to 18%).

These findings might indicate that the Asians adhered more closely to their cultural rule which preallocates speaking rights in the classroom to the teacher. For whatever reason, it was found that the Asian students contributed to class discussion far less than did the non-Asian students.

Sato's (1990) categorization of *Asians* and *non-Asians* is too broad for discussion in this paper, which specifically deals with Japanese students. However, considering the fact that the Japanese share some representative characteristics of Asian cultures, the results of her study are still valid data for illustrating Japanese students' interaction patterns. Furthermore, according to this writer's observation throughout her school life in Japan, Sato's findings coincide with the interaction patterns of students in Japanese primary and secondary schools. For example, very few students take speaking turns during class in Japanese schools. For the most part, only teachers are supposed to speak in class. Even when teachers ask questions of students, students rarely speak without raising their hands to get permission to speak from teachers. The most common way for students to speak in class is by teacher solicitation.

Thorp's (1991) observations in Japanese schools also indicate that Japanese students take few speaking turns in classrooms:

> I found that even in small groups … the students were very reluctant to speak in front of other students unless they were sure that they would not make any mistakes … I visited some primary and secondary schools, where I found that across the curriculum there was very little speaking in class compared to British schools and there was a strong emphasis on correctness. (p. 114)

It appears that the Asian student interaction patterns found by Sato (1990) can be considered as the norm for Japanese students' interaction patterns in ESL classrooms.

The Cultural Background of Japanese Students

What are the causes for the Japanese student interaction patterns as discussed in Sato's (1990) study? There are two factors which may influence the classroom interaction of Japanese students in the ESL classroom: their native conversation styles and their expectations of classroom interaction patterns in general.

Japanese Conversation Style

Barnlund (1975) analyzed Japanese conversation style from the view point of self-disclosure. Based on previous research, which indicates that Japanese people have a smaller *public self* (the self which is accessible to others) and a larger *private self* (the self which is not revealed) than Americans,

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Barnlund presents six hypotheses. Of these, the two which appear to influence Japanese students' interaction styles in classrooms are the following:

1. Japanese prefer regulated over spontaneous forms of communication.

2. Japanese resort to defensive reactions sooner and in a greater number of topical areas. (p. 431)

Barnlund offers the following explanations for these hypotheses:

Hypothesis A: The greater the degree of formality that surrounds interpersonal encounters, the smaller the chance of exceeding conventional limits on personal revelation.

Hypothesis B: The more of the self that is guarded, the more one is vulnerable to exposure. Defensive modes tend to be consistent with prevailing interpersonal orientations; hence, passive-withdrawal will be preferred to active-aggression in the face of threat. (p. 431)

Barnlund (1975) conducted research with Japanese and American college students in order to support his hypotheses. Hypothesis A was indirectly supported by data obtained from Barnlund's Role Description Checklist, which provided a list of adjectives for describing communicative attributes. In this study, Japanese college students described themselves or were described by the American students as "formal," "cautious," and "reserved" whereas the American students described themselves or were described by the Japanese students as "frank," "spontaneous," and "informal."

Hypothesis B was supported by data obtained from Barnlund's (1975) Defensive Strategy Scale. In this scale, subjects were required to choose their preferred defensive response in a threatening interpersonal situation. The result was that the Japanese most frequently preferred to "say I did not want to discuss it," "hint verbally I preferred not to answer," and "remain silent."

On the other hand, the Americans preferred to "tell him to mind his own business," "use humor or sarcasm to put him in his place," or "defend myself by explanation and argument." These two findings suggest that because Japanese are vulnerable to being exposed in an uncomfortable interpersonal relationship, they prefer to employ passive withdrawal in order to avoid conflict with other people. In other words, the Japanese tend to avoid taking the risk of being involved in uncomfortable personal relationships.

The above propensity leads Japanese to avoid spontaneous communication in which the outcome of communication is not predictable. This coincides with Thorp's (1991) finding that Japanese students are very reluctant to speak in front of other students unless they are sure that they will not make any mistakes.

This aspect of the Japanese communication style explains why the Asian students in Sato's (1990) study took fewer speaking turns and bid more often before they spoke out. The Japanese students avoided taking turns because turn taking forced them to take the risk of making mistakes in front of others. Also, since they preferred regulated communication in which the outcome was predictable, they more often bid before they talked. Taking self-selected turns without bidding is obviously a spontaneous communication style. Therefore, it is natural for Japanese students to avoid this type of communication style. These characteristics of Japanese communication style prevented them from contributing to the classroom discussion.

The above finding that Japanese prefer a more regulated communication style is further discussed by Yamada (1990). In her study, Yamada compared the Japanese and American styles of topic management and turn distribution in business meetings. She tape recorded management-level business meetings at a bank in San Francisco, obtaining data from three kinds of situations: American homogeneous meetings, Japanese homogeneous meetings, and cross-cultural meetings. She found that:

1. The American conversation had a more formal, businesslike tone, but the Japanese conversation had a more casual and personal tone.

2. The Japanese distributed their turns more evenly within topics than the Americans.

3. The Americans took a greater proportion of turns within topics they initiated, but the Japanese did not necessarily take a greater proportion of turns within the topics they initiated.

4. In cross-cultural meetings, native turn-taking strategies were used by both Americans and Japanese.

The first finding seems to contradict Barnlund's (1975) finding that Japanese tend to prefer a formal style of communication. However, according to Yamada (1990), the casual style of the Japanese meeting is due to the fact that a great majority of Japanese decision making occurs behind the scenes, and the business meeting is not the place for substantial argument.

> Japanese use the meeting place for the reciprocal expression of community rather than as the actual setting for the exchange of formal, business-related information … because of this cultural preference for community and nonconfrontational interaction, the Japanese meeting often appears to have the tone of a casual conversation, rather than a business meeting (p. 282)

In other words, the outcome of Japanese business meetings is determined before the meeting begins. Again, one can see the Japanese people's avoidance of spontaneous communication. Hence, Japanese rarely carry out substantial arguments or discussions in a formal setting such as a business meeting. This principle is applicable to a classroom setting because it is also a formal setting. Japanese students tend to avoid taking self-selected turns unless there is a certain predetermined agreement on the outcome of class discussion.

As for the second and third findings, Yamada (1990) attributes these to the interdependence of Japanese conversation style and autonomy in American conversation style. That is to say, because Americans autonomously compete with each other in order to argue with others, once they initiate the conversation, they tend to talk longer and consequently the distribution of turn taking is not likely to be even. On the other hand, because the Japanese meeting is not a place for argument to occur but rather a place to strengthen participants' relationships, turn taking is distributed evenly, and the person who initiates the conversation does not necessarily talk longer.

Hayashi (1988) studied Japanese interdependent conversation and American autonomous conversation in everyday settings. She compared Japanese and American adult speakers' conversation. In her study, she found that Japanese conversation has an extraordinarily high frequency of simultaneous talk. In other words, there were a lot of conversational overlaps in the Japanese conversation. On the surface, this seems to contradict the Japanese students' avoidance of unbid self-selected turn taking. However, Hayashi's further analysis of the transcript of the conversation reveals that Japanese simultaneous talk neither affects floor management nor interferes with conversation; rather, speakers talk simultaneously in order to show their emotional involvement in the on-going conversation. That is, in Japanese conversation, the interactants constantly give cues to each other showing support for their interlocutors. Therefore, it is difficult to judge who holds the floor in Japanese casual conversation. Speakers enjoy simultaneous talk because it creates harmonious conversation.

On the other hand, Americans created much less simultaneous talk. They were more conscious of the interaction rule of "one speaker at a time" compared to Japanese speakers. Therefore, American speakers' simultaneous talk occurred only when they competed to gain the floor. Again, American's autonomy and Japanese interdependence in conversational styles were found in everyday settings. It is apparent that without a sense of autonomy and competition in the conversation one tends not to take self-selected turns in a classroom; rather, one waits until one is called upon by the teacher.

In summary, the characteristics of the Japanese conversation styles – avoidance of taking a risk, preference for regulated and predetermined conversation in a formal setting, interdependence in conversation – inhibit Japanese students from contributing to class discussion.

Japanese Students' Expectations of Classroom Interaction

Japanese students' expectations of classroom interaction in general are formed by their assumptions of what language learning is. This attitude toward language learning is fostered by the Japanese educational system, which is influenced by Japan's social and political situation:

> [The] tremendous importance of university entrance examinations has a considerable washback effect on junior and senior high school curricula. More specifically, the English used in the examinations is criticized for having a deleterious impact on teaching materials, textbooks, and methodologies. (Locastro, 1990, p. 343)

In the Japanese educational system, the university entrance examination is overemphasized because the results of the examinations determine students' futures in Japan's hierarchical society. Therefore, as long as university entrance examinations emphasize memorization of vocabulary and comprehension of passages which contain archaic, complex, and uncommon syntactical patterns – as they currently do – English education in Japan cannot move away from the traditional grammar translation approach. This tendency in Japanese language teaching exposes Japanese students to dehumanized and uncontextualized language. It is natural for Japanese students to regard language learning as memorization of vocabulary and decipherment of complex and unnatural sentences. Considering that Japanese students have been accustomed to this type of language learning, one may assume that Japanese students separate language learning from social interaction. Consequently, it is understandable that Japanese students do not aggressively participate in communicative language learning settings.

Stone (1989) conducted case studies which illustrate Japanese students' learning problems caused by the gap between Japanese students' expectations toward language learning and communicative language classrooms in the U.S. In two of the three cases, the Japanese students brought their expectations, which were fostered by the Japanese educational system, into their ESL classrooms. Their expectations were that an ESL program should automatically transform them into fluent English speakers through the rote memorization of grammar, spelling, and pronunciation rules, and through the accumulation of vocabulary and facts. From their viewpoints, all exercises should be completed individually and corrected on the basis of absolute answers. Therefore, when they encountered a classroom in which answers were negotiated through small group or classroom discussion, they believed that this communicative way of learning language could not enhance their language proficiency and did not meet their needs. Consequently, they did not participate actively in class. One or two students actually dropped the course.

To sum up, Japanese students' expectations toward language learning, which are formed by Japanese cultural and social situations, tend to inhibit students' participation in ESL classrooms.

Consequences of Japanese Students' Interaction Patterns In ESL Classrooms

So far this paper has discussed how cultural and social factors influence Japanese students' interaction patterns in ESL classrooms. The next issue is how these interaction patterns influence their language learning.

As mentioned in the background section, Seliger (1977) points out that high input generators benefit more from classroom instruction and achieve higher levels of proficiency than low input generators do. Because it is apparent that Japanese students fall under the category of low input generators in general, Japanese students' interaction patterns are detrimental to their language learning, according to Seliger's theory.

Also, in her definition of the *good language learner*, Rubin (1975) states: "The good language learner has a strong drive to communicate, or to learn from a communication," (p. 46) and "The good language learner is often not inhibited. He is willing to appear foolish if reasonable communication results" (p. 47).

When one considers the nature of Japanese students' interaction patterns discussed so far, it appears that they are not good language learners in Rubin's terms.

However, another study shows that reluctance to initiate interaction in classrooms does not necessarily lead students to inefficient language learning. Busch (1982) studied the relationship between the introversion-extraversion tendencies of Japanese college students and their proficiency in English as a foreign language (EFL). Although this study focuses on the correlation between personality and language learning (and not on the correlation between interaction patterns and language learning), it nonetheless points out the inverse relationship between extraversion and language proficiency in grammar, reading, and even oral skills. Thus, the Japanese students' infrequency of turn taking may not necessarily be detrimental to language learning itself.

Since Busch's (1982) study was done in Japan, her claims may be valid only in the Japanese cultural context, where the classroom situation requires that students exhibit introverted behavior out of respect for the teacher and where introversion is viewed as an attribute of good students. Thus, it is questionable whether one can apply this result to the ESL classroom situation, where the teachers have to prepare students for the learning patterns of the English-speaking culture. As Thorp (1991) points out, any mismatch between teachers' and students' assumptions about the interaction pattern in classrooms tends to result in the teacher's negative assessment of the students. In fact, such a negative assessment of Japanese students appears to often be the case in the ESL classroom.

Furthermore, taking into consideration recent movements toward the whole language approach (Freeman & Freeman, 1989) and the empowerment of students (Cummins, 1989), which emphasize learning language through social interaction, Japanese students' patterns of interaction also risk negative interpretation by teachers who practice such approaches. Thus, the ESL teacher's responsibility in teaching Japanese students resides in encouraging them to participate more aggressively in classroom interaction.

How can English teachers achieve this goal? This paper will now turn to the pedagogical implications for Japanese students.

Pedagogical Implications for Japanese Students

Three kinds of implications for teaching Japanese students have. emerged from the discussion so far: the need for (a) the teacher to understand the students' cultural background, (b) appropriate discourse management in the classroom, and (c) elaborated in-class activities which elicit active participation from Japanese students.

Teacher's Cultural Understanding

In this category, the most important factor is that the teacher should avoid stereotyping students based on their interaction patterns in the classroom. By not stereotyping, the teacher can avoid the situation in which a mismatch between the student's and the teacher's assumptions of the interaction patterns in class leads to a negative judgment of students. In Sato's (1990) study, the Asian students' interaction patterns may have resulted in the teacher's negative judgment of the students as unresponsive, inattentive, or lazy. Instead of forming these kinds of stereotypes, it is important for the teacher to consider why the students employ a certain type of interaction pattern.

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The next factor in this category is closely related. The teacher should understand the students' native interaction patterns in the classroom. For this, reviewing literature concerning Japanese conversational styles or the typical classroom interaction patterns in Japanese schools is helpful. Also, if possible, observing Japanese people's conversation can help the teacher understand and predict Japanese students' interaction patterns. One other way is to directly ask Japanese students about their classroom interaction or school life in Japan, either in class or outside of class.

Even though the teacher has to eventually prepare the students for the English-speaking culture, it is important to respect students' cultural background and to avoid imposing the English-speaking culture's values on students. The above suggestions help the teacher to do this.

Teacher's Discourse Management in the Classroom

The teacher should carefully manage discourse in a classroom so that every student has approximately equal speaking turns. In order to do this, the teacher should first carefully observe the interaction patterns of each student. This observation enables the teacher to notice ethnic style in classroom discourse. If the teacher notices Japanese students are more accustomed to being called upon when they take turns, the teacher may intentionally call upon Japanese students in order to provide them with speaking opportunities equal to those of the other students. This is an important point for the teacher to keep in mind because, in Sato's (1990) study, the teachers were found to allocate fewer turns to Asian students than to non-Asian students. This kind of discourse management merely reinforces the inequality of speaking turns among the students.

Also, as Sato (1990) points out in her study, it is important to clearly explain what the English-speaking culture's interaction patterns are in the classroom. What English-speaking people take for granted in terms of classroom interaction patterns is sometimes quite unfamiliar to Japanese students. An explanation of the following points will help Japanese students to speak out in the classroom:

1. It is acceptable to speak without handraising or eye contact with the teacher.

2. It is acceptable to make mistakes in front of classmates.

3. Not only the teacher but also the students can initiate classroom discussion.

Classroom Activities

The teacher should carefully plan classroom activities to allow Japanese

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students to actively participate in class discussion. In this regard, Mizuno (1983) proposes applying the technique of *macro-analysis* to teaching Japanese students. According to Mizuno, macro-analysis is:

> a way for small groups of ordinary citizens to study large-scale (hence "macro") issues in an organized, manageable and action-oriented way. Although these seminars have been used primarily for studying socio-economic issues with a view toward social change, they can be used in any kind of small group to deal with any topic ... (p. 53)

Mizuno (1983) applies this technique to teaching her homogeneous Japanese student group. In this activity, the teacher has the students form groups of 10 to 15 to discuss a familiar topic (e.g., a family issue, a school issue, etc.). The discussion continues for several sessions. At the end of each session, the students decide what to discuss in the next session so that students can prepare themselves in advance for the next discussion. In each session, a different student becomes the discussion facilitator, assistant facilitator, and secretary in turn. The teacher makes it clear that each group has the responsibility to reach consensus on the topic. Also, each session has a brainstorming session, and the teacher explicitly explains that no idea is unacceptable, no matter how trivial or foolish it may seem. The teacher tries to keep silent except for the last part of the session when she adds some comments to the students' discussion. This technique is effective because

> Macro-analysis techniques provide students with an opportunity to discuss issues of interest to them in an open and democratic way that seldom seems provided on any level of the Japanese educational system. (Mizuno, 1983, p. 63)
>
> ... without the experience of participating in discussion of this kind ... a Japanese will find it difficult if not impossible to develop the kind of skills necessary to bridge the culture gap ... and learn to participate constructively in a truly democratic discussion. (Mizuno, p. 65)

In other words, given responsibility as a group (students have to reach consensus) and as individuals (students rotate roles as facilitator, assistant facilitator, and secretary), Japanese students can move away from the Japanese traditional approach to discussion in which consensus is predetermined by hidden negotiation, and there is no constructive discussion. Assigning each student to be the facilitator is effective in pushing students to initiate the discussion and encourages students to be autonomous speakers in a group discussion. Also, emphasis on the fact that no idea is unacceptable in the brainstorming session is important to elicit opinions from Japanese students. Japanese students, who are accustomed to quite a different style of discussion from that of the English-speaking culture, definitely need this type of activity to bridge the cultural gap.

Hope for the Future

In the current politically unstable world, the condition of the Japanese society and economy are changing dramatically. Japan's internationalization is being promoted, but, at the same time, competition in international business has become more bitter. In this kind of situation, Japanese people are now gradually recognizing the importance of communicative competence. In other words, they have begun to regard language learning not as learning grammar rules but as becoming able to communicate in that language.

According to a recent Japanese newspaper, the Ministry of Education in Japan has decided to introduce communicative activities into the Japanese public school curricula which have, so far, exclusively employed the grammar translation approach. In compliance with this change in the Ministry's policy, in recent years, Japanese public schools have begun inviting native speakers of English to the classroom in order to equip the students with more conversational skills. (Conversation class constitutes 3 hours out of 16 hours per month). In accordance with this change in public school curricula, university entrance examinations have begun including everyday conversation. The following is an example of a "communicative question" taken from the Nyuushi Center Examination, which was administered by the Ministry of Education in January, 1994. (All students who aim to enter national universities must take this examination.)

> In the following conversation, from the word 1 through 4, choose the word which is pronounced strongest compared to the other three words.
>
> A: Hey, did you buy a new bicycle?
>
> B: Yes. Last week I found what I wanted.
> 1
>
> A: You did?
> 2
>
> B: Yes. It's a mountain bike with large heavy tires.
> 3 4
>
> (from *Asahi Shinbun* 16 January 1994)

This kind of conversation style was employed in 13 questions out of 59 questions in this examination. This is a revolutionary change. Although traditional questions which focus on grammatical knowledge and the comprehension of complex passages still constitute the major part of university entrance examinations (and this still maintains the examinees' interest in the grammar translation approach in studying English), this movement will definitely influence future Japanese ESL students' attitudes and cultural assumptions. Consequently, it will also influence their interaction patterns in ESL classrooms. ■

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Developing Self-Awareness For At-Risk Bilingual/Bicultural Latino Students

An experimental program was designed in order to provide an effective educational alternative for at-risk bilingual/bicultural Latino students within the school system. The project provides students with a vehicle and support system so that they may improve their self-image and experience academic success in school. The focus is on self-concept building rather than English language acquisition.

This project utilized creative, artistic, multicultural activities which bring together the thinking and feeling processes. The general thesis of the program was that Latino youth in the experimental groups would improve their academic achievement and attendance, lessen their negative or disruptive behavior, and improve their self-concept. Programs were developed and evaluated to determine if students in the experimental group would achieve more positive gains than those students who participated in the regular educational program. The results were overwhelming in favor of the experimental program.

Rapidly changing demographics in the United States are creating a crisis for educational systems and educational leaders. Among the new arrivals at the school house doors are the ever increasing masses of new immigrants, especially in the southwestern United States. In many communities minority populations have increased dramatically, particularly Latinos. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (1990) the Latino population has grown about five times as fast as the non-Latino population since 1980. According to the National Council of La Raza (1990) about one in 12 Americans is Latino. In the public school system Latinos represent 10.5% of the total school population in the United States. In Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas, Latinos comprise more than one fifth of the population (National Council of La Raza, 1990).

According to Melendez (1991) Latino students in California comprise 33% of the total student population. She also states that school systems are experiencing difficulties educating at-risk Latino students. Current statistics regarding lack of educational attainment by Latinos are readily available. According to the American Council on Education (1990), high school completion rates for Latinos, ages 18-24, dropped from 62.8% in 1985 to 56% in 1989. The report goes on to say Latinos are grossly underrepresented at every rung of the educational ladder. Not being able to educate great numbers of Latinos is an obvious national problem. Yet educational systems are involved in a surprisingly small number of educational programs that can constructively deal with these issues.

Understanding how their individual culture and the new American culture conflict with each other is of primary importance for the recently arrived immigrant or first generation Latino student if they are to achieve academic success. They are caught in the process of transition, moving from a Latino to an American physical and social environment. Students in this stage of transition are often confused about their own Latino cultural identity during the process of assimilation into American society. This conflict causes self-rejection and all too often self-destruction or failure. The identity crisis created by this situation is often visible in Latino students identified as being at risk.

Some of the most apparent signs of rejection of the system by these students in public schools are some type of gang affiliation and disruptive behavior. Poor attendance, low academic achievement, discipline problems, and low self-concepts are some of the identified school characteristics for these students.

The author has developed and implemented programs for Latino students identified as being at risk in various educational settings. A course was implemented at a middle school in Santa Barbara, California for seventh and eighth graders and at an elementary school in Santa Paula, California for fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students.

Goal

The goal of the experimental program was to promote positive healthy attitudes toward learning and to instill the belief that one's own language and culture is important. Latino students identified as being at risk were the program participants.

Selection of Students

Teachers, counselors, and administrators were asked to identify students whom they believed would profit from the program. In order to qualify for the program students must have met at least three of the four criteria identified: (a) below average academic achievement, (b) excessive absenteeism, (c) a history of poor discipline including fighting, class disturbances, and defiance of authority, and (d) a low self-concept. The students accepted in these classes also had to be monolingual or bilingual Spanish speaking. Approximately 10% of the students selected spoke more English than Spanish. The size of the experimental group depended on the number of students identified as being at risk. At the middle school 100 students were identified as meeting the criteria. All of the names were placed in a pool and 50% of the names were randomly selected to be program participants. At the elementary school 40 students were identified, and 20 were selected. The students who were not selected to be in the experimental group continued in the regular school program. Students in both groups generally ranked low on the various scales of achievement, attendance, discipline, and self-concept when compared to the total school population.

Curriculum

The staff understood that the goal of the program was to assist students to help themselves, using a program approach different from that of the regular school curriculum. The program had a humanistic focus with emphasis on students' knowing about themselves, what makes them act the way they do, and their own culture, especially the language and culture of their ancestors. Classroom learning activities were organized around broad-based experiential units, for example, coping with feelings of anger, prejudice, violence, adult/student relationships, or why students act the way they do. Individual differences in abilities, interests, motivation, and aptitude were accommodated. Many strategies and techniques such as role playing, and other creative approaches using music, poetry, art, and video equipment were often introduced in small and large group settings.

Group dynamics and cooperative learning in the classroom were given much emphasis. The underlying premise for the staff was that these students needed a basic change in their attitude and that they needed to improve their social skills and competencies. Getting the students to accept responsibility for their own actions and to help each other to learn was a central focus of the class. Instead of leading and directing, the teacher solicited the students' cooperation in the learning process. Whenever possible classroom learning activities were drawn from the daily living experiences of the students, especially when they related to the school, home, or community setting.

Students resented adults in authority roles, and that often caused conflicts for them. They were encouraged to express the reasons for their feelings. Some students expressed dislike and fear when dealing with police outside of school. School administrators also seemed to be a source of conflict for some students. In order to improve student/authority relationships, law enforcement and school administrators were invited to the class as guests of the students. Communication in the classroom was on a more equal level in order to improve understanding.

Creative and innovative techniques and processes that helped students open up were designed and implemented in the classroom (see Appendices A and B for examples of activities used).

In order to encourage more student participation, small group assignments, large group assignments, and cooperative learning methods were utilized. Written, verbal, musical and artistic strategies with an emphasis on real life situations were often used. Being aware of feelings was always of critical importance to the total group, including students and staff, and always a challenge. Cognitive and affective processes naturally flowed together when optimum learning was taking place. The thinking and feeling processes of the mind and the melding together of actions and emotions was a desired outcome. On the part of the staff, concern and understanding of students, rather than feeling sorry for them, was important. Time was set aside to discuss problems that would arise between students and the staff or between students and other students involved in the program. Conflicts on campus were also addressed in class. Students were encouraged to talk about their feelings or to express them in writing, regarding many issues on and off campus.

A fight involving an eastside gang, Los Locos, and a westside gang, Party Boys, was discussed in class. The situation was thoroughly analyzed, and positive alternatives, instead of fighting, were developed. The objective was to seek other means to resolve a problem should similar altercations arise in the future. The activity identified in Appendix B was used in order to improve communication.

A unit on cultural awareness focused on Mexican/Chicano culture and history, including social problems of discrimination, poverty, crime, and politics. Mexican/Chicano history was taught so that students would have a better understanding of their roots. Speakers were invited weekly to serve as resource people and speak on different topics. A city councilman, a Latina engineer, a Latino doctor, a policewoman, and a Latino executive were among the invited guests. In addition to providing valuable resources they also served as positive Latino role models that both male and female students could emulate. Issues of prejudice and discrimination were often voiced and discussed by the adult participants. The students were taught how to respond to issues of discrimination in positive constructive ways without losing their temper. There was a concentrated effort to develop pride in the student's own ethnic and cultural heritage and at the same time to develop a healthy attitude, respect, and appreciation for other cultures or racial groups.

Because other units in the curriculum also focused on improving communication skills, students were encouraged to speak or write on issues presented in class in Spanish or English. In the cooperative learning groups students who spoke English helped the Spanish speakers with their English, and in turn the Spanish speakers assisted the English speakers with their Spanish. Prewriting activities helped students to develop a finished written product.

When writing was a problem for some students they were taught other methods of communication such as using symbols or sketches. Oral presentations were also required.

Evaluation of the Program

An assessment of the program at both sites was conducted and the results were very promising. The students in the experimental group, when compared to the control group, made more positive gains in the identified variables of (a) attendance, (b) academic grades, (c) discipline contacts, and (d) self-concept (see Appendix C).

Attendance for students in the experimental group improved from 72% to 92%, compared to a slight improvement from 76% to 83% for students in the control group. School attendance records were used to measure this variable.

Academic grades improved from 1.30 to 2.60 for students in the experimental program, compared to 1.40 to 1.70 for students in the control group. Report card grades were used to measure academic performance.

Students in the experimental group had 70% fewer contacts with the vice principals than they had had the previous year, indicating fewer discipline problems. Students in the control group had 25% more contacts with vice principals, indicating an increase in discipline problems.

Self-concept was difficult to measure because there are very few reliable objective instruments which may be used. The author relied on teachers' subjective judgment of improved attitude and class participation. All of the student's teachers were asked to rate the area of self-concept. In addition to the experimental class the student also participated in five regular classes. Six collective teacher observations indicated whether the student's attitude and class participation improved.

Regular classroom teachers pointed out examples of improved self-concept in two students in the program, Jaime and Letty. Prior to participating in the experimental program both students had been identified as nonparticipants in all of their classrooms. When called upon to answer questions or to recite orally they would blush, shrug their shoulders, and just nod "no," indicating they didn't want to participate. Both students spoke English well enough to participate in class, but they were just too shy. After five months in the experimental program, Jaime and Letty would raise their hands and volunteer oral responses in their classes.

Participation skills in the classroom and obstacles that hindered participation were some of the areas covered in the experimental classroom. Students were encouraged to practice.

Lisa was another student with an improved self-concept. Prior to participation in the experimental class she would come to school dirty, with her hair not combed and her clothing wrinkled. She would often get angry at her peers and teachers. After she participated in the program, teachers and peers often commented on her good grooming and friendly disposition. Her expressions of overt anger became a thing of the past.

Grooming and appearance, "looking good" and "getting along" with peers, were part of the experimental classroom curriculum.

Conclusion

Finding workable alternatives to disruptive behavior and low academic achievement for at-risk students is one of the most critical and challenging educational problems in the United States. In many communities and school systems, interracial fights, the formation of gangs, and alienation from school commonly occur. For too many students caught up in the web of destructive behavior constructive alternatives are not available. Before students can respect others, they must first learn to appreciate themselves and the part of themselves that is their individual culture. Knowledge and appreciation of one's culture is of fundamental importance, and this can be learned at school. ■

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Appendix A

Time Machine; Going Back

Purpose

Too many of us know little or nothing about our ancestors or our personal history, and there are some of us who know many of the details regarding our backgrounds. There are common or similar areas that we as humans can share regardless of heritage and all of us can profit from sharing those experiences of a multi-cultural nature.

Objectives

1. Explore common or different individual histories and ancestors.
2. Share experiences with others in subgroups to improve relationships and appreciation of differences with the group.
3. Develop a historical base for further exploration of individual histories.
4. Develop an appreciation for different cultures.

Recommendations

1. Secure a quiet, comfortable environment.
2. Review the activity, and if participants feel uncomfortable ask them to talk about their feelings, and let them know that participation is voluntary.

Activity

1. Have students close their eyes and relax for a few minutes. Soft background music helps students get ready for the activity. Dim the lights.
2. Have students concentrate on their immediate family, (depending on the make-up of the group), brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, mother, father. Ask them to focus on these questions:
    a. Where do they live?
    b. What language(s) do they speak?
    c. What type of work do they do?
    d. What kind of food do they eat?
    e. What do they do for fun?
    f. Is there religion in the family?

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3. Allow the students to focus at this level for approximately three minutes. Then say, "We are now ready to travel on a time machine, back into time. We are going to visit your ancestors. Get ready!"
4. Slowly stop at each generation. Repeat the same questions in Step 2, a-f.
    - a. Parents
    - b. Grandparents
    - c. Great grandparents
    - d. Great great grandparents
5. Pause between each generation, giving students an opportunity to reflect on each generation.
6. After you have visited each generation in your time machine, slowly come back to the present. Stop at each generation on the way back to the present and bid them farewell.
7. Say, "You are back in the present, in this room, open your eyes."
8. In small groups of four or five have students share their experiences.
9. Have students process the activity expressing thoughts and feelings with the total group.

    Examples of process questions:

    1. What were your thoughts or feelings regarding your participation in this activity?
    2. Did sharing your personal experiences with others improve your appreciation and understanding of others?
    3. Did you learn more about your own personal culture?

Appendix B

Who's the Victim?

Problem

Stereotypes exist within different ethnic groups and cultures. Lifelong experiences and associations with others are usually the source of beliefs regarding personal values and perceptions.

Activity

Maria and Sammy were students at Benito Juarez Middle School and they were very close friends. Maria was of Mexican descent and Sammy was Anglo. They had known each other for many years and always participated in common activities. They laughed and studied together and always enjoyed each others' company.

One sunny afternoon Maria and Sammy were eating lunch and talking when suddenly a fist fight between two gangs – the Mexican Locos and the white skinhead gang named Power – broke out. There was a lot of screaming and yelling, and fighting broke out all over the lunch area. One of the Power gang members (Rockie) yelled out at Sammy, "Come and help us, and leave that wetback (Maria) alone, or we're going to beat you up!" Sammy was scared and didn't know what to do. The fight was becoming Latinos against whites, so Sammy decided to join the white Power gang, and he also started fighting. Maria became very upset because her friend Sammy had joined the white gang. She decided to get even so she called her friend Chuy, a member of the Locos gang, to beat up Sammy. End of story.

Task

1. In groups of five, the students in class discuss the situation and identify the problem. What happened?
2. Through consensus the group identifies the worst character and the best character and give reasons for their selection.
3. Each group gives the whole class a review of their conclusions and justifies their answers.
4. After a general discussion the teacher reviews the negative characteristics of stereotypes and the negative effects of following others instead of making individual choices.

5. Each group develops positive alternatives to Maria and Sammy's behavior and discusses these with the class.

Many case studies dealing with violence and discrimination have been developed. Students are challenged to evaluate and discuss each situation and come up with positive alternatives.

Appendix C

The students in the experimental group generally indicated significant gains in the identified variables over those students who went through the regular school program.

Table 1.

Results of the Study for One Academic Year

	Attendance	Grades[a]	Discipline problems[b]	Self-concept[c]
Experimental group	92%	2.6	40% fewer	70%
Control group	83%	1.7	30% more	-25%

[a] A = 5, F = 0

[b] Measured according to numbers of referrals

[c] Measured according to teachers' observations and feelings

The CATESOL Journal

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Meeting the Needs of All Participants in MATESL Programs

■ **Although needs analyses have been used extensively in setting up teacher training programs, there has been little comparative study of MATESL programs themselves based on the needs of participants. This study investigates the opinions of MA students and employers of graduates of MATESL programs in one urban area, thus providing a model of how fourth generation evaluation can provide local solutions for second language education. The MA students surveyed expressed consensus in preferring education/TESL courses over linguistics courses, singling out TESL methods and second language acquisition as most desirable. The majority of ESL administrators interviewed also chose these two areas as most important. MATESL programs, on the other hand, showed great diversity and varying levels of success at anticipating MA students' or ESL employers' expressed needs. A number of implications of this study are discussed.**

It is well known that training programs for teachers of ESL and EFL students are increasing throughout the U.S. and the rest of the world. In fact, so many have been recently developed that the *Directory of TESOL Programs* (Kornblum & Garshick, 1992) lists 170 institutions with programs at the BA, certificate, MA, or PhD levels, 25 of which are in California alone. With this proliferation of programs comes a corresponding growth in variety of program offerings and options. Students wishing to enter an MATESL program may well wonder where and how to begin to choose a program. Administrators who oversee ESL/EFL programs in schools at various grade levels may also be concerned with the training these programs provide their job candidates. Further, administrators and faculty who guide and develop MATESL programs may be constrained by academic, financial, and time limits in their best efforts to develop programs that are meaningful and that attract students.

Responsiveness in the form of needs analyses has long been a guiding feature of education research (McKillip, 1987). In the TESL field, needs analyses have a particularly rich history. For example, the area of English for specific purposes (ESP) has contributed greatly to our knowledge of how to perform needs analyses for particular audiences. ESP practitioners have analyzed language learners' needs including, at varying times, learner tasks, target situations, discourse genres, and students' learning strategies (Johns, 1991). Needs assessments have been performed by a variety of groups, including language researchers (Johnson, 1992), teachers (Tarone, 1989), and students themselves (Johnston, 1993). Further, needs analyses have been the modus operandi in developing teacher training programs. For example, Uber Grosse (1991) examined syllabi, material, and activities most valued by instructors of TESL methods courses. And Brinton (1993) in a retrospective needs analysis examined features of MA programs most valued by recent graduates. Thus needs analyses have become a signature of TESL. Where learner needs and language uses were once mere intuitions, now a variety of systematic approaches are being used to understand these needs.

However, there has been little comparative study of MA programs themselves based on needs of participants. The variety of programs has not encouraged such study. Programs differ in focus (ESL vs. EFL student), in scope (certificate, MA, and/or PhD), in purpose (teaching and/or research), in host (private or public institution), and in department location (department of education, English, foreign languages, linguistics, etc.).

How, then, can a prospective student, a faculty member, or an employer begin to compare one program with another? This paper works toward a local solution to that question. It presents a needs analysis for MATESL programs in one urban community. It thus precludes a uniform solution generalizable to all environments. Rather, the study provides a model of analysis that provides general appeal. The study is based on a qualitative research paradigm in the phenomenological tradition (Johnson, 1992). It is modeled on fourth generation evaluation research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Fourth generation evaluation assumes that there are no universal findings applicable to all situations since all contexts are unique. It takes as axiomatic the belief that in qualitative research all shareholders (participants) in a program to be investigated must be consulted. This study investigates the opinions of MA students and ESL administrators who employ the graduates of MATESL programs and contrasts these opinions with what is actually offered in eight representative MATESL programs in one urban area. The study provides a model of how fourth generation evaluation can provide local solutions for second language education.

The survey described below examines areas critical for teacher training: (a) the program needs as expressed by MA students and ESL administrators, and (b) the match between those needs and course requirements in established MATESL programs. The implications of this survey for teacher preparation are discussed, and suggestions for program development are provided.

Method

Design

The tool for data collection from students was a survey instrument and from administrators an interview guide. The survey used for students in MATESL programs consisted of 10 questions, most of which were open ended (see Appendix A). Written answers made by the students made up the primary source of data. In questions where respondents were asked to make a choice between alternatives, students were asked to rank order their responses. This was done to facilitate data analysis.

The interview guide used for administrators of ESL programs consisted of 14 questions, most of which were open ended (see Appendix B). These questions were given to the administrators ahead of time so that they could prepare for the interview. The survey questions were used as an interview guide. Interviews were conducted either in person or over the telephone. It was assumed by the researchers that an interview format with a survey used as an interview guide would allow for more flexibility in responses. This was confirmed as many administrators took the interview situation as an opportunity to express at length opinions about their optimum teacher preparation.

The analysis of MATESL programs consisted of comparing eight programs in the greater Los Angeles area with one another.[1] All eight are accredited programs within California's state university system. They are all located in the same urban area where the students and administrators who form the other part of this study reside, and all serve as potential educational choices for any of the shareholders involved in the study. The content of the programs is also compared with CATESOL's *4 Competencies for Teaching English as a Second Language* (California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1990). These four competencies have been suggested as guidelines for teacher preparation. They were chosen as a means of comparison here because they provide an accepted standard in MATESL education as agreed upon by a number of educators in MATESL training programs.

Respondents

Students

A total of 100 questionnaires were distributed to MA candidates at four state colleges in the greater Los Angeles area. Questionnaires were returned to the investigators within several weeks' time. Insufficiently completed questionnaires were eliminated, leaving 71 questionnaires as the data base.

Respondents represented four California state universities. Of the 71 respondents, 75% (50) had prior teaching experience. Of this 75%, 32% (16) of the students had taught K–12; 28% (14) had taught in institutions abroad; 22% (11) had taught in adult schools; and 18% (9) had taught at the college level. Twenty-five percent (19) had no prior formal teaching experience.

Administrators

A total of 18 ESL administrators were interviewed. The distribution was as follows: six principals from elementary and middle schools, five administrators from community colleges, and seven administrators from four-year colleges and universities. Respondents represented middle income and lower income urban and suburban communities. They employed teachers who would be working with students ranging from inner-city metropolitan Hispanic, Korean, and Cambodian immigrants to more economically affluent students with an L1 of Spanish, Korean, Mandarin, Cantonese, Tagalog, and Vietnamese. These administrators were ultimately in charge of over 150 teachers and about 300 classes with over 6,000 ESL students.

Analysis

In the student surveys, numerical tallies in the form of percents and written comments served as the data base for generalizing about students' perceptions of their career goals, their school choices, and their academic preferences.

Similarly, the oral statements and opinions expressed by administrators of TESL programs were used as a data base to summarize their perceptions about program needs. Numerical tallies were derived but were interpreted with caution because the counts were low and the study's main focus was a qualitative analysis.

Information concerning the eight programs offering the equivalent of MAs in TESL was taken from published sources, which include catalogue copy and specific department publications. The programs were analyzed in terms of prerequisites, required courses, electives, and exit requirements. Courses were further broken down into categories (e.g., applied linguistics, formal linguistics, education, foreign language, TESL, English, etc.). However, the lack of correspondence between any of the programs was so great that a third standard of comparison, in this case CATESOL's (1990) *4 Competencies*, was used as a means against which to compare the programs. CATESOL's *4 Competencies* comprise, in brief, (a) linguistics (including English phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse; (b) second language acquisition (including its sociological and psychological features); (c) methods of TESL (including materials and testing); and (d) intercultural communication.

Results and Discussion

MA Students' Career Goals and School Choices

A qualitative needs analysis involves understanding the motives and preferences of concerned parties. Question 2 of the student survey asks students to describe their future teaching goals. Forty-nine percent of the students indicated they planned to teach at the college or adult level; 35% planned to teach abroad; 13% planned to teach K–12; and the remaining 4% were undecided or interested in publishing (see Table 1). These results show that over 85% of the students planned to teach either at the adult/college level in domestic institutions or planned to use the MA to teach abroad.

Table 1.
MA Students' Intended Future Teaching Level

Education Level	Percentage of Students	Number of Students
College & adult school	49	35
EFL (abroad)	34	24
K-12	13	9
Undecided	3	2
Publishing	1	1

Note. Total number of responses for this question was 71.

Question 3 concerned students' motives for entering MATESL programs. Thirty-three percent indicated they wished to enter a new field of study; 33% wanted to improve the quality of their teaching; and 33% provided a variety of reasons including "keeping up with the TESL field, improving one's salary, obtaining a U.S. master's degree, changing teaching level."

Students' reasons for choosing a particular program (Question 4) showed that pragmatic decisions outweighed others. As Table 2 illustrates, the majority of respondents (59%) chose a program because of proximity. A smaller number (18%) chose a program because of its reputation. Even smaller numbers were influenced by catalogue description (9%) and flexible (year round) admission (6%).

Table 2.

MA Students' Reasons for Choice of Particular School

Reason	Percentage of Students	Number of Students
Proximity to school	59	42
Reputation of program	18	13
Catalog copy	8	6
Flexible admissions	6	4
No response	8	6

Note. Total number of responses for this question was 71.

MA Students' Program Needs

In Questions 5 and 6 of the survey, student respondents were asked to rank order the courses they considered most important. Question 5 asked students to choose among eight linguistics-based courses. Table 3 shows that second language acquisition was ranked as the single most important language course. And structure of English was rated second in importance. Four courses were ranked fairly closely as third choice: sociolinguistics, phonology/morphology, syntax, and discourse analysis.

Table 3.

Students' Rank-Ordering of Preferred Linguistics-Based Courses

Course	Number of Responses
Second language acquisition	48
Structure of English	33
Sociolinguistics	26
Phonology/morphology	24
Syntax	22
Discourse analysis	22
Contrastive analysis	17
Psycholinguistics	10

Table 4 shows that out of eight education/TESL-based courses, TESL methods was ranked as most important. Curriculum development/materials design was ranked as second in importance. Students also showed a high level of concern for the teaching practicum and for courses having to do with sociocultural issues.

Table 4.
Students' Rank-Ordering of Preferred TESL/Education-Based Courses

COURSE	NUMBER OF RESPONSES
TESL methods	60
Curriculum development/materials design	41
Socio-cultural issues	32
Teaching practicum	31
Testing/assessment	23
Composition for ESL	8
Media/CAI (computer assisted instruction)	5

Given a choice (Question 7) between a program emphasizing linguistics or one emphasizing TESL/education 66% (40) of the students indicated a preference for TESL/education-based courses. Asked to explain, students provided the following reasons: Students need courses that are "practical," "useful," or can be "applied" to the ESL classroom; teachers need to understand the L2 learner's concerns; teachers need good methodology over linguistic knowledge; linguistics is for a future in research, not in teaching; one linguistics course or previous academic study of linguistics is sufficient; TESL courses have a wider range of application ("eclectic"). One student sums up the position, saying, "I prefer an education/TESOL-based program geared to understanding the second-language learner and his specific needs and examining the language-classroom environment. I want to learn how to be an effective teacher."

Eighteen percent (11) indicated a desire for balance between both types. Most of these respondents expressed the belief that knowledge of language and practical training were not independent of one another and needed to be learned hand in hand. "They are so closely related; it's a marriage," explained one respondent.

Sixteen percent (10) described a preference for linguistics-based courses. They gave the following reasons: TESL certificate programs have provided enough methods, now students want linguistics; linguistics courses provide a theoretical foundation for teaching; linguistics courses allow for a possible future in research; linguistics must be taught by professionals – it can't be learned on one's own; and one has to know English structure in order to be able to explain it.

In the open-ended portion of the survey, students indicated a desire for courses that had wider classroom application including curriculum design, a practicum, courses having to do with culture, and courses that taught specific skills (e.g., composition, reading, and conversation for ESL).

ESL Administrators' Preferences in Teacher Qualifications

The interview questions asked of employers in this section (see Appendix B) have to do with job opportunities, the importance of demographics in hiring, preferred characteristics of candidates, preferred certification, ability to teach other courses or teachers, and preferred personal qualities.

In response to Questions 5 and 6 about employment opportunities, ESL administrators provided a general consensus that although demand for ESL teachers would increase, funding limitations would restrict employment opportunities in the next few years.

Asked about the importance of student demographics in hiring decisions (Question 8), employers' responses varied according to teaching level. At the K–8 level, principals stressed that good qualifications were most important, but if candidates shared the same ethnicity with their students, they could serve as role models. At the community and four-year college levels, ESL administrators said that the experience of having studied a second language was useful, and even better was experience with the target population. A candidate's shared ethnicity with the target population, although not necessary, would be considered an asset. Several administrators even stated that if these candidates were less qualified, they could be given special training so as to meet standards.

Question 9, concerning preferred characteristics of candidates, showed consensus at each level. Out of six possible qualifying characteristics, K–8 principals agreed that most important was the "ability to relate to students." Their second valued quality was "sensitivity to foreign cultures." One middle school principal justified his comments by saying that most skills can be taught, but personality traits cannot: "Terminations are for lack of human relations skills." In third place was "ESL teaching experience." One elementary school principal commented that it was hard to find experienced, qualified ESL teachers. On the other hand, employers at the community college level ranked equally as most important "sensitivity to foreign cultures" and "ESL teaching experience," although one department chair stressed the importance of a "willingness to listen to others' ideas." At the four-year college level, educators most valued prior "ESL teaching experience" and background preparation in the right "quality/level of education."

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Teacher certification varied according to level and state requirements (Question 11). K–8 principals described the education credential and the Language Development Specialist certificate as the two most essential. They expressed a lack of knowledge about the content and value of a TESL certificate or MA. Both two-year and four-year administrators valued most a master's in TESL. However, if MA students didn't have an MA in TESL they ranked a master's in linguistics as second choice.

The issue of whether MA candidates should themselves be prepared to serve as teacher trainers was raised in Question 12. Most ESL administrators replied that it was "useful but not essential" for their teachers to share techniques in either formal (inservice workshops) or informal ways.

Also important in teacher training is the issue of whether teachers should be prepared to teach content courses in addition to ESL itself (Question 10). At the K–8 level principals differed. One principal felt teachers should have "a working knowledge of other subject areas." Yet a second principal said "content teachers were hired for content," but ESL teachers should naturally know about composition and literature as a valid part of ESL. At the college levels, employers wanted teachers to teach only ESL. Only under special circumstances where lecturers were distinguished from TAs would lecturers teach preparation courses such as TESL reading, writing, or pronunciation.

Our last question asked about ideal teacher qualities. Respondents described the following qualities as most valued in teachers: cultural sensitivity, ability to cooperate with colleagues, professional comportment, a love of teaching, diplomatic skills, experience in ESL teaching, L2 learning experience, knowledge of California's Master Plan for Education, and commitment to the work ("seeing the job as going beyond the four walls of the classroom").

Employers' Programmatic Needs in ESL Teachers

The interview guide asked administrators to choose four competency areas most important for teachers (Question 13). There was surprising agreement among ESL administrators at the same level. Principals of K–8 felt that language acquisition and methods were the most important courses for teachers to have taken. One principal commented, "Language acquisition, because that's what we really do." At the community college level, English structure and linguistics were deemed most valuable. And at the four-year college level, English structure and methods were nominated as most important.

Program Correspondence with Students' and Employers' Needs

It is difficult, if not impossible, to compare MATESL programs. First, MA programs are housed in a variety of departments. Of the eight programs described here, three are found in English departments, one in linguistics, two in education, one in foreign languages, and one in a linguistics program which has interdepartmental status. These different homes all naturally influence the nature of the programs – notions of what should be core and what should be peripheral in TESL. In addition to being guided by different academic philosophies, programs also differ in time units – semester versus quarter units. Thus, programs with quarter units have a greater number of courses than programs with semester units, yet the quarter courses are shorter in duration and cover less material. Programs also differ in their flexibility. Table 5 shows the number of required versus elective courses in each program. It also shows how many programs require a thesis and/or final exam.

Table 5.
Program Requirements:
Required vs. Elective Courses & Final Requirements

PROGRAM	# OF REQUIRED COURSES	# OF ELECTIVE COURSES	PROGRAM-FINAL REQUIREMENTS
Program A	10	0	Final project
Program B	9	1-2	Thesis or exam or project
Program C	9	1-2	Thesis or exam
Program D	8	0-2	Thesis or exam
Program E	8	2	Thesis
Program F	7	1-2	Thesis or exam or paper
Program G	6	4	Exam
Program H	5	5-6	Thesis or exam

Programs also show variety in emphasis (see Table 6). Language acquisition and TESL methods, the two courses most valued by students and administrators alike, were either required or elective courses in every program. However, the second most favored courses in linguistics, structure of English, was a required or elective course in four programs but not offered in four programs; further, the second most favored course in TESL education, curriculum design/materials development, was required in two programs but not offered in six programs. The rest of the courses are divided into categories ranging from required to not offered courses.

Table 6.
Number of MATESL Programs Requiring Courses on Specified Content

Course	# Programs Requiring Courses	# Programs With Course as Elective	# Programs Not Offering Course
Language acquisition	7	1	0
TESL methods	6	2	0
Linguistics	5	2	1
Intercultural communication	3	3	2
English structure	2	2	4
Curriculum design materials for ESL	2	0	6
Composition for ESL	1	2	5
Testing/evaluation for ESL	1	2	5
Literature for ESL	0	1	7

Note. Total number of MATESL programs is 8.

Further, in terms of foreign language study, virtually all programs require one year of a foreign language as a prerequisite to entrance into the graduate program. However, in terms of ESL teaching experience, only four out of eight programs provide a practicum or internship.

When the core required courses in each of the eight programs were normed against CATESOL's (1990) *4 Competencies*, the difference in program emphases was more visible. As Table 7 shows, of the four competencies, percentages and numbers indicate that programs emphasize courses in the two competencies of linguistics and methods of TESL. However, in terms of the acquisition and culture competencies, the range is limited. Although every program has a language acquisition course, most programs are limited to one course. Further, many programs have no courses concerned with intercultural communication.

Table 7.
Distribution of Required Courses
Per Program According to CATESOL's *4 Competencies*

Program	Linguistics Competencies	SLA Competencies	Methods of TESL Competencies	Intercultural Communication Competencies	Other Course Areas	Total # Required Courses
Program A	60% (6)	10% (1)	10% (1)	—	20% (2)	(10)
Program B	—	33% (2)	66% (4)	—	—	(6)
Program C	57% (4)	14% (1)	14% (1)	—	14% (1)	(7)
Program D	50% (4)	25% (2)	12% (1)	12% (1)	—	(8)
Program E	11% (1)	11% (1)	55% (5)	11% (1)	11% (1)	(9)
Program F	11% (1)	22% (2)	33% (3)	—	33% (3)	(9)
Program G	37% (3)	—	12% (1)	—	50% (4)	(8)
Program H	20% (1)	20% (1)	40% (2)	—	20% (1)	(5)

Note. Number in parentheses indicate number of courses.

We thus found great variety among the programs. Programs differed in terms of focus – linguistic, TESL, education, or composition; in terms of elective versus required courses; in terms of requirements for field experience; and in terms of program final requirements.

Conclusion

Our study of students, employers, and programs from one large metropolitan area points to a contradiction. Whereas MA programs, on the one hand, differ according to most measures of comparison, students and employers, on the other hand, share a surprising number of opinions.

MA students' perceptions of their curricular needs were quite similar. The majority of students wanted courses that had some application to classroom teaching Most were headed either for adult teaching – at community colleges, four-year colleges, or adult schools – or for EFL teaching abroad. Students also expressed striking agreement as to TESL methods being their most important education/TESL-based course and second language acquisition being their most important linguistics-based course. And students' choice of TESL program was most often dictated by convenience: They chose the schools easiest to get to from home or work.

Employers, too, showed surprising consensus in their responses. They all predicted a difficult job market in the near future. They stressed that valuable qualities in job candidates included sensitivity to foreign cultures and previous ESL teaching experience. And almost all felt that TESL methods and language acquisition were among the most important courses for their future teachers.

In contrast to the similarity of responses from both MA students and ESL employers, MA programs in our urban area were found to be conspicuously dissimilar. Although all eight programs had at least one course devoted to TESL methods and second language acquisition, only one half of the programs had a course in structure of English and only one quarter of the programs offered a course in curriculum design/materials development. Further, only one half of the programs had a field practice or practicum, and only one fourth required a course on culture. Thus, most programs were heavily weighted towards linguistics, education, or English and offered only a few courses focused on ESL, language acquisition, or culture.

Implications

One of the key challenges for MA programs in the 1990s is to respond to students' needs. As education theorists (Friere, 1970/1981); Maher, 1985) and TESL theorists (Clarke & Silberstein, 1988; Pennycook, 1989) have stated, students need to be given an active role in constructing their own education. Programs that invite this kind of student contribution could gain from MA students' practical experience. Over 75% of the students interviewed had already had some teaching experience. We believe students have valuable information to contribute to the ongoing development of MA programs.

Programs can also meet the students' desire to become what Maher (1985) calls *coinvestigators* in education (p. 35). For this students need freedom of choice. It should be clear that the wide diversity found among programs in one area does not necessarily afford students this freedom. A majority of students interviewed chose their program because of a school's location. But by providing greater freedom of choice in selection of courses, faculty can allow students a greater share in their own education.

A second key challenge for MA programs is to attend to the market place needs of employers. In the continuing tight market for jobs in ESL, MA programs can help their graduates compete by giving them a solid curricular foundation in all four competency areas. ESL employers' needs could be met, for example, by adding courses with a focus on TESL and on intercultural communication. In addition, MA programs could give students a boost into the job market by providing opportunities for ESL teaching through a practicum, internship, or tutoring.

A third key challenge for faculty in MA programs is to develop curricula that have flexibility and diversity and yet maintain core academic standards. Courses that have an applied component as well as a theoretical foundation would meet students' criterion of practicality. Faculty could also broaden their program offerings by allowing students to take useful courses offered by other departments or programs.

From this study of MA students, ESL employers, and TESL programs, gaps in program structure become evident. Some programs have little ESL emphasis and are heavily weighted towards education, linguistics, or English; other programs resemble a patchwork of courses drawn from several departments but with little connection between courses.

On the whole, however, encouraging trends have emerged. A number of programs have been responding to the developing needs of their constituents. Two recently developed programs now offer MAs in English composition and rhetoric with an emphasis in TESL. Other programs have introduced new courses such as structure of English, composition and ESL, and testing and ESL. Some programs have increased students' options by adding to the number of electives or by allowing students greater choices in fulfilling area requirements.

Our needs analysis identified ways in which a number of MATESL programs in one urban area could more uniformly meet the expectations of students and employers and still maintain core academic standards. Our goal in this paper has not been to describe the ideal program but rather to demonstrate that all involved parties can and should become active in the ongoing development of TESL program curricula. ■

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Footnotes

1 These programs reflect requirements during the 1992–1993 academic year at CSU Dominguez Hills, CSU Fullerton, CSU Long Beach, CSU Los Angeles, CSU Northridge, Cal Poly Pomona, CSU San Bernardino (Education Department), and CSU San Bernardino (English Department).

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Appendix A

Questions for MA TESL Candidates

1. Describe your teaching/tutoring experience (type of institution, age/level of students, location).
2. Describe your future teaching goals (type of institution, age/level of students, location).
3. Why did you choose to enter a TESL program?
4. Why did you choose the TESL program at this institution?
5. Of the following linguistics-based courses, which do you consider most important? (Rank order at least the top four: 1 = most important, etc.).

______ phonology/morphology

______ syntax

______ second language acquisition

______ contrastive analysis

______ psycholinguistics

______ sociolinguistics

______ structure of English

______ discourse analysis

6. Of the following education/TESL-based courses, which do you consider most important? (Rank order at least the top four.)

______ TESL methods

______ testing/assessment

______ research methods

______ sociocultural issues

______ teaching practicum

______ media/CAI

______ composition for ESL

______ curriculum design/
materials development

7. Would you prefer that the majority of your courses be linguistics-based or education/TESOL-based? Please explain.
8. What courses that aren't available in the MA program would you like to see available in the future?
9. How many semesters and summer sessions do you plan to spend completing your MA? Do you plan to attend days or evenings?
10. Comments? Suggestions? Please use the back of the page.

Appendix B

Survey of ESL Program Administrators

1. Name (optional) ______________________________

2. Title ____________________ Length of Service __________

3. Institution ______________________________

4. Type of institution ________________ Location __________

5. How many teaching positions in ESL do you expect to fill in the next year. Please explain. ______________________________

   ____

6. During the next 5 years, do you expect to create additional positions? Please explain. ______________________________

   ____

7. What is the linguistic/cultural makeup of your ESL student population?

8. Do your student demographics influence your hiring decisions? Please explain. ______________________________

   ____

9. What are the most important qualifications you look for in new ESL teachers? (Choose only 3.)

   ___ Knowledge of students' native language

   ___ Knowledge of/sensitivity to foreign cultures

   ___ Ability to work with colleagues

   ___ ESL teaching experience

   ___ Quality/level of education

   ___ Ability to relate to students

   ___ Other (please specify) ____________________

10. Should teachers in your program be prepared to teach courses in addition to ESL courses? Please explain. ____________________

    ____

11. What kinds of certification do you find most valuable in your candidates? (Choose only 3.)

___ Credential in education
___ LDS certificate
___ Master's in education
___ Master's in composition/ rhetoric
___ certificate in TESL
___ Master's in TESL
___ Master's in English (literature)
___ Master's in linguistics
___ Other (please specify) ______________________________

12. Should teachers in your program be prepared to train other teachers in TESL methods/practices? Please explain.

13. What are the competency areas that you consider most important for a new ESL teacher? (Choose only 4.)

___ English structure
___ Language acquisition
___ Testing/evaluation/research
___ Writing/composition
___ Linguistics
___ Methods/material of ESL
___ Intercultural communication
___ American/English literature
___ Other (please specify) ______________________________

14. Please describe the qualities/characteristics your ideal ESL teacher would possess. (Please use other side.)

The CATESOL Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

Fostering Cooperation Between Intensive English Programs and Teacher Education Programs

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In colleges and universities throughout California, ESL teacher education programs as well as intensive English programs are often offered in the same institution. (ESL teacher education programs include MA TESL programs a well as TESL certificate programs.) On some campuses, these two instructional units seem to operate as separate entities. This may be partly a function of where each is housed. If they are found in different administrative units, there may be few links between the programs. For example, an institution may have a TESL MA program housed in a school of education while intensive English may be found in arts and sciences or extension. In fact, the intensive English program (IEP) may be a separate unit independent of the host institution. When the two programs are housed under different administrative units, there may be a gulf between them from small to large.

In this article, we argue that whatever their administrative structures, these two programs share many common interests and have similar agendas. Cooperation between the two units seems natural. Yet, often faculty and staff in each unit are unclear about what shape this cooperation should take and what the benefits would be. In this article, we examine several areas where cooperation can occur and highlight the benefits of mutual efforts. We attempt to anticipate ethical and professional issues that may arise as cooperative efforts develop and suggest possible solutions. The types of cooperation and their benefits fall into the broad categories of intellectual/academic, pedagogic, and pragmatic.

Common Goals and Shared Agendas

Generally, intensive English programs on college and university campuses are academic preparation programs, with international students studying ESL full time in hopes of being admitted to a degree program at a U.S. institution of higher learning. Immigrants and refugees may also be enrolled in these intensive programs in small numbers. Even if individuals do not wish to enter a degree program in the United States, intensive English students generally wish to improve their English for professional purposes. The classroom situation in intensive English programs is often good, with 10 to 20 students per class and adequate to good resources and facilities.

Not every ESL teaching situation can claim working conditions as ideal as those often found in intensive programs. University teacher education programs must develop instructors for a much greater variety of ESL teaching situations: graduates may teach ESL in elementary or secondary schools, in adult schools, in intensive academic programs, or in private language schools. These schools may be in the United States or abroad. The classroom situations range from poor to excellent. ESL classes may be large, with 40 to 60 students in a listening/speaking class, or small with 10 or fewer students. Resources and facilities also vary. Thus, teacher education programs have much to present and accomplish in a short time in order to prepare graduates for a myriad of possible teaching situations. (For descriptions of MA TESL programs in the California State University system, see Ching, in the 1993 edition of *The CATESOL Journal*.)

Thus, it may seem that these two programs have very little in common. Despite these differences in emphasis, however, there should be strong professional ties between the two programs. The question is, "What unites these groups and makes cooperation between them fruitful?" These programs share four goals: (a) increasing knowledge of language and language learning, (b) increasing appreciation and understanding of other peoples and cultures, (c) improving the quality of both ESL and teacher education programs, and (d) professionalizing the field of TESL.

Intellectual and Academic Benefits

Cooperation provides opportunities for joint research and publication by faculty and administrators in both programs. This research can be theoretical or applied, quantitative or qualitative. Through formal and informal discussions between faculty in both programs, common research interests emerge, and joint research possibilities often naturally occur. For example, test scores for a large number of students are readily available in intensive English programs. A faculty member in one of the programs with expertise in statistical procedures can assist another who is a novice at statistical research. Together they can do a literature search, design a research project, analyze the data, and draft a manuscript for presentation and/or publication. Or, several faculty may discover, quite by accident, that they share an interest in how educational background influences class participation in ESL classes in the United States. In such a case, ESL students can serve as sources of qualitative data for faculty members. The faculty members could, for example, devise a research project asking ESL students about their educational experiences in their countries and then relate this data to observable classroom behavior. These examples illustrate how ESL programs and teacher education programs can serve as laboratories for such research as surveys, case studies, observational studies, and experimental classroom-based research. Such data can be made available to researchers provided they take appropriate safeguards to maintain anonymity and abide by all protection-of-human-subjects regulations.

Faculty in both units can develop materials for both groups of students with possibilities for immediate field testing. Based on these pilot studies, revisions can be made quickly, and faculty can publish texts.

Another area of interaction among faculty and students in both programs is graduate student projects and research. Such research can provide rewarding intellectual collaboration. In courses where a research project is assigned, the teacher educator has the responsibility of teaching research skills as well as the ethics and professional courtesy that go along with conducting research. For example, graduate students cannot assume that the intensive program provides subjects for their research and that all they need to do is drop off copies of a questionnaire or test for ESL faculty to distribute in their classes. Teacher education students must be told of the appropriate steps to take in gaining permission to use ESL students as subjects and must also adhere to the same guidelines that apply to all research using human subjects. The ESL faculty also must carefully scrutinize all research proposals involving their students. Research using ESL students should not only benefit the researchers but also provide information that can be used to improve the education ESL students receive.

Intellectual exchange can also take place at professional and social events. Seminars and brown bag lunches can be organized. Individuals, faculty and students who have attended a recent professional conference such as TESOL or CATESOL can discuss new developments in the field. ESL faculty and teacher education faculty can demonstrate an exercise that works well, and guest speakers can be brought in. Seminars in which graduate students present their field projects can be of interest to ESL faculty as well as faculty in the teacher education program. Informal social gatherings can also be organized. All of these provide opportunities to network and discuss ideas with colleagues and friends. Such activities serve to broaden knowledge of language and language education, thus promoting program improvement.

Pedagogic Benefits

Teacher education students can gain much in practical knowledge as well as theoretical knowledge from ESL faculty and students. The intensive program obviously offers a lab for observations of one particular type of ESL situation. The etiquette and protocols surrounding the issue of observations are extremely important. Following a few simple rules of courtesy can increase goodwill and cooperation between the two programs. Professional courtesy must be both demonstrated and taught by teacher educators and ESL faculty.

On behalf of their students, the instructors in the teacher education program must ask the intensive English director for permission for teacher education students to observe classes. The ESL director should be forthright in outlining any requirements for observers. For example, the ESL director may not wish to allow observers the first two weeks or the last two weeks of a semester. The number of observers per class may be limited. Therefore, a whole group of teacher education students arriving at the same time would not be welcome. Arrangements must be made beforehand, preferably with a week's notice, and the ESL faculty member should know exactly who to expect. The ESL director can give a schedule of classes and a contact person for teacher education students to call.

After obtaining permission and pertinent information from the ESL director, the teacher educator must advise her/his students of the courtesy requirements involved during the actual observation. Teacher education students should be prepared for a number of possibilities including participating in the class if the instructor so desires. Observers should introduce themselves upon arrival in the class, ask where it is appropriate to sit, and thank the instructor at the end of the class, not simply walk away. After being observed, instructors frequently want to talk to the observers to clarify certain points and answer questions the observers may have.

After making an observation, teacher education students are usually required to write it up as a requirement for a methods class. All teacher education students in any methods class cannot be guaranteed that the instruction they observe will be stellar. Often it is not. However, teacher education students can learn as much from observing an ineffective ESL class as they can from observing an excellent one. But, writing up an ineffective class may be problematic for teacher education students when all parties concerned know each other. Teacher educators need to discuss such issues with their students beforehand. It is highly advisable for teacher education students to refer to the instructors described in their papers as "Instructor X," rather than using the instructor's real name. (Peter Master in "The Etiquette of Observing," (1983) and J. G. Zuck in "A Reader Reacts: The Dynamics of Classroom Observation," (1984), have described observation etiquette when an instructor and his or her administrator or employer are involved.)

In addition to observations, IEPs often provide opportunities for teacher education students to teach. In some institutions, this is the norm, with the majority of ESL classes taught by graduate students as part of a practicum. In other institutions, TESL MA students do not automatically teach a practicum in the IEP. One reason for this can be the English language proficiency of the teacher education students themselves.

Students in teacher education programs are not necessarily all native speakers of English. Thus, sometimes intensive programs are reluctant to hire them. This may be especially true in private institutions where tuition is relatively high. When foreign students come to the United States to learn English, they expect to be taught by native speakers of the language, not by their countrymen. Peter Master has discussed this language proficiency issue in his 1990 article, "The Spoken English Proficiency of International Graduates from California MATESL Programs." This does not suggest that nonnative English speakers be barred from teaching in intensive programs; rather it suggests that their English skills be extremely good.

For those whose English proficiency is still somewhat questionable, there are other possibilities. Tutoring opportunities can be made available. Language skills do not need to be as high for tutors. For example, a nonnative speaker with good, but not excellent, language skills can be matched with a low-level ESL student. At times, an ESL student has such limited skills that a tutor who speaks her own language may actually be the best choice. On the other hand, an ESL student needing help with English pronunciation would seldom be matched with a nonnative speaker.

The ESL director, or a designated faculty member, can serve as the coordinator of the tutoring service, matching tutors with ESL students. Tutors can even be matched with nonnative English speakers employed at the institution. These university employees generally have low-paying jobs and limited English skills. Occasionally a teacher education student may wish to exchange ESL tutoring for help with a foreign language. Generally, the number of individuals who tutor is small, so coordinating an initial meeting and giving assistance to the teacher education student takes little time.

Another way for teacher education students to obtain practical ESL experience is for the teacher education program to provide internships or scholarships. Individuals receiving these awards could be required to tutor or assist in a particular ESL class on a regular basis. The faculty supervisor in the teacher education program and the ESL director need to coordinate such internships and agree on what the individuals are required to do. For example, interns could be assigned specific groups of students to tutor or could be asked to be available to assist ESL students during drop-in hours in a learning center or computer or language lab. Another possibility is for teacher education students to serve as part of a pool of substitutes in the intensive program. Some intensive programs have limited or no funds to pay substitutes, so faculty must call on their colleagues to teach their classes if they are sick or wish to attend a professional conference. To solve this problem, each semester the teacher educator and the ESL director can draw up a list of teacher education students who will be available to serve as substitutes. The ESL faculty planning to be absent would provide clear instructions and a lesson plan for the substitute.

Ideally teacher education students would be paid for all of these services either through a break in tuition or direct remuneration. However, if no pay is available, teacher education students can volunteer and thus obtain valuable experience. Many times volunteering leads to a paid position later on.

Yet another form of pedagogic cooperation between programs is also available – that is, the provision of a direct link between the students in both programs. In her 1993 article "Correspondence Journals Between Students and Trainees," Ilona Leki discusses a letter-writing project between the students in the two programs. Throughout the course, the students in each program are given time in class to write their new acquaintance in the other program. This provides the foreign student with an English-speaking contact upon arrival and provides teacher trainees with actual examples of foreign students' work. The teacher education students are not allowed to correct the foreign students' English, but are supposed to be a new friend. The teacher education students can also guide the ESL students' writing by asking the questions necessary to develop a particular idea more fully. Leki reports that by the end of the term, many of the pairs have arranged to meet for social events outside of class. Social events with students and faculty from both programs can also provide opportunities for making friends and discussing ideas. Such student-to-student associations lead to a better understanding of other peoples and cultures.

Pragmatic Benefits of Cooperation

The most obvious practical reason for cooperation between intensive English and teacher education programs is political. Often, both programs and their students are misunderstood by others on campus. With understanding and cooperation between the programs each can help educate others on campus as to the nature and benefits of having an ESL program and a related teacher education program, introduce them to the TESL profession, and articulate the advantages of having a diverse linguistic and cultural student body. In addition to being advocates for each other, faculty can provide mutual moral support and advice on campus politics. Presence is extremely important in gaining influence on a campus, so the sheer number of faculty and students can make both programs more visible. When one program is threatened by financial cutbacks, for example, the other can argue effectively that such action will have widespread implications and that in reality such actions will be extremely harmful to more than just the program facing possible reductions.

A second political advantage is that most administrators encourage and promote interactions between units. Administrators typically like to point out these joint efforts to higher level administrators and accrediting agencies. For example, intensive English programs are generally prepared to deal with cadres of students from a given country arriving on campus as a group. They frequently provide a complete program of instruction, housing, and social activities for such groups of students on short visits to the United States. Sometimes, such groups are themselves English teachers who often contact the intensive English program, asking for specially designed programs including TESL methodology, U.S. culture, and high-level English language skills. Typically, they are junior or high school English teachers. In general, teacher education programs are ill-equipped to handle the special needs of such groups. Here, the intensive program and the teacher education program can cooperate to design a special package, and faculty from both programs may teach. Often, the teacher education faculty have little interest in being directly involved; however, they may offer assistance in designing the program. Even if the teacher education program wishes to have no involvement at all, it is politically wise to keep teacher education faculty informed and to ask if they would like to be part of the special program. Again, recognition of mutual projects provides more visibility for both programs and their faculty and generally brings favorable publicity.

Another practical reason for cooperation between programs is financial – a sharing of resources. This is especially important with the recent cutbacks in funding of public education in California and the increases in tuition at both public and private institutions. One obvious example of shared resources is library allocation. At most institutions, each department or program is budgeted a certain amount for acquisition of new library books. The same books that can be used for professional development of ESL faculty can be used by teacher education students, so both programs benefit. Often, the ESL program has a resource library of texts, tapes, and videos. This can serve as a reference library for teacher education students; however, some control of access has to be established. This might mean a volunteer staffing the resource library during certain hours. Even if the ESL Resource library is not available to teacher education students, often ESL tapes in the language lab or computer programs are available. Teacher education students can examine these at regular lab hours as long as this does not limit the access of this material to ESL students. Also if a person in one program makes a recruiting trip, she can take brochures and promote the other program as well as her own. The cost of professional and social events could also be shared by both programs.

Yet another practical reason for cooperation is simple expedience or convenience. For example, systematic attention to routing of the mail and phone inquiries is important in both programs. Often, individuals looking for ESL teaching jobs write to a teacher education TESL program. Faculty in this program can forward the mail to the intensive English program. Also, intensive English program faculty often have extra catalogs from ESL textbook publishers. These extras can be given to teacher education faculty who have courses that require students to examine textbooks. Also, if a teacher education faculty member would like her class to analyze student compositions, she can ask for some examples from an ESL faculty member. Of course, the students' names and any identifying marks are removed. These seemingly unimportant areas of cooperation actually contribute in a positive way to improving the quality of the work situation for individuals in both programs, and so indirectly lead to overall program quality improvement.

Conclusion

When teacher education programs and intensive English programs cooperate to achieve their shared goals, faculty, students, and the profession benefit. The benefits are not always tangible or easy to discern or generally immediate. Cooperation requires a great deal of thought, planning, and work. It does not just happen. All parties concerned must be open and forthright with each other, respectful of each others' needs and priorities.

In this paper, we have discussed the intellectual or academic and the pragmatic reasons for cooperation. The most compelling reasons are intellectual and academic. Cooperation provides opportunities for intellectual exchange among faculty of both programs, teacher education students, and ESL students. To different degrees, these intellectual endeavors can improve the educational experience for both ESL students and teacher education students, increase general knowledge about language and language learning, advance understanding about peoples from other cultures, improve the work situation and intellectual climate of faculty, and work to advance the profession of TESL.

The nature of the cooperation advocated in this paper is restricted to two types of programs, IEPs and teacher education programs. However, the spirit of cooperation can apply to many other instances in which similar programs (e.g., community college and high school ESL) can benefit from similar efforts. Perhaps the most important reason for cooperation is that increased cooperation between faculty in the two programs can provide intellectual stimulation and support on a personal level. Professional and personal friendships can grow and flourish, which will in turn help sustain and increase cooperation between the programs. Moreover, once one or two joint efforts are made, more ideas and opportunities for fostering cooperation seem to appear. We should embrace these opportunities, for collectively we can accomplish much for ourselves, for our students, and for the profession. ■

The CATESOL Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

Teaching Social Justice Issues Through Literature

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Teaching issues of social justice has become an increasingly common part of the curriculum in ESL programs, especially at the university level. Teaching literature has also been a part of the reading element of ESL classes, to varying degrees, for many years. Recent interest in multiculturalism and diversity in education has brought about the opportunity to combine the two. Several recent multicultural readers, in both L_1 instruction and in ESL testify to this new trend.[1]

Recently I had the opportunity to teach an ESL class in our university-level intensive English program, a course entitled Seminar Series. This class meets once a week for two hours. The students are advanced (with TOEFL scores of approximately 500–550) and are also enrolled in a full complement of classes (reading, writing, speaking, listening, grammar) in our intensive program. This class serves to reinforce language skills, to introduce and reinforce academic skills, and to introduce social and cultural issues. Although the class described here is in a seminar format, the thematic set of units described could easily be adapted for use in other classes, such as high-intermediate or advanced reading, writing, or speaking classes.

During the particular semester described here, I designed the class around the theme of minority groups in the United States, with the connecting theme of prejudice and discrimination. The goals were to: (a) provide information about various minority groups; (b) examine the lives and contributions of these groups; (c) examine the prejudice and discrimination these groups have suffered; (d) discuss prejudice and discrimination in various areas, all over the world, including in each student's own country and experience; (e) introduce the students to the literature of the minority groups studied; and (f) examine the literature for what it tells us about the lives of these groups and particularly for the ways it expresses suffering, resistance, and coping.

In the course, students were taught and practiced reading, writing, discussion, and vocabulary development. Academic skills included reading university-level materials, carrying on discussions as they would take place in university classes, and thinking analytically. Students were exposed to various types of readings (essays, short stories, poetry, criticism). They discussed sometimes controversial or sensitive topics, learned vocabulary and concepts used in talking about literature and interpreting literature, and made connections. The cultural skills component involved an introduction to background knowledge that American students already have and raising students' cultural awareness. It included students' learning about the diversity issues which are now major topics on campuses and a validation of students and their own cultures. In addition, students were taught to portray differences and similarities and to recognize and deal with various forms of prejudice and discrimination.

Overall Structure of the Class

I first planned the overall theme and then chose the specific groups to be discussed, in this case, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, women, disabled people, and gays. Then I chose at least two readings, or sets of readings, for each group. The first reading was a nonfiction selection about the group, something either historical, sociological, or biographical, or a form of commentary. When possible, I chose readings by members of that group. The second reading or set of readings was literary. Short stories worked quite well; however, I found that for this purpose poetry worked best of all, partly for the practical reason that poems are short and could be covered within the limits of the two-hour class period and partly because they distill themes and emotions so powerfully and dramatically. For one minority group, I chose several poems by members of the group, ones that expressed or illustrated something about the lives of that group.

Each two-hour class was free standing, yet clearly connected with the other class periods and with the theme of the semester.

The first class of the semester involved an introduction of the theme and framework of the class. The students were told why this theme was chosen. The difficulty of this topic was discussed. Students were assured that they would not be required to discuss personal matters or reactions unless they wanted to and that there was no one right way of looking at these matters. It was also pointed out that the theme of prejudice could be discussed in many contexts, in many countries, but that I used the USA as an example since we were all here in the United States.

I realize that some ESL professionals may have concerns about the sensitive nature of this theme. One concern might be that the class may be seen as promoting one notion of social justice over others. However, although instructors may disagree about individual cases, I believe that most would agree that increasing understanding about various minority groups is beneficial and that examining prejudices is also beneficial. The instructor must make it very clear that each person has the right to have and state personal beliefs and that students will not be penalized in any way for their beliefs. Another concern I am aware of is that discussion of discrimination against minority groups in the United States might turn into "America bashing." As mentioned above, we study examples in the United States because we are here, but we also realize and discuss the unfortunate fact that such prejudice can be found all over the world.

I share these concerns, but I believe that the benefits of open discussion, and particularly of letting the students hear the voices of many cultures through their literature, greatly outweigh the potential problems. But I urge any instructors who may want to incorporate these themes or practices into their classes to do so with care and with sensitivity.

Structure of the Two-Hour Class Period

The week before each class, the students were given the assigned readings and asked to read them and try to understand and reflect on them as much as possible. In class, we discussed the reading about the minority group. I gave more information in a brief lecture format, with students adding their knowledge and/or asking questions. Connections were made with other minority groups already discussed and with the students' own knowledge and experience.

Students were then assigned to small groups of three or four and given a story or poem to be responsible for. In each group, students were to read the poem or other selection aloud to each other, check their understanding of the vocabulary and of the meaning of the poem, and discuss the reading and how they felt about it. I circulated, listened in, and answered questions. The students could check with me about pronunciation. The students were particularly asked to make connections among the current readings and other readings and discussions which had come before. On returning to the larger group, one or more students from each group first gave a brief (perhaps one minute) presentation to the whole class on what they had discussed and learned about their reading and their analyses, interpretations, and feelings. Finally, in the culminating activity, either one person from the group read the reading, or a selection from the reading, aloud, or each person in the group read a short poem or selection.

At the end of the class period, I gave the students a list of further works by authors from the minority group being discussed and encouraged them to look for these books in the library or in local bookstores. (At the beginning of the semester, I had given them a list of local bookstores, their locations, and a brief description of their specialties and atmospheres.) They were sometimes asked, as a homework assignment, to write a short response to the topic and poetry of the day to hand in at the next class meeting. At this time they were given the readings for the following class, with a few words of introduction to the minority group being discussed next.

Sample Unit

One unit was on Asian Americans. This topic was particularly appropriate because we have many Asian students in our program, especially from Japan, China, and Korea. Also, here on the west coast, students can see the Asian American communities around them, and some of them have at least heard of the experience of Asian Americans, such as that of the Chinese railway workers, and particularly that of the many Japanese Americans during World War II who were interned in camps and had their property confiscated. I realize that there are some problems with treating Asian Americans as one entity, and in one unit, but we were limited by time constraints. Consulting several anthologies and works on Asian American literature, such as Lim and Ling's *Reading the Literatures of Asian America* (Temple, 1992) and Chan et al's *The Big Aiiieeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* (Meridian, 1991), reassured me that scholars in that field see a rationale for grouping the experiences and the literature of peoples of various Asian backgrounds together in some contexts. This issue was also addressed with the students, so it was clear to them that grouping Asian Americans together did not mean that all Asian communities and cultures were considered the same.

The first reading for this unit was an abridged and adapted form of an article entitled "Living in the USA" by Joan Smith, published in the February 11, 1990 edition of the San Francisco *Chronicle and Examiner's* Image magazine. It describes the experiences of Japanese Americans in California, portraying such aspects as the lives of picture brides, racism, and the evacuation to camps. Specific examples and quotations are included. I gave the students background information about the Japanese presence in California, about what happened during World War II, and about the recent movement for reparations. I invited the students to share their knowledge and reactions; students became very involved in the ensuing discussion. Along the way, I answered questions about vocabulary.

Then we discussed the other readings they had been given ahead of time: A set of poems by several Japanese American and Chinese American poets taken from the anthologies *The Big Aiiieeee!* and Kim's *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (Temple, 1982). We talked in general terms about the topics and themes found in the poems, such as the humiliations imposed on new immigrants, the racist taunts suffered by adults and children alike, and the sustaining power of cultural pride. I again answered vocabulary and other questions. I had reassured them earlier that poetry cold be interpreted in many ways and that there was no one right answer regarding a poem's meaning. I tried to demystify poetry so that they wouldn't feel intimidated by it. As we explored the themes and images, many of which they could relate to, the students became much more comfortable with the poetry.

Then the students were divided into groups, and each group was assigned one or two poems as their responsibility. They read the poems aloud to each other, discussed them, looked up words, and consulted with me on vocabulary, pronunciation, and other concerns. I asked that they look at any connections they could find between the nonfiction selection and the information given them and the themes and images in the poems. As I walked around among the groups, I tried to give the students as much help as they asked for, without stepping in as the authority with the correct interpretation. During this group work, the students often developed a definite sense of ownership of their poems, and their sense of investment paid off in their involvement with the material.

After the group work, each group had a few minutes to share their poems with the rest of the class. They summarized their discussion, giving information and interpretations. Then one or more of the students in the group read aloud a poem or poems to the class. At this point, the class was always very silent, very attentive, and very receptive. In fact, after each poem was read, usually with great feeling, there was often a very charged moment of silence, which indicated very clearly the emotional impact of sharing the poetry and of hearing it read aloud.

Materials and Resources

Finding and putting together the materials for this class took time and research. As mentioned earlier, more and more textbooks have a multicultural focus and include both nonfiction and literature. There are also anthologies of literature by various ethnic groups: Hongo's *The Open Boat: Poems From Asian America* (Anchor, 1993); Lim's *The Forbidden Stitch: An Asian American Women's Anthology* (Calyx, 1989); Rosen's *Voices of the*

Rainbow: Contemporary Poetry by American Indians (Viking, 1975); Long's *Afro-American Writing: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry* (New York University, 1972); Harper and Walton's *Every Shut Eye Ain't Asleep: An Anthology of Poetry by African Americans Since 1945* (Little, Brown, 1994); Rebolledo's *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature* (University of Arizona, 1993); and the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Volume 2 (Heath, 1990). In addition, the instructor can watch for selections in the course of reading magazines, newspapers, and other periodicals.

Student Reactions

Student reactions to this class, this theme, and these activities were very positive. As mentioned above, the final reading aloud is a particularly powerful experience for both the readers and the audience. This experience was a reminder to me of the power of literature to move people, sometimes to their own surprise.

Students saw connections between the ideas and the literature and between the class and their own lives. For example, students who were from minority groups in their own countries told of bitter experiences they had suffered, such as being taunted as children or not being admitted to prestigious schools or universities in their countries because of quotas. Women students spoke of discrimination they had encountered.

Students understood better how destructive prejudice is and how we need to see and feel the common humanity of all groups. For example, for some students the most difficult topic was that of homosexuality. Several wrote of changing their attitudes from blanket condemnation to honestly attempting to understand and accept gay people. Another difficult topic was that of racism against African Americans. Unfortunately, many students held many negative and stereotypical notions about this minority group. Reading articles and poems about the devastating problems Blacks have had and the strengths displayed by the African American community despite such hardships helped the students to understand and feel sympathy.

Students also understood better that differences should be celebrated, yet universal characteristics should also draw us together. Although some students were often critical of aspects of American life, including its multiculturalism, the students' personal experience in the United States and their exposure to the ideas and literature in this and other university classes often started a process of examination of their own stereotypes, leading to revision of these preconceived notions or at least to more tolerance of various groups.

As the instructor, I too learned from this class, both in the process of gathering and preparing the materials and in the course of the classroom discussion and the reading of the poems.

Conclusion

Despite the time needed to pull materials together, the advantages and benefits of this class are many. At the same time that students practice and integrate English language skills, they are involved in reading and discussing meaningful materials and topics which will help them in their academic work, make them feel more engaged with literature, and help them to think critically, make connections, and develop themselves as individuals and as world citizens. ■

Footnotes

1 Examples in L_1 composition (some of which can be used in advanced ESL writing classes) include Joy's *We Are America* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992); Kirszner and Mandell's *Common Ground: Reading and Writing About America's Cultures* (St. Martin's, 1994); Verburg's *Ourselves Among Others: Cross-Cultural Readings for Writers* (St. Martin's, 1994); and LaGuardia and Guth's *American Voices: Multicultural Literacy and Critical Thinking* (Mayfield, 1993). ESL examples include LeBauer and Scarcella's *Reactions: Multicultural Reading-Based Writing Modules* (Regents/Prentice Hall, 1993); Spack's *The International Story: An Anthology With Guidelines for Reading and Writing About Fiction* (St. Martin's, 1994); Jackson and Di Pietro's *American Voices: An Integrated Skills Reader* (Heinle & Heinle, 1992); and Withrow et al's *Changes: Readings for ESL Writers* (St. Martin's, 1990).

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Compelling Instructor-Authored Computer Material for Wide-Ranging ESL Classes

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In the beginning-level ESL classes I teach at Gavilan College, I have students with an exceptionally wide range of educational backgrounds and a broad spectrum of English proficiencies. Nothing new, right? For me, the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back was the semester I had an MD, a high school teacher, and three minimally literate students in the same beginning class.

But I was able to tailor instruction to each student's needs and abilities in our computer lab. Each week, for one of the five 50-minute classes I had with this group, I taught a literacy skills class in the computer lab. The user-friendly software chosen, *Rhubarb* and *Double Up* by RDA Associates, promotes development of reading and listening/speaking through demonstrated performance. I did more individual and/or small group conferencing, and the students communicated more with each other during those 50 minutes than during any other class period during the week. In other words, we talked and listened a lot! I also noticed a sharp increase in voluntary attendance in the computer lab during the students' out of class time.

In this article I will discuss the two software packages we used – *Rhubarb* and *Double Up* – and the authoring option which each program provides. I will also discuss two student/instructor/staff-authored novellas written using these programs. My goal for you, the reader, is that you will see the self-authoring component of these programs as the valuable tool that it is and that soon, you too, will author your own material directly related to your classes.

How Do *Rhubarb* and *Double Up* Work?

Rhubarb and *Double Up* were designed to give students practice reconstructing sentences. Students see the words of a very short sentence arranged as an alphabetical list on the lower half of a computer screen. The object is to arrange those words in sequential order, one (in *Rhubarb*) or two (in *Double Up*) word(s) at a time to reconstruct the sentence. There are two options. The student can either read the text in its entirety by pressing F3 on the keyboard before typing the first word, or the student can guess at the first word. Whether guessing or recalling, the student types one word. If correct, the word disappears from where it was typed at the lower half of the screen, and it appears as many times as it is written in the text on the upper half of the screen. It also disappears from the list of alphabetical words. At this point the student can chose to read the text again, guess again, or simply type another word which s/he recalls. This cycle of rereading, recalling, or guessing and then typing is repeated until the entire sentence is complete. For most students, rapid progress is made in reconstructing the first sentence. Another sentence is tackled. Typically, 8 to 10 individual sentences unrelated to each other yet part of the overall theme being taught in class (not in paragraph form) are completed during the first 50 minutes. Students are not required to use capital letters or punctuation correctly.

Rhubarb and *Double Up* offer authoring programs for instructors who would like to write material directly related to class content. The authoring aspect is key to being able to meet the wide spectrum of students' abilities. It also allows these programs to concentrate on different grammar objectives or sets of vocabulary. Before reaching the sentences to be worked with, users are asked if they want to write their own material or use material already available. While I ask the students to choose the second option, I choose the former and type the sentences and eventually the paragraphs I want the students to work with. I am often asked if it is necessary to begin authoring before using these programs with the students. It depends on the level you are teaching. I have found that the texts that come with the software packages are appropriate for intermediate students. However I have beginning students use materials I have written first.

How to Start

Prior to our first class meeting in the computer lab, I accompany two students from the class to the lab who have slightly better English language skills than the other students or have computer experience. I teach them how to use *Rhubarb*. The next day we return to the computer lab with these two tutors plus two additional class members for each tutor. We alternately review and teach what the tutors learned the previous day. After four days there are 12 tutors, and on the fifth day I take the entire class to the computer lab. Those 12 tutors are paired with 12 students who know nothing of the program. I work with any remaining students. By then, word is out that something exciting is happening in the computer lab, and there is a strong anticipatory feeling among the students.

To get started, I distribute clear, precise directions how to access the software in either the students' first language or in English. My intention is that the students not be intimidated by the actual process of getting to the material to be used. I monitor closely the students' progress by constantly circulating and talking with the students, and as soon as possible I give those students who choose instructions in L1 a parallel list of instructions in English. Even following the instructions generates a lot of conversation!

I begin by using *Rhubarb* with the students since it requires only one word to be recalled and typed at a time. After having success with about 20 sentences, the students begin reconstructing small paragraphs. Students usually reconstruct about 60 paragraphs although the actual number of sentences and paragraphs reconstructed is individually based on student need and progress. As the instructor, I conference with the student, and we mutually decide when the student is ready for more advanced material. All instructor sentences and paragraphs are content related.

After students are comfortable reconstructing paragraphs, I introduce *Double Up*. Similar steps are followed to reconstruct sentences using this program. The exception is that two words are now typed at a time. The most advanced level of the material using *Double Up* is organized as paragraphs that are chapters in two original novellas. Each paragraph is an ongoing part of the story. That each paragraph clearly leads to the next paragraph is indicated by a continuation of an idea or repetition of a concept. Clearly, students build on what they have already learned. One novella was written by students with help from classified staff members, and I wrote the other novella. The novella written by the students was original work with no skeleton theme provided by me. Each student or groups of students wrote a chapter based on what they read in the previous student-authored chapter.

In both *Rhubarb* and *Double Up*, there are two ways of getting help. First, the students can choose, as often as they like, to have the computer place one or two words in the text. Second, as mentioned, they can read the text in its entirety before beginning to type.

As the students become more adept with the programs, they begin to explore two other available options. The first option is to begin competing against a partner. Students choose to compete as individuals rather than

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teams. As each student types a word, the computer posts a percentage score of each student's correct guesses. Another option is to take turns with the computer. This is difficult for the students since they cannot read the text and can only guess at words. After each of their own guesses, the computer types a word.

Content of the Novellas

At my college the first and second semester ESL curricula are organized around the following topics: family, health, shopping, community, employment, and leisure. All instructor-authored sentences and paragraphs used in the computer lab are directly related to what is being taught in the classroom. The sentences, paragraphs, and one of the novellas follow these course content themes.

The first novella introduced to the students, *Anna and Luisa*, is instructor authored. Originally, I intended that the students would complete each chapter of *Anna and Luisa* as that unit's survival content was taught in class. However, by the time individuals started *Anna and Luisa* they were hooked on computers and attending the computer lab at a startling weekly rate (up to 10 hours) during their free time. Therefore, for many students the vocabulary in *Anna and Luisa* became a preview of what was to be studied.

The first novella actually student written, *Paco, Luis, and Maria*, has more zest than *Anna and Luisa*. I think the reason for this is that students from the class wrote it without content constraint. As each chapter was written, I met with the author(s) and helped them fine-tune their efforts by correcting grammar, punctuation, spelling, suggesting transition words, and so on.

After completing *Anna and Luisa*, students begin the second novella, *Paco, Luis, and Maria*. The last chapter in each novella is deliberately left open-ended to encourage other students to continue the stories.

Thinking and Consulting Needed to Sequence Each Chapter

Once the students complete the sections of each chapter, they read them carefully to put the chapter sections in chronological order. Students are encouraged to consult with peers, ESL student tutors, computer center and writing center personnel, and instructors to complete this task.

Furthermore, students are required to turn in each chapter, once it is sequenced, to the instructor for a miniconference. We discuss what has happened in the most current chapter reconstructed, and the students predict what they think will happen next.

Lab Attendance

For each of the three classes attended at the beginning level, students are required to attend one hour per week in a lab setting. Students I taught during the spring of 1992 attended labs at a rate double the minimum required. I believe this was partially due to the computer lab material being directly related to class content. Since community college funding is partially based on attendance figures generated in the various labs, the administration was certainly pleased with this increased lab attendance!

Summary

Rhubarb and *Double Up* offer authoring programs for instructors who would like to write material directly related to class content. Both software packages are user friendly. Students demonstrate their enthusiasm for these programs by their high attendance in the computer lab, which far exceeds the weekly required hour, as well as by eagerly writing chapters in a novella. ■

The author welcomes comments and would like to hear from other ESL instructors using software that really works. She can be reached at Gavilan College, 5055 Santa Teresa Blvd., Gilroy, CA 95020.

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Healthcare – The Ultimate Life Skill

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Communicative language teaching is based on the assumption that language is best acquired when learners are actively engaged in meaningful interactions and focused on content which reflects their needs and interests and has application to their lives outside of the classroom. In adult education, the obvious context for language learning is life skills – those real life situations which learners navigate on a day-to-day basis. Health care is perhaps the most critical of all life skills, yet it receives the least attention in life skills textbooks.

Negotiating the health care system in the United States to obtain treatment is a daunting task for native-born Americans and can be especially traumatizing to immigrants and refugees who have limited English proficiency and vastly different cultural assumptions and beliefs with regard to health care. Navigating the health care system requires sophistication, perseverance, and understanding of the implicit culturally framed structure in which health care is provided. ESL instructors can play a crucial role in assisting their students uncover the hidden rules and practices of the American health care system and develop the language skills necessary to communicate their health care needs.

Lacking the tools and language capability to maneuver through the health care system, many newcomers to the United States fall between the cracks. In a 1988 study conducted by the Research in the Sociology of Health Care Project, 60% of Southeast Asians surveyed reported major problems in obtaining health care due to language and cultural obstacles. Language problems were most acute for Khmer and Cambodians, 85% of whom reported access difficulties. Latin Americans and Asians, it was found, have the highest numbers of uninsured of any population, and Asian and Pacific Islanders are the least likely to have access to employer-provided health insurance. For example, according to the Korean Health Services Task Force, more than 50% of Koreans and 37% of Chinese and Southeast Asians surveyed had no health coverage and had little knowledge of how to secure health insurance. Confusion regarding eligibility for services, fear of deportation, and concerns about jeopardizing immigration status are powerful deterrents to the utilization of health care services among immigrant populations. Those who are seeking permanent residency for themselves or their families are often unclear as to whether they qualify for publicly funded services such as MediCal or Medicaid and may fear that the use of health services will compromise their immigration status. (Although immigrants may be denied permanent residency if they are considered *public charges*, utilization of public health care programs alone is usually not sufficient cause to deny residency.)

Poor or nonexistent preventative care contributes to the overall poor health care of immigrants and refugees. In a 1991 survey of Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese women in southern California, researchers for the national Council on Negro Women found that 59% of the respondents had not had annual gynecological exams. Researchers Fasano, Hayes, and Wilson discovered that 50% of Southeast Asians surveyed in Texas were unaware or unsure where their children's immunizations had been administered or where immunizations were available. Further, in a 1986 study conducted by the California Department of Health Resources, 47% of Lao and Cambodian women surveyed had no prenatal care during their first trimester. Forty-nine percent did not have personal physicians. Not surprisingly given these statistics, researchers found a chronic overuse of emergency rooms for health treatment among these populations. Fasano and colleagues found that 41% of Laotians and 69% of Vietnamese surveyed reported emergency rooms as their first place for treatment.

The above studies identified a number of access problems immigrants and refugees must overcome in securing health care services. These include (a) confusion about eligibility for health insurance for noncitizens; (b) lack of routine preventative care, such as immunizations, annual exams, stress management, and routine screening for high blood pressure and cholesterol; and (c) inability to communicate effectively with health care professionals due to language and cultural barriers.

Barriers to Health Care Access

Limited proficiency in English is one of the most formidable obstacles to quality health care for most immigrants and refugees. Inability to describe ailments, understand instructions of medical practitioners, and read health-related materials prevent many from accessing the health care system. Immigrants are frequently unable, for example, to describe their health histories to medical practitioners, including previous illnesses, family health history, or allergies to certain drugs, because they lack the appropriate terminology or are often simply unaware of the illnesses they or their family members have had or drugs they have taken. Many also lack the English literacy skills necessary to read signs and instructions in hospitals and clinics, comprehend and complete applications and registration forms, or read health-related educational materials. Clearly, diagnosis of illnesses is hampered when medical practitioners cannot obtain adequate medical histories, and compliance with treatment regimens is difficult when instructions are not understood because of language differences.

Bilingual health care workers provide some relief, but their services are generally unavailable to most limited English proficient immigrants due to a general dearth of trained bilingual staff in the health industry. It is not uncommon, for example, to find individuals with housekeeping or clerical skills translating in medical settings. Literal translations which are not understood within the patient's cultural context are therefore commonplace. Health facilities which have some bilingual staffing during the day often lack trained interpreters for emergency access on a 24-hour basis. Because the majority of bilingual health care interpreters are not trained in medical terminology and concepts, their ability to provide professional translating services are of limited value to non- or limited-English proficient patients. Although bilingual health education materials exist in some languages, these have minimal value to those who have substandard native language literacy.

There are a host of cultural barriers to health care access as well. Cultural barriers are built into the western biomedical model, which emphasizes isolating and treating different ailments, rather than a holistic approach common in many other cultures. This tendency toward specialization can be confusing and unnerving for immigrants and refugees who have traditionally relied on a sole medical practitioner or healer for all of their health care needs. The practice of visiting a variety of doctors and scheduling appointments up to two months in advance for medical check-ups and treatments seems odd and inappropriate to many newcomers.

In addition to these structural barriers, there are a myriad of other cultural barriers. Just talking about an illness is problematic for many immigrants and refugees for a number of reasons. Gould-Martin and Ning (1981) found that some Asian Pacific Americans understate their physical complaints in an effort to be polite, unassuming, or stoic. Muecke (1983) suggests that some immigrants and refugees believe that speaking of a malady is thought to cause the illness or make it worse. Often newcomers to the U.S. are reticent to ask physicians questions because they don't want to imply they are questioning the physicians' authority. Grizzel, Savale, Scott, and Detroit state in a 1980 report on Indochinese refugees that in many cultures, medical professionals are held in such high esteem that patients simply follow instructions without question. Most immigrants, therefore, do not realize the importance, or even the available option, of visiting more than one doctor to get second opinions. Finally, many immigrants and refugees are reluctant or unable to describe folk medicines which they are taking. Some remedies have residual effects and may work against western medicines prescribed by physicians.

Guidelines for Preparing A Health Care Life Skills Curriculum

As critical as health care life skills are to immigrants and refugees, there is a conspicuous absence of health-related material in most life skills textbooks. Those which include health care units focus on describing symptoms of simple ailments (flu, colds, an occasional broken arm) to doctors and rescue workers, calling for emergency services, and reading non-prescription medicine labels. Clearly a health care life skill curriculum must go beyond such surface level patient/practitioner interactions and simplified reading skill development. A comprehensive life skills curriculum which addresses the real life needs of nonnative English speakers must include information about the health care system in the United States and the state within which the immigrant or refugee is living, as well as the language and cultural knowledge needed to interact successfully with health care professionals. Further, it should include development of reading skills necessary to interpret medical informational materials, prescription and non-prescription medicine labels, and signs and warnings, as well as writing skills needed to complete applications and registration forms. The following charts detail the major components of a comprehensive ESL health care curriculum.

The Health Care System

Health Care Insurance Plans	• Options to coverage • Eligibility requirements • Payment options • Family coverage
Physicians	• Kinds of medical specialists • Choosing a physician/dentist • The referral system • Getting second opinions • Locating culturally sensitive/ bilingual health providers
Hospitals and Clinics	• The structure of local public and private hospitals • Services provided by public clinics and hospitals • Eligibility requirements and payment options • Visitation policies in hospitals • Accessing bilingual services

Health Care Services

Emergency Assistance	• Emergencies vs. non-emergencies • Calling 9-1-1 • Ambulance services and fees • Calling crisis hotlines
Preventative Health Care	• Stress management • Screening exams • Immunization for children and adults • Prenatal care • Nutrition
*Disease Treatment/ Prevention**	• Tuberculosis • Hepatitis • AIDS • Hypertension

* With the exception of AIDS, these are common diseases which affect immigrant and refugee populations.

Interacting With Medical Professionals

Language Functions	• Describing personal and family health histories • Describing symptoms and ailments • Asking for explanation of disease causes, treatments, and medical procedures • Asking for referrals to specialists • Clarifying understanding of explanations, instructions, and procedures • Describing folk remedies and treatments one is using • Clarifying instructions from pharmacists • Expressing fears and concerns
Reading	• Interpreting signs in hospitals, clinics, medical offices • Understanding medical labels on prescription and non-prescription medicines • Comprehending health-related literature • Understanding insurance plans and bills
Writing	• Filling out insurance applications and claim forms • Completing health inventories, application, and registration materials

Clearly access to quality health care is a basic right which many immigrants and refugees do not enjoy. Inability to communicate health care needs to medical practitioners due to language and cultural barriers and lack of understanding of the health care system in the United States are the chief obstacles to securing quality health care for this population. ESL professionals can play an important role in helping their students overcome these barriers by designing health care life skills curricula and materials which empower this population to access the health care system. Health units should be included in life skill courses for adult immigrants and refugees as well as ESL courses in college and university settings.

In preparing health care related curriculum materials, instructors can utilize health informational materials produced by hospitals, public clinics, county public information offices, and insurance companies. Students can develop reading skills strategies using these authentic reading materials and gain valuable health care information at the same time. Representatives from county health departments, school health offices, AIDS organizations, and health-related community agencies can provide valuable information for curriculum and materials development and are often willing to schedule classroom presentations on a variety of health-related topics. The teaching materials listed in the reference section of this article provide additional resources for instructors interested in providing health care life skills training in the ESL classroom. ■

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The CATESOL Journal REVIEW

Editor's Note

■ In this issue of *The CATESOL Journal* multiculturalism weaves a colorful thread throughout the reviews. Two research texts suitable for teacher-training courses examine issues associated with literacy from the reference point of diverse cultures. Two postsecondary reading texts include numerous selections by ethnic minorities and women. Book Bytes describe three multicultural readers for a variety of ages and instructional settings and a methods text composed of ESL/EFL teachers' contributions worldwide.

Successful reading pedagogy demands an understanding of the literacy ways our students bring to us. Thus in Dubin and Kuhlman's *Cross-Cultural Literacy: Global Perspectives on Reading and Writing* (reviewed by Beth Maher), literacy practices in other countries and cultures are analyzed with an eye to enhancing learning. Denise Murray's *Diversity as Resource* (reviewed by Elizabeth Whalley) explores literacy issues of the various subcultures within the United States and provides classroom activities for the teacher or student teacher grounded in this information.

Saitz and Stieglitz' *Short Takes in Fiction* and Richard-Amato's *Exploring Themes: An Interactive Approach to Literature* (both reviewed by Cheryl Chan) supply intermediate to advanced students with challenging reading selections as a basis for refining reading skills. Diverse literature becomes the vehicle for understanding meanings in text.

These longer reviews are followed by Book Bytes, each focusing on literacy from a practical perspective: first, a new resource for teachers of reading from TESOL; next, a multicultural, intermediate-level reader for ESL students in grades 5-12; then, a global anthology of folk literature intended, in its thematic approach, for adults and mature secondary students; and finally, an integrated skills text at the postsecondary level for advanced students, which includes authors from English-speaking countries on several continents.

Elizabeth Leite
Review Editor

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Cross-Cultural Literacy: Global Perspectives on Reading and Writing

Fraida Dubin and Natalie A. Kuhlman.
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents. 1992.

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For any instructor who teaches reading or writing, be it at the literacy level or at the university level, *Cross-Cultural Literacy: Global Perspectives on Reading and Writing*, a collection of short essays on literacy practices worldwide, should be on the list of required reading. This engaging, easy to read book encourages those of us who teach reading and writing to reconsider some of the underlying assumptions we make about literacy. In addition to exploring current theories about literacy and its role in different societies, the authors in this collection provide insights and suggestions for the classroom.

Any discussion of literacy must begin with a definition of the term. The editors of this collection appropriately devote the introduction to this purpose. Though commonly used to define the reading and writing skills required for filling out a job application, reading the newspaper, or operating a computer, the word *literacy* has recently been redefined by scholars like Brian Street. No longer is literacy viewed as merely the ability to read and write in a given language. Instead, it "reflects sociocultural norms of behavior" (Street, 1993 p. xiv). In other words, literacy has different meanings and uses and produces a variety of results in different cultures.

Each of the 12 chapters in the book describes a different culture and how that culture's values, beliefs, and practices regarding literacy may be different from those of American culture. For instance, the chapter on Korea, after a brief outline of some of the remarkable aspects of the Korean relationship to reading and writing, describes how a teacher can incorporate this knowledge into an ESL literacy or writing class. Because Korean society values poetry and short stories and expects most people to be able to read and write them, ESL writing teachers are advised to use these genres in their classes. In this way, Korean students can begin writing in English using a familiar form.

The authors also suggest that writing teachers take extra time to sell the idea of revisions and process writing to Korean students. This suggestion is based on the observation that, according to the Korean value system, good writers think for a long time before they write and, when they do write, they make few revisions. Koreans learn that good writers do not write a thesis statement and so leave the reader to glean the meaning from the text. Students raised to approach writing in this way will most likely be confused by and resistant to the American method of process writing.

Another chapter provides a brief discussion of the Chinese educational system and the expectations Chinese students have upon entering an American university. The author describes how Chinese students are not asked to question or to challenge the printed word or their teachers. Essentially, they are seldom asked to think critically at all, leaving them underprepared for the American university despite their level of English proficiency. To address this problem, the author of this chapter suggests strategies for teaching students the reading, writing, and critical thinking skills necessary for success in American classrooms.

Not all chapters in the book offer explicit suggestions for the classroom. Some raise questions and provide key insights into specific literacy issues. For instance, the chapter on the use of spoken Hawaiian creole in relation to written Standard English provides food for thought for teachers working within an American subculture with its own dialect. Refugee literacy teachers will be especially interested in the chapter which describes choices preliterate Hmong refugees make between different language literacy classes offered in refugee camps.

Of all the chapters, two in particular seem to reflect most accurately the emerging definition of literacy. These two chapters demonstrate how any class in literacy is also a class in the literate culture's values and that these values might be in direct conflict with students' values.

The first of these describes literacy practices on a South Pacific island. The authors examine the role of language and literacy in intergenerational relationships, an issue recently explored in the U.S. context by Weinstein-Shr (in press). Due to the shift from an oral to a print-based culture in recent decades, much of the traditional social structure on the island has collapsed. Elders brought up in the days of the oral tradition were not given the positions of power due to them because they lacked the necessary literacy skills to operate in the postcolonial governments. Children no longer relied on the community of elders to transmit cultural norms and history through dialog and storytelling. Instead the children read written descriptions of their own culture and history. The authors make a strong case for the idea that literacy is not simply a technological tool. It is an agent of social change and, in this case, a change that resulted in the erosion of traditional behaviors and values.

In another chapter we learn about an oral tradition community that managed to acquire the dominant culture's literacy and interwoven cultural values without losing their own traditional values. The authors describe a successful campaign by Aborigines in Australia to gain control of their community school. Aborigines come from an oral tradition but have been forced to learn English literacy due to economic necessity. In their struggle to learn English, the Aborigines were aware that several kinds of English existed. One Aboriginal leader describes his desire to learn the "secret" English:

> We want to learn. Not the kind of English you teach [us] in class, but your secret English. We don't understand that English, but you do. To us you seem to say one thing and do another. That's the English we want our children to learn. (p. 94)

Clearly, the Aborigines understood the significance of the cultural values encoded in words. And language that is taught without explaining or addressing those values is of little use and certainly should not be called *survival English* as it so often is in the US. The authors make it clear that issues of language and ethnic identity should concern all education professionals.

The book's breadth of literacy issues is impressive. However, given such a broad range of contexts from which to explore the topic, it's surprising to see no discussion of gender. Literacy and gender is a topic recently brought into the limelight by scholars such as Kathleen Rockhill. Like the authors in this collection, Rockhill (1990) addresses the sociopolitical aspect of literacy within a defined population – in her case, women. An article examining the power relations between men and women with respect to literacy would have been a welcome balance to this collection.

Regardless of the omission, *Cross-Cultural Literacy* is a stimulating and provocative book. Given the multiethnic nature of ESL classes and the increasingly diverse elementary and secondary school classes, it's essential for teachers to be informed about the cultural differences regarding literacy. In addition to its thorough discussion of cross-cultural issues, this book offers teachers practical suggestions for incorporating cross-cultural under-

10.0

standing into reading and writing instruction. These suggestions save the volume from being purely theoretical and make it a useful resource for any ESL writing or literacy teacher. ■

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The CATESOL Journal
REVIEW

Diversity as Resource

Denise E. Murray, Ed. Alexandria, VA:
Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. 1992.

ELIZABETH WHALLEY
San Francisco State University

Two things that ESL teachers and teachers-in-training most want (and need) to continue learning about are the culture and linguistic diversity of their students. *Diversity as Resource* masterfully provides information on these topics.

The book is a collection of chapters written by experts and organized into three sections: theory and methodology, literacy practices, and classroom activities and tasks. *Diversity as Resource* includes information on a multiplicity of ESL groups (recent and established immigrants), African Americans, and native Americans. Because the chapters focus on children and families as well as college students, it is of interest to teachers at all levels.

Each section offers an abundance of information. In the first section, Expanding Assumptions About Literacy and Culture, Keith Walters examines the experience of nonmainstream Americans and asks, "Whose Culture? Whose Literacy?" He also considers options which go beyond Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know.* Anna O. Soter presents first the standard schema for assessing writing and next shows what African American student writers think about academic writing. She then poses this most important question: "If we do not use the criteria of the academic community to evaluate the quality of their writing, what criteria do we use?" She responds to the question and offers specific recommendations, such as using models, to help African American student writers in the classroom. Her suggestions are applicable to all ESL populations as well.

In the third chapter Denise E. Murray, Patricia C. Nichols, and Allison Heisch discuss a survey they used to identify the languages and cultures of their students. Among the interesting results of the survey (and a fact we read over and over again) was that "the more students were read to as children, the better their academic writing." (The authors do not know in what language these students were read to, but their having been read to as children was pivotal in terms of their achievement as writers.) They also noted that students are unreliable when they are evaluating their own writing. For example, the authors cite the case of one student who thought that he was a good writer because of his knowledge of English grammar. In fact, he was a good writer because of his use of humor and his ability to move the reader. His grammar errors, however, were as frequent as those of his classmates! The survey is appended so that readers can use it if they wish.

The middle section, Specific Literacies and Uses of Language, has six chapters. It is uplifting to read Ann John's case study of a Lao college freshman who gained quite a mastery over her new culture. The study is as engaging as any short story. An Implications for Instruction section is filled with useful suggestions and includes a valuable discussion of how the student found her way on the road to success.

Evelyn Baker Dandy's engrossing chapter, which presents components of Black communications, is designed to help teachers communicate better with their students and help their students make use of their own cultural strengths. Other interesting studies follow: how Mexicanos read the world and resulting educational implications by Olga A Vasquez; how Khmer students' behavior is connected to their history and culture by Usha Welaratna; and how a Puerto Rican student from New York fared in graduate school on the West Coast by Christine Pearson Casanave. Finally, Tamara Lucas examines how eight female students from a variety of countries (Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and El Salvador) approached journal writing. She found "from the teachers' points of view, all of the writers were presented with the 'same' writing tasks, but by the time the tasks were in the hands of the writers, they were not the same anymore." The excerpts from interviews with the students make fascinating reading.

In the final section of the book, Teaching Diverse Learners, Daniel McLaughlin takes a critical look at the relationship between school knowledge and power. He discusses a community-controlled school on the Navajo Reservation and specifies the conditions for student and teacher empowerment. Denise E. Murray's chapter, "Unlimited Resources," provides classroom activities which make students responsible for their own learning. In "Language in the Attic," Patricia C. Nichols presents exercises to help make teachers remember their own linguistic histories and from these experiences to understand what their non-White and/or ESL students feel as they struggle to learn the language and customs of the public schools.

In addition to excellent readings and valuable discussion topics and projects at the end of each chapter, the book also includes specific materials such as curriculum and questionnaires. Here's one text which instructors can use without feeling that they need to devise new or additional exercises. The ones included are intelligent and varied.

All in all, it's a terrific book, useful for future and current ESL teachers. ■

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REVIEW

Short Takes in Fiction: Critical Thinking, Reading, and Writing

Robert L. Saitz and Francine B. Stieglitz.
Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. 1993.

Exploring Themes: An Interactive Approach to Literature

Patricia A. Richard-Amato. White Plains, NY: Longman. 1993.

CHERYL CHAN
American Language Institute, San Francisco State University

With the demand for diversity and multiculturalism in the curriculum, programs and teachers alike are now trying to incorporate readings by traditionally underrepresented people into American classrooms. This shift has, of course, affected ESL teachers as well. Two reading texts, *Short Takes in Fiction: Critical Thinking, Reading and Writing* by Robert L. Saitz and Francine B. Stieglitz and Patricia A. Richard-Amato's *Exploring Themes: An Interactive Approach to Literature*, address the demand for multicultural readers designed for ESL students. Although neither professes to be a multicultural reader, both include authentic works by women and ethnic minorities as well as writers already a part of the literary canon, while providing excellent activities for improving reading strategies.

Short Takes in Fiction is designed for intermediate-level students. Its 18 readings are excerpts from writing by 20th century authors including Amy Tan, Jamaica Kincaid, W. Somerset Maugham, and Raymond Carver; the writings were chosen to have universal relevance so that students may draw on their own ideas to interpret the text and to generate multiple meanings. The readings are organized into six units with themes: Exploring Differences, Relationships, Mysteries, Going Places, Values: What's Important, and Milestones. The units themselves are arranged identically: an introduction followed by prereading questions, the readings, and finally the review.

Similarly, the organization for individual readings is identical. Each selection has prereading exercises: an introduction to the reading and the writer followed by questions. After the reading are vocabulary exercises. The comprehension questions that follow generally test literal understanding, but some also ask students to infer from the reading and to extend these ideas to their own experiences. Each reading also has sentence-level exercises. In each chapter, Saitz and Stieglitz provide an exercise on connecting ideas (through certain subordinating conjunctions and transition words, for example) as well as a variety of exercises which allow students to practice different sentence constructions that express the sentiment of the reading. For example, for the reading "Significant Moments in the Life of My Mother" by Margaret Atwood, the text asks students to practice using *usually/never*, the construction *upset by*, and the word *despite*.

Suggestions for Discussion and Writing attempt to connect the meaning in the text with the student's experience with varying degrees of success. Some questions have little relation to the text; others are too broad. Fortunately there are always a number of questions to choose from, many of which provide excellent opportunities to extend meanings. Finally, each reading has suggestions for independent study, which may ask students to read another piece by the author or to look up words in the dictionary. At the end of each unit is a list of review questions. Here, Saitz and Stieglitz ask students to examine the similarities and differences between the unit readings, thus allowing them to integrate ideas between pieces.

In addition to the type and number of readings, the strength of Saitz and Stieglitz' book lies in the type of skills addressed and in the sheer number and variety of exercises provided. Prereading and comprehension questions, suggestions for discussion, and independent study sections allow students to use their background knowledge to construct meaning while the vocabulary and sentence-level exercises help students to improve their language skills. Of course, both types of knowledge are essential for efficient reading. Saitz and Stieglitz also offer a large number of each type of exercise, thus giving teachers the opportunity to pick only those questions and constructions which best benefit their own classes and students. The readings are also a strength of the book, but the length of the individual readings is often somewhat short (one to two and a half pages), especially in comparison to the length of the unit introductions and the reading introductions. The ratio here clearly shows the purpose of the book: The readings serve as jumping-off points for language skills.

While *Short Takes in Fiction* emphasizes intermediate-level skills, *Exploring Themes* is primarily a reading text for high-intermediate and advanced students. Literature here includes short stories, essays, biography, poems, songs, and cartoons divided into 10 thematic units such as Between Two Cultures, Letting Go, Images of Growing Old, and Survival. The essays, stories, and biographical sketches, both adaptations and original pieces by writers representing a variety of cultural and ethnic experiences, range in length from 1 to 9 pages. Unlike Short Takes in Fiction, which included three readings per unit, there is a good amount of reading of the text to be done. However, with only one long and one or two short readings per unit, the purpose of the thematic units is somewhat undermined. With so few readings per theme, students may not be able to take full advantage of trying to gain background on each one.

Nonetheless, the reading activities, for the most part, are excellent. Each unit has a short prereading activity, usually a brief introduction with discussion questions. The readings themselves have vocabulary lists at the bottom of each page, and a section calling for an examination of the prereading activity follows. Another difference between *Short Takes in Fiction* and *Exploring Themes* is that the former has exactly the same type of activity for each reading. *Exploring Themes*, in contrast, varies the number and type of activities depending on their applicability to the reading. Comprehension questions occur in all units, and sections on relating the text to personal experience or beliefs and comparing cultural expectations appear in almost all. Making inferences and drawing comparisons occur in over half. Several other types of activities apply to what we usually consider the study of literature. That is, exercises to identify devices such as foreshadowing, point of view, and character development appear in three units. Throughout the book, graphics, text type, and illustrations are used effectively to point out changes in the task and text.

Although *Exploring Themes* lacks in-depth unit exploration, the text is, in general, comprehensive. The readings represent a range of writers, including John Steinbeck, Thomas Whitecloud, and Kahlil Gibran. All in all, the variety of activities would most definitely allow students to draw on their own knowledge to make sense of the text and to extend its meaning. Being able to do so makes reading interactive or, as Richard-Amato says, makes reading require an "interplay between reader and text and between reader and others in the classroom" (p. vi). The reader creates meaning in the text by incorporating new ideas with existing background knowledge. Thus, the purpose of this text is not to get students to gain better reading skills, but to promote skills that will become strategies used to comprehend and extend the meaning of the readings.

While *Short Takes in Fiction* includes activities for working on sentence constructions and vocabulary items that occur in the text, *Exploring Themes* does very little in working on the language of its readings. The book does have several sections on understanding figurative language, certainly a necessity for working with literature, as well as a word bank. The word bank is a space for a vocabulary list and directions for keeping one. Since this text is meant for high-intermediate students, teachers should provide needed vocabulary exercises as well as exercises which explore the constructions used in the pieces of writing.

Still, *Short Takes in Fiction* and *Exploring Themes* provide excellent opportunities for students to improve reading strategies. Both have excellent reading and writing activities based on authentic works by authors of diverse backgrounds. While neither really provides enough text for a pure reading course, both would be welcome additions to a reading and writing or a multiskills class. ■

The CATESOL Journal

BOOK BYTES

ELIZABETH LEITE
Mt. Diablo Unified School District

New Ways in Teaching Reading

Richard R. Day.
TESOL, Inc. 1993.

One of the first volumes in a series highlighting innovative classroom techniques, this book is a collection of activities contributed by teachers who have used them in their teaching of reading in ESL and EFL classrooms worldwide. The editor chose techniques to include based on their ability to be used by other teachers in other settings. Accordingly, there should be sufficient materials with which to develop hours of successful lessons for a variety of instructional contexts.

The activities are arranged in three major divisions: extensive, intensive, and oral reading. The largest section, intensive reading, includes activities and tasks for prereading, prediction, comprehension, main ideas, organization and structure, scanning, skimming, academic reading, reading rate, literature, assessment, dictionaries, cohesion, and games for young readers. This very complete resource on reading is laid out clearly, and each technique is identified by level, aims, class time, and preparation time. ■

Tales of Courage, Tales of Dreams: A Multicultural Reader

John Mundahl.
Addison-Wesley. 1993.

Tales of Courage, Tales of Dreams is an intermediate-level reader for ESL students in grades 5-12. The selections include stories written by the author based on cultural themes, as well as poetry, biography, and folktales chosen from around the world. Also included are pieces written by actual ESL students.

A section, To the Teacher, offers comments on responding to literature as well as suggestions for teaching the text. These suggestions incorporate group activities involving art, some of which will no doubt be popular in the middle school setting. Each unit includes selections which are thematically linked and concludes with a few questions for discussion and/or writing. Difficult vocabulary is glossed in the side margin of the page where it occurs. ■

World Folktales: An Anthology of Multicultural Folk Literature

Anita Stern.
National Textbook Co. 1994.

Described as a "global anthology of timeless folk literature," this reader for intermediate- to advanced-level adult and secondary students includes stories from cultures whose literature is rarely translated and published in English. There are selections from regions as diverse as Haiti, Iran, and the Philippines. The truly international nature of these selections should make the text quite interesting to multicultural ESL classes.

Each unit involves pre-and postreading activities with an emphasis placed on exploring themes. An attempt to create meaningfulness is indicated by the section, In Everyday Life (the final postreading activity), where students are asked to examine the theme in terms of contemporary issues. An accompanying *Teacher's Manual* includes lesson plans and notes on the texts. ■

Across Cultures: Universal Themes in Literature

Phyllis L. Lim and William Smalzer.
Heinle & Heinle. 1994.

Across Cultures is a high-intermediate to advanced, integrated skills text for postsecondary students. While reading is emphasized throughout, listening, speaking, and writing are part of each lesson. The authors have assembled 18 literature selections from countries that use English as either a first or second language. These selections include both poetry and excerpts from larger pieces. Accordingly there are selections from the U.S., England, Ireland, Australia, Nigeria, and India. Included are true greats in fiction such as R.K. Narayan, D.H. Lawrence, Katherine Anne Porter, and others of equal stature.

A general format is established to provide consistency. The prereading phase includes a discussion activity and/or listening passage from the work. Background is provided so that students will be able to understand the text. As students read they are focused through the use of "signpost questions." Afterwards, students respond through various activities and finally move beyond to discuss or write about themes. In its thoroughness, this format should enhance both specific reading skills and comprehension in advanced-level students. ■

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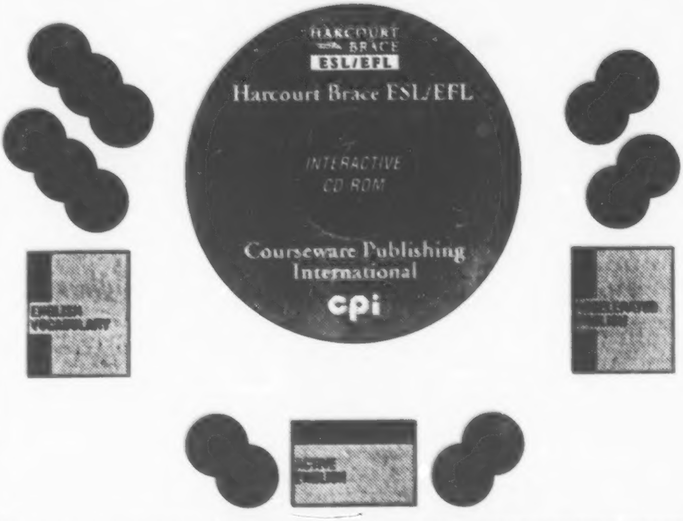
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The CATESOL Journal

EDITORS' NOTE

THIS ISSUE of *The CATESOL Journal* is the first to appear under the coeditorship of Peter Master and Donna Brinton. We think that it will have broad appeal to CATESOL members as it includes submissions from across the educational segments and addresses a wide spectrum of issues, including action research (Berkman and Christison & Bassano), error correction in ESL composition (Ferris), ethics in the ESL classroom (Vandrick, Hafernik, & Messerschmitt), motivation in LEP adolescents (Wenzell & Eleftheriou), and techniques for fostering critical thinking (Mollica). In addition to these more academically-oriented articles and exchange pieces, we have diverged somewhat from the type of article usually published in the *Journal* by including Devenney's inspirational firsthand account of the often unexpected and challenging roles that we as ESL instructors are called upon to play.

New to the *Journa*l along with Donna Brinton as coeditor is Susan Orlofsky, who has assumed the position of Reviews Editor. We believe that readers will benefit from the array of reviews of new ESL and teacher resource texts which Susan has compiled.

We are pleased to announce that *The CATESOL Journal* will continue its tradition of providing the CATESOL membership with special theme-based issues. The next issue will be guest-edited by Roberta Ching, Anne Ediger, and Deborah Poole and will concern the intersegmental articulation of ESL students.

Peter Master and Donna Brinton
Editors

The CATESOL Journal

MYRON BERKMAN
Mission High School

Listening to Marisol: Groupwork in a Sheltered High School Classroom

> ■ *There's something magical about real conversation, students learning from each other. The ethnic mix brings an instant spark. There's learning going on every instant. Every interaction becomes a learning experience. To get a project completed, they must negotiate with each other. And because they are all newcomers to the U.S. ...., and from different countries, English is their only common medium.*
>
> Teacher journal entry, October 1991

For 12 years I taught at Newcomer High School in San Francisco, a unique school dedicated to teaching recently-arrived immigrant and refugee youth from around the world. There are no native English speaking students in the school. The majority of students have had seven years or less of education in their country and represent a wide range of ethnic diversity. As of 1994, the largest ethnic groups were Central American, Chinese, Vietnamese, Russian, and Filipino.

Newcomer serves as a port of entry for these students to both the school system and the United States. Students generally spend one year at the school before they go on to regular high schools. Although they will probably receive English as a second language (ESL) instruction in the regular high schools, teachers do as much as they can in this introductory first year to prepare the students to enter the American school system and American culture.

The students study ESL half the day and then receive bilingual instruction in math and social studies. Currently, bilingual instruction is offered in Tagalog, Chinese, Spanish, and Vietnamese. Students who speak other languages, such as Arabic, Korean, or Lao, or whose schedules do not allow them to study in a bilingual class, study social studies and math in sheltered classes. The content is taught in English using ESL techniques and strategies which emphasize visuals, gestures, and slower speech, or the things that Stephen Krashen calls *comprehensible input.*

For several years I taught a sheltered social studies class called "San Francisco Perspectives." In the class, students are introduced to American culture and geography using San Francisco and the Bay Area as the context. The students' educational backgrounds are as varied as their linguistic backgrounds. Some students know virtually no English, while others have studied English for three or four years in their native countries.

In this class, students worked on three or four major group projects over the semester. These projects included investigative reports on different schools and communities in San Francisco and California. Students worked in groups of three or four and put together multimedia projects involving research, art, interviews, and photographs on the assigned topics. Each student was responsible for a specific task. Through these groups, I tried hard to create a "community of learners" in the classroom, an environment in which the teacher and the students are learning from each other.

In 1991, I was invited to participate in the Urban Sites Writing Network, a spin-off of the National Writing Project. Funded by the Dewitt Wallace Foundation, 50 experienced teachers in major urban areas across the country participated in two summer institutes, where we began collectively to ponder and discuss the problems facing urban education today. For two years we were provided with stipends and some release time to take a close look at our classrooms and write about them. From 1991 to 1993, nine other Bay Area classroom teachers and I, meeting monthly, wrote and talked feverishly about our classrooms as we began our first foray into the field of teacher research. This article is an example of how one classroom teacher conducted an investigation to answer his own questions about his classroom and students.

As I began to look at possible areas of inquiry, it seemed that the group projects were successful. I was getting beautiful 20- to 30-page reports, full of good writing, artwork, and photographs. I thought the projects were successful, but what did the students think? What were they really learning? What was going on in their groups as they put their projects together?

These initial questions served as a springboard for my research. I decided to focus on the student work in the different groups to see what I could find. I was interested in what kind of groups worked best, homogeneous, mixed language, or random. I decided to collect data from the group projects to see what I could find. These included writing samples, student reflection logs, classroom observations, and individual and group interviews. As I began to collect these data, I quickly realized that it would be impossible to look at all the students' work closely.

At my school site, I was involved in another project, the HERALD Project, which focused on interdisciplinary teaching and teacher reflection. An English teacher, a science teacher, and I decided to look at our students from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Because of scheduling problems there were very few students that we all had in common. But there was one Mexican girl, Marisol, who was in all our classes. We all decided to use her as our target student. Rather than make more work for myself, I decided to use Marisol for both projects and try to trace her language growth over the course of a semester.

The vehicle for tracing the growth would be the group projects. As evidence, I wanted to chart her growth as a writer and learner in three different groups: a homogeneous primary language group, a heterogeneous mixed-language group, and finally a self-selected group. Through Marisol's eyes, I would be able to take a closer look at the group projects to see whether the processes were as valuable as the product.

But there was another goal which emerged over the course of my inquiry and that was my own learning. I wanted to see what this close, microscopic look at one student would do for me, the teacher. What could I learn that would help my teaching?

Marisol

Marisol appeared in class in September with an infectious smile and a lack of shyness that differentiated her from most of the recently-arrived Newcomer students. What I remember most was her laugh. She would throw back her head and out would come something between a giggle and a chuckle. When I asked questions in class that first week, she was one of the few who would dare to answer. Her confidence stood out. She was not afraid to make a mistake in English. If she was wrong, she would try again. And to both my dismay and delight, she would often argue with me if I told her she was wrong.

This contrasted with most of the other ESL students in the class. It would sometimes take them weeks or even months before they would get the confidence to begin speaking English in class. Most of their utterances would be limited to one-word answers or short phrases. But not Marisol. She was ready to speak.

She told me she had studied some English in Mexico. Her mother was a lawyer in Mexico and had sent her to live with Marisol's older sister, who was living in San Francisco. In a survey she had taken in another class, Marisol had written that she read a lot in Mexico, both at home and in school. Marisol had some distinct advantages over most of the other students. She was quite literate in Spanish, and it appeared that she came from a home environment that valued education and literacy. In contrast, most students at our school come from families that are semi- or nonliterate in their own languages, and very few of them live in home environments in which English is spoken. During the first week of school, I asked the students to write about school in their countries. Marisol wrote the following:

> *In Mexico the school is good because all the people have the chance for study in public school or private, the schools are big, have for about 30 classroom. All the schools have students bads, and good, with the bads students, the teachers goes with they a the office. When study more time. ... The clothes are uniforms, for the girls ... third grade is ligh red, with a withe skirts, and shoes black ...*

Compared to other students in my class, this was good writing. Most students wrote only very basic information about their school, such as "My school is big. I like school." From the very beginning, Marisol was not afraid to express herself. She began by writing about schools and choice, and good and bad students. Errors like *students bads* and *shoes black* are common for Spanish-speaking students as they derive from the Spanish placement of nouns before adjectives.

Reflecting on this first writing a year later, Marisol told me that she felt most of her mistakes were from Spanish. She said, "I was thinking in Spanish, and then writing the content in English." She pointed out that *have the choice for study* was directly translated from the Spanish *para estudiar*. Thinking in their first language and then attempting to directly translate into English is a common strategy for beginning ESL students.

What was most important to me was that there was a voice there. While there were many errors, I could hear a voice struggling to tell me what she thought about schools. Unlike many students who simply gave basic information and rattled off the lists of subjects studied, Marisol wanted the reader to know that Mexican students had a choice in their education. Her emphasis was on communication, not grammar. This emphasis on communication over the course of the semester proved to be Marisol's strongest asset as an ESL learner.

Homogeneous Group

In November, Marisol worked on her first full-fledged group project involving three other students. Her group prepared a report on North Beach, a neighborhood in San Francisco we had visited on a field trip. In this project, I grouped the students by native language so that Marisol was grouped with three other Spanish-speaking students. Because it was early in the year, I wanted them to feel comfortable using their primary language. My belief was that for most students this comfort level was essential in getting students to feel okay about themselves in order to begin adapting fully to their new language and culture.

In this project Marisol and her three classmates worked together to produce a report about the neighborhood that included photographs, research, maps, and interviews. Marisol's responsibility for the project was to write about the photographs the group had taken on the field trip. Under one of the photographs she had written the following:

> *This picture is from North Beach. Some people say that his is the most exciting neighborhood of San Francisco. It's a district with a colorful past one which encompasses the Barbary Coast tradition. Successive waves of immigrants have left their mark on North Beach. Currently, the are is predominantly Italian ... It's safe and geat neighborhood for walking with lots of Italian cafes where cappucina, enticing lunches and scrumptious pastries may be found. ... Italian bakeries are bulging with homemade bread and sinfully rich pastries such.*

I suspected that some of these terms had been copied from a brochure she picked up during the field trip. Words like *predominant* and *successive waves* just don't fit with the voice of a beginning level ESL student. I gave her a "B" on the project but wrote in my evaluation of her report that some parts of the writing sounded like they had been copied, and I was looking more for her own words.

After the project was completed, students were asked to complete a reflection log, responding to such questions as, "What did you learn from this project? What was the most difficult thing about the project?" and "What did you learn from your partners?" I thought it was important that they begin to think about how they were learning. I hoped they would begin to recognize the power of learning with and from another student. Marisol's reflection log contained this response to the question, "Is your writing better now than the last project?":

> *I don't know. I think so, but the teacher teld me, that I wrote from the book!*

I could feel the steam rising from her pen. Marisol was indignant. The explanation mark after the word *book* showed how hurt she was. In fact, she wouldn't speak to me for several days. But I was pleased to see her confidence in revealing her anger to me. Most ESL students would never dare to show their anger to the teacher. They either are too concerned that it would affect their grade or they hold the teacher in such high esteem that they wouldn't dare speak out in opposition.

But Marisol wasn't afraid, and she could even display that anger in writing. Again I saw voice and power in her writing. I could hear Marisol's inner conversation: "I think I am writing better. But apparently the teacher doesn't agree. He thinks I am copying." Her sharp retort also showed me signs of progress in her writing. Her spelling was improved. Aside from a mistake in the past tense, *teld* for *told*, the writing was much better than in her last project. She was moving away from simple sentences such as *There are good students and bad students*, and now using clauses such as *that I wrote from the book*.

To Marisol, simply lifting a couple of sentences out of a pamphlet was not copying. And besides, there were other parts of the report in which she had contributed much of her own writing. In another portion she had tried to integrate some of the writing in the book or pamphlet into her own ideas. On a previous page she had written the following:

> *This neighborhood is the most important of bussines. The most of people come to Downtown of shopping. Downtow has manyh stores like, Macy's, Northroom, Limited, in fact many kinds of stores.*

The writing in this paragraph contrasted sharply with phrases like the *successive waves of immigrants*. Although it was clear she had lifted some pages out of the book in the first assignment, perhaps I had erred in not mentioning the good parts of her writing that had been authentic and clear. In Marisol's mind I was saying she had copied all of her report, which she certainly hadn't.

Marisol later told me that this project had been very frustrating for her. Her partners were supposed to have collected information to give to her so she could write it up in the final report. But she said, "They didn't help me. Alejandro didn't do his job getting information about the pictures. ... I was angry." As to my charge of copying, she responded, "I didn't know how to put it in my words. I understood it. I only copied two sentences." As we spoke more, I began to understand that it had been a matter of pride. She felt hurt, especially because she felt that the others had not done their jobs. She felt she was being unfairly penalized by only getting a "B."

I learned more of Marisol's thoughts about grouping from her reflection log. In her evaluation, she seemed unhappy with her group. Her answer to the question, "What did you learn from your partners?" was blunt:

> *Nothing. Some of my group help me with the information of some neighbor-hoods.*

When asked if she liked working with partners, she wrote,

> *Yes, when they are organizate and if they want to work.*

Despite being an all Spanish-speaking group, the educational backgrounds of the members were quite different. Jimmy, a Spanish-speaking Chinese student from Puerto Rico, attended class sporadically. Marta, although she was Mexican like Marisol, spoke very little English and had less schooling in Mexico.

Here I got a clear indication of Marisol's thinking about groups. It didn't matter what language they spoke. What was important to Marisol was how well they worked. In other words, I believe Marisol was saying, "Yes, I like groupwork if the other members do their share." The problem in this project had been that Marisol felt that the other group members had not done what they were assigned to do.

When I originally assigned the reflection logs after each assignment, I really wasn't sure of their value. Here already in the second assignment I was learning some valuable lessons from Marisol's reflections. Just because everyone spoke the same language did not automatically make it easier for the group. Factors like educational background, years of English studied, and personality were just as important as native language.

Heterogeneous Group

In the next project a few weeks later, Marisol was grouped with a Korean, a Russian, and an El Salvadorean student. Their task was to go out and investigate another neighborhood in San Francisco, the Seacliff district. Marisol and her partners decided who would be responsible for the various assignments. These included taking photographs, researching the neighborhood history, making a map, and conducting an interview with a neighborhood resident. After two weeks of hard work, the group turned in a very thorough 20-30 page report complete with all the above components. The project received an "A" grade.

As part of the project, each student was asked to state their individual contributions. Marisol's major responsibility was to conduct the interview. Alejandro took the photographs, Igor wrote the history of the neighborhood, and Min Yong did the map. Marisol wrote the following:

> *Well, in this project about the neighborhoods. I did the interview. I copied the answerd on the paper, then I had to do the transcription. clear of questions and answers. I helped to Igor do do the story about Seacliff, he wrote the story about Seacliff, he wrote the story and I just wrote in paragraphs, to correct some words and put more information in it. I helped to Min Yong to do the map putting*

> *some names of the places and colored. I wrote the information from an encyclopeidia about Seacliff.*

It appeared she had done a lot of work and learned a lot. But I still had many questions. What processes did Marisol use to do this writing? Did working in the group help her writing at all? How did Marisol feel about working with a mixed-language group as opposed to her previous Spanish-speaking group? And I wondered, "Did they really get any work done during their group time together, or were they just fooling around?" I decided to take a close look at this group to see if any of my questions could be answered.

During the project, I had recorded one of their group meetings a few days before the project was due. I had urged each group to use their time together to make sure all the components were included in their report: research, maps, photographs, and interviews. I also wanted them to proofread their writing and check for paragraphs. I tried to convey the idea that each new paragraph should contain a new topic. These students would be leaving for a regular high school in two or three months. In order to pass their proficiency exams and to succeed in their classes, they had to know how to write a paragraph.

What follows is a partial transcript from a group meeting two days before the project deadline. I asked a classroom volunteer to tape the group. The group began by introducing themselves.

Igor: My name is Igor. I'm the writer in this group. In this project I write story about Seacliff. We went to Seacliff in Saturday, March 16. In this project I write story, plan of group, and I went to library and took information about Seacliff.

Min Yong: My name is Min Yong. I made the map so I ... I ... the map.

Marisol: *(her speed and delivery is about five times faster than the rest of her group)* O.K. My name is Marisol. I did the interview. I ... uh ... got some person of the Sea Cliff, and I asked the 10 questions.

Alejandro: Mi nombre es Alejandro Teran.

Marisol: En Ingles! *(Marisol translates)* ... He's Alejandro. He take a picture of the Seacliff, the people, the museum, interesting places of Seacliff. He take a picture, Golden Gate Bridge. His last name? Teran. Teran.

(Right away Marisol took over. I wasn't sure if it was because her English was better than the others or if it was because of her outgoing personality. Both Alejandro and Min Yong had recently transferred into the class and were still rather shy and reluctant to speak. Min Yong, at this point, moved over to an adjacent desk to work on a map of the neighborhood. Alejandro began putting the photographs in order on the floor.)

Marisol: The people who I interviewed say that some of the people live since 1924. So, the old people live 70 years. *(Marisol then proceeds to read Igor's writing out loud)* "On November 1991, we had a field trip to Seacliff. This is nice beautiful neighborhood in San Francisco. Its boundaries are the 24th Avenue." You have to put this in paragraph.

Igor: What?

Marisol: You have to put this, write in paragraph, you know? *(Marisol repeats her instruction again, pausing after the words* this *and* write *so Igor will understand)* Like this. *(She shows him a paragraph on a paper.)*

Igor: You want to do it? O.K. Take homework. All the time you give me the papers for homework. *(Igor is angry.)* Paragraph. I know, I know. But it's difficult!

Marisol: Why is difficult? Only the difference you have to put in other … you know? *(She gestures at the paragraph.)*

Igor: I know.

Marisol: Because the teacher is gonna say, you want to get this in paragraph.

Igor: O.K. I do it in home. It's my homework. *(They continue to argue over who will do the revisions.)*

Marisol: Gimme this. I wanna read. *(She takes back his report and continues reading.)* "Many rich people live in Seacliff … "

Igor: Not true? The lady told us. Ask Mr. Berkman. Very nice house, you know? O.K. *(He is trying to convince her that there are many rich people in Seacliff.)*

Marisol: *(continues to read)* "Many people lives … " Why "s"?

Igor: "*Lives.*"

Marisol: "*Lives.*" Many people. Why you put "s"?

Igor: Ah … Yes. I … *(Igor sees his error.)*

(Marisol is tired of arguing. She beckons teacher over.)

Marisol: O.K. OK. Teacher. This is okay? We have to put in paragraph?

Teacher: Always need paragraph.

Marisol: Igor! *(She looks at Igor and laughs.)*

Igor: Thank you, Marisol.

Marisol: You're welcome.

(The teacher then reads their story.)

Teacher: Good. Try to get some paragraphs.

Marisol: Thank you. Do you know how to write ***exactly***?

Igor: What?

Marisol: Do you know how to spell ***exactly***?

Igor: Seacliff?

Marisol: ***Exactly***. *(She says the word again for the third time.)* Like this. *(She writes down the word* ***exactly*** *and shows Igor.)* You understand this?

Igor: Ah! Yes.

Marisol: Is right?

Igor: Yes.

Marisol: Because, some of, the my, no, no, no, because one of the, my questions I put ***exactly***, and I not sure is the spelling.

Igor: You can look on the … dictionary. But no, I think it's good.

Marisol: O.K. Thank you. *(Marisol begins speaking Spanish to Igor.)* Hola. ¿Qué tal? ¿Cómo te ha ido? Qué bueno. ¿Qué estás haciendo en tu proyecto? Entonces me alegro. ¿Cuándo van a ir mañana? ¿A dónde?

Igor: Marisol. Many Spanish and you take "F."

Marisol: Why?

Igor: Because Mr. Berkman say.

Marisol: Why?

Igor: Because it's English lesson.

(Marisol continues to speak in Spanish. Igor counters by speaking in Russian. Soon their group is a hubbub of Spanish, Russian and Korean, and the meeting ends with Marisol and Min Yong singing gleefully "Bésame Mucho" in Spanish.)

This transcript revealed a wealth of information. First, I was delighted to see Marisol and the group on-task. Most of the time had indeed been spent going over the report, specifically discussing paragraphs and the "s" in third person singular.

During a normal class period, I usually walk around the room and meet with different groups. I sometimes get the feeling that groups are off-task and fooling around much of the time. Zeroing in on this group gave me another perspective. The transcript showed they were on-task, working with each other in the time allotted. Although they tailed off into their native languages at the end, this was understandable. After 20 minutes or so of an intense academic discussion in English, the group needed a break.

From the transcript we see that Min Yong and Alejandro, whose English levels were the lowest, said practically nothing. They went off to do other tasks. Both Min Yong and Alejandro had only been in the class a few weeks and did not speak much in class. They might be characterized as being in Krashen's preproduction stage. They are beginning speakers, not quite ready to produce speech. They can comprehend a little, and may be able to respond in short phrases, but they are not ready to partake in conversations in English.

But Marisol was the leader here, and her confidence and strong communicative skills were evident right away. She read over Igor's material, and immediately noticed the lack of paragraphs:

> *You have to put this ... write in paragraph, you know?*

She is telling Igor to change his writing and put it into a paragraph. She slows down her speech and emphasizes the words *put this* and *write*. She realizes that Igor might not understand *put this*, so she rephrases it and says *write* to make sure he understands. And then she checks once more to see if Igor understands by asking, "You know?"

Marisol wants to be understood, and she employs an array of strategies to that end. She repeats things many times so that Igor will understand. She uses nonverbal clues, waving her hands emphatically to make a point, and she points to important parts of the paper she wants Igor to look at. She is constantly listening and checking to see if her listener understands. Marisol is totally focused on communicating with Igor here. Form is secondary. Marisol is offering what Krashen calls comprehensible input, the extralinguistic clues one must use to make oneself comprehensible to someone who does not speak English as a first language. In fact, she demonstrated the very strategies I employ daily in my ESL classes.

Marisol showed here that she was not only a communicator but a negotiator. She did not stand still, unbending. She acknowledged Igor's stand and tried to work around his resistance. She sensed his anger about changing his writing when he responded, "You want to do it? O.K Take it!" So she adopted a more conciliatory tone, showing him that writing in paragraphs was not a big deal. It just involved changing things around a little bit. Ultimately, she saved her big trump card, the teacher, for the end. When she saw me within proximity, she called me over, and I unwittingly became an accomplice to her cause by responding, "Always need paragraph."

Marisol was a teacher here, but she also learned from Igor. When she was not sure about the spelling of *exactly*, she turned to Igor for help. This was a nice reversal in light of the fact that, just a minute before, she had been the teacher and Igor the student.

There was a rich dialogue about language here. Marisol and Igor were discussing the use of third person singular and what constitutes a paragraph. Marisol reminded Igor that *many people* did not require an "s", that is, *many people live in the Seacliff.*[1]

From this transcript, we can see that Marisol and Igor were succeeding fairly well in discussing academic issues. Indeed, they were so involved in their conversation that they were not focusing on speaking correctly. Although the focus of their discussion was on correct grammar and writing, they were having a rich conversation about academic issues, getting lots of CALP experience. They had an opportunity to use cognitively demanding language in a realistic situation.

Towards the end of this project, I wanted to get Marisol's assessment of how she was doing. I called her over to my desk to ask her some questions.

Teacher: Did you like this project?

Marisol: Yeah.

Teacher: Why?

Marisol: I … I … I can to meet the other neighborhoods of San Francisco and I like to meet … umm … what kind of neighborhoods in San Francisco.

Teacher: How about your group? What do you think about your group?

Marisol: My group is good because … uhh … all the people work.

Teacher: Hmm. This group, well, Alejandro's Spanish, but you have Russian, and Korean. Is it a problem because they didn't speak English?

Marisol: No. Not is problem because we … we can to speak with … with the hands! *(She laughs.)* That's it. No is problem.

Teacher: Now last project you were with all Spanish [speaking] group, right? Which project was easier for you?

Marisol: This project.

Teacher: Really? Why? What about working with them? Was it harder or easier than the last project?

Marisol: No, easy. Both easy. *(She says assuredly.)*

Teacher: So it didn't make a difference for you that one group was all Spanish, and one group mixed? *(Marisol nods in agreement.)* Did you learn anything from your partners?

Marisol: Yeah. How they work, how they thinking about, ummm, their form to work.

I was surprised to hear that it was not a problem for Marisol to work in a mixed-language group. I had assumed that Marisol would prefer to work with students who spoke Spanish because they could speak freely and there would not be any linguistic problems. But Marisol reiterated to me that she didn't care whether or not her group was Spanish-speaking. What was important to her was that they were willing to work hard.

Student Choice

It was getting towards the end of the semester and there was time for one final project. Since we had been studying California history, I asked students to do a group project on some aspect of this topic. This time the students were free to work with whomever they wanted. In the first group project I had placed Marisol in a Spanish-speaking language group, and in the last project she had worked in a heterogeneous group with a Russian and a Korean. I wanted to see what kind of group Marisol would join if given a choice. I anticipated that she would group herself with other Spanish speakers. But Marisol and many other students in the class formed their groups based on factors other than just language. Marisol formed a group with Claudia from El Salvador, Brenda from Hong Kong, and Liana from Armenia. They were all friends, but more importantly for Marisol, they were good and dependable students. Marisol's group decided to do a report on Spanish California. Language was not a barrier for them. They did a terrific job, handing in a 46-page report full of illustrations, maps, research, and learning logs. Each student made valuable contributions to the report. Marisol's responsibilities were to write about the work and problems the Spanish faced in California. In her report, she wrote the following:

> *... they learned to work from differents way; to work rainsing animals, as cattle and horses, working the earth, agriculture, they sowing wheat. Their methods of sowing and reaping however, were extremely primitive. ... Some times they got knifes of metal, cloth, and pretty things for a change of the work that they made.*

At first glance, this writing might not be impressive, but I was struck by the authenticity of her writing. It contrasted sharply with the copied writing from the first project. From my perspective as an ESL teacher, when beginning ESL students are doing research, the more mistakes the better. This shows me that they are finding information, comprehending what it means, and trying to write it in their own words. It shows me that they have spent time and thought on the writing. Most ESL students have a hard time with this. Often I receive beautifully copied yet tedious reports on the assigned topics. In this same report, Elana, one of Marisol's group members, wrote the following about the religion of the Spanish:

> *Whatever the Spaniards may have done, good or bad, reflects in the final analysis the fact that from the beginning of their history, they had to face and deal with the most disastrous and unfortunate conditions of the growing of the Mohammedean occupation. Spanish religion ... is a form of belief that is characteristic of Spain, intelligible only within the peculiar casticity of her history.*

As I stated previously, it is easy to see when ESL students are copying. After only a few months in the country, it is impossible for them to write error free. Elana, in fact, was a very bright student. She may very well have understood what she wrote here. But the point is, all she did was locate the information in a book and copy it. She might have made some decisions as to which portions of the information to include, but there was not much else.

In contrast, Marisol's writing had many errors. There were spelling mistakes *(rainsing*, i.e., *raising?)* and syntax problems *(they sowing wheat, for a change of the work)*. But what gratified me was that she was working with the language, not just reading a book and lifting passages from it. She had found information and was trying to write about what the Spanish cowboys did for their livelihood. It wasn't fantastic writing but it was authentic. Marisol, too, was pleased with her final project. In her reflection log she wrote the following about her group:

> *They are very good as partners. They were working hard. We shared ideas each other. How they work and what kind of ideas they have. ... We did the best, that we could do. We getting informations from differents book from the library. We really like this group. We shared opionions about how to do our work. I think we had a good organitation.*

Marisol was still struggling in her writing. The spelling in *organitation* and the "s" in *differents* indicate that Marisol is probably still translating from Spanish. But her message is clear:

> *We did the best, that we could do. We shared opinions about how to do our work.*

These are the issues that are important to Marisol.

Several months later, I asked her to tell me what kind of processes her final group used in working together. She responded:

> *We getting informations from differents book from the library. We all went to the library, and we each got a book. We each read it. I was understanding all the context first. Then I write by myself.*

The processes depicted here are quite different from her description of the early projects when she was translating from Spanish. Now Marisol was reading the information first, trying to understand it in English, and then trying to write it in her words. I thought back to Marisol's first reflection when she had been asked if she enjoyed working in groups.

> *Yes, because you can to compart opinion and to the work better.*

Two and a half months later she wrote,

> *We did the best, that we could do. ... We shared opionions about how to do our work. I think we had a good organitation.*

It was the same sentiment, only this time she had said it much more clearly. I noted with pride the growth in her writing. I asked her which project she had enjoyed the most. She responded:

> *The mixed group was better. That way we have to speak English. Mixed group. They speak English. ... It's nice cuz we were laughing and everything, you know, enjoying the work. With Claudia, Brenda (the self-chosen group), everybody agree. We divided the work to every people. Every people was doing the work. In other group, Igor, I make Igor's work, and then I help Min Yong doing the map.*

Brenda from Hong Kong and Liana from Armenia were dependable. They were good students and friends and that was more important to Marisol than working with someone who spoke Spanish.

I thought back to her reflection from the first project on North Beach when she had worked with an all Spanish-speaking group. She said she had learned nothing. Although her writing still needed improvement, I saw progress in her writing and thinking. She was working with a heterogeneous group, overcoming language and social barriers and, more importantly, valuing the group process. A year later I asked Marisol to reflect one final time on what she had learned in the class. She talked about the second project when she had worked in a mixed-language group:

> *I like sharing opinions. He's (Igor) giving me opinions and ideas. Maybe his opinion is better than mine. It's good to get ideas.*

When asked if she liked working with partners, she replied,

> *Yes. Because four heads think better than one.*

Marisol was clearly able to see the power of working and learning from other students. Perhaps she was echoing what the Russian psychologist Vygotsky called the *zone of proximal development,* the importance of students learning with and from each other.

Findings

By listening to Marisol and my other students, I have developed insights into four important aspects of instruction in my classroom: language and group work, copying, grouping, and students as communicators.

Language and Groupwork

From studying the transcript of Marisol's mixed group and looking at her reflections, I have learned that groupwork is beneficial and has value. It provides opportunities for students to have authentic conversations and practice their new language.

Marisol's mixed-language group required lots of cognitive academic language proficiency. There was much discussion of academic issues, an area in which many ESL students are weak. In studying the transcript of a group meeting, I saw a complex discussion going on between Marisol and Igor on the use of paragraphs and the third person singular. Marisol and Igor were learning from each other. Though the two other students in the group, Alejandro and Min Yong, were not able to take part in the discussion because of their lower English skills, Marisol and Igor were able to talk about important issues. Although it may not have been pleasurable or fun, her discussions and negotiations with Igor were valuable opportunities for both of them to use English in difficult but meaningful ways. I suspect ESL students do not have many opportunities to have such content-based discussions in English.

Copying

Copying is not a simple issue. While it inevitably comes up every semester, before this investigation I had not really had an opportunity to reflect on what is involved in copying. What may look like direct copying to the teacher may involve several processes by the student. Marisol taught me to look beyond what is written on paper. Early in the semester I had accused her of copying some sentences from a pamphlet. Marisol was indignant at the accusation. While she admitted that she had lifted some of the writing, she was miffed that I had not validated the other parts of her writing which she had worked hard on. By talking to her I was able to get a deeper understanding of the group process and why she resorted to copying. By only mentioning the copying and not validating the other parts of her writing, I had erred.

I have now developed strong beliefs about copying. I believe that, especially for ESL students, the number of errors can sometimes indicate growth in writing. When they are doing research, copying is a problem for most ESL students. I go to great lengths to try to explain to them that I want their own words, even if there are mistakes. One former student went home to her parents once and complained, "I don't understand. My teacher wants me to make mistakes."

Yes, I do. If I see mistakes, I see that the student is working with the language, trying to adapt it to his or her own words. Liana's report on

California was smooth and effortless. However, even though she may have understood what she wrote, she simply copied it from the book. Marisol's writing in that same report was not as smooth. There were many errors, but the errors showed me that she was reading the information in the book, comprehending it, and then trying to write it in her own words. This process of taking the information in, thinking about it, and then trying to write it in one's own words is intrinsically valuable.

Grouping

I looked at Marisol in three kinds of groups over the semester: an all-Spanish-speaking group, a mixed-language group, and a group self-chosen by Marisol. She surprised me when she said it didn't make any difference to her whether her group was heterogeneously mixed or grouped by language. I thought she would appreciate the luxury of communicating in Spanish with her fellow group members. But Marisol taught me that there were other factors to consider. First and foremost, Marisol was interested in partners who would do the work. What mattered to her was how much effort each group member applied.

Towards the end of the semester when Marisol was given the choice to work with whomever she wanted, she chose to work with an Armenian, a Chinese, and an El Salvadorean girl. The fact that they were good friends was very important, but equally important was, as Marisol stated, that they were all good workers. It was important to Marisol not only to have fun but also to work hard. When I asked her if she had had any problems communicating with the other members of her group, she whimsically replied, "No. Not is problem because we ... we can to speak with ... with the hands!"

I must be very careful in extrapolating my findings about Marisol to all ESL students. I must emphasize that Marisol came into my class with a lot of advantages over other students. She came from a literate home environment. She had strong literacy skills in her own language. There was a native English speaker living in her household. She had confidence. She had distinct advantages over many of the other students.

While for Marisol a bilingual group was not so important, I do not wish to suggest that bilingual groups are not effective. I am a strong believer in bilingual education. I believe that students who do not have the same academic background as Marisol need primary language assistance. Marisol's academic background prepared her to lean less and less on her primary language. Her level of English proficiency was intermediate. Studies have shown that, at this level, students can receive more and more instruction in their second language.

Students as Communicators

Marisol's strongest suit was that she was a communicator. She had very little of what Krashen calls a *raised affective filter*, the shyness or inhibition that stops many people from attempting to speak in a second language. When she spoke or wrote, she concentrated on getting her point across. She did not worry about form. In the conversation with Igor, we see her using an array of strategies to get her point across, gesturing, repeating, and intonating so that Igor will understand how to use paragraphs.

Many ESL students do not have such confidence. They fear that they will make a mistake or be laughed at. They worry so much about being grammatically correct or how they sound that they forget about communicating. They play it safe. Marisol, however, felt no compunction at venturing into the deep water of expressing her feelings, even her anger at the teacher when I questioned the authenticity of her writing.

When she was asked a question, she would almost always attempt to give an answer. If not understood, she would work at responding in a different way. Her English was not perfect, but she didn't care. She wanted to get her point across. Most beginning ESL students do not share this level of confidence. They might attempt to give a one-word answer or a short phrase, but if they make a mistake or they are not understood, they are often stymied and do not go any further. Perhaps if we can get other students to lower their affective filters and display some of the confidence that Marisol displayed, their progress in acquiring English will be enhanced.

Conclusion

Marisol has since departed to another high school, and now I find myself asking what a colleague once asked about teacher research: "So what?"

First, I learned a lot about my classroom. I got an opportunity to get a birds-eye view of the group projects I have been orchestrating over the last 10 years. It was an opportunity to look closely at groups and observe what was going on. As teachers, we are constantly making assumptions and judgments on what we see everyday. Through this inquiry, I was able to analyze some of my assumptions.

From this research I have also learned the value of multiple perspectives on the classroom. The teacher's view of the classroom, while valuable, is just one piece of the puzzle. By including the students, visitors and even other teachers' perspectives, a much richer view of the classroom emerges.

A teacher's day is so filled with responsibilities above and beyond teaching that there is little time for reflection. Between teaching, parent conferences, writing interim reports, and running to the xerox machine, we rarely have time to think during the day. But by setting aside time each day to sit and reflect, I received a much deeper picture of the classroom than I get from the spontaneous snapshots I take in my mind every day. I would urge other teachers to begin keeping journals or begin writing about their classrooms. Perhaps there are other teachers at school or in the area who are interested in forming a teacher research group. The camaraderie and support I experienced in my group was very stimulating.

Listening to Marisol gave me an opportunity to look closely at a student with more than the cursory glances provided by writing samples and tests. Through her writing, her talking, her actions, and her reflections, Marisol helped me to see that there was real work and productive exchange going on in the groups. Nevertheless, watching and listening to Marisol always seemed to reflect back to me, the teacher. By looking at Marisol, I was able to look in the mirror, not my mirror but a student's mirror, and see how her perceptions echoed or differed from mine.

Perhaps in some ways what I learned about Marisol was not so important. What remains for me is the process, the experience of looking at my class from different perspectives and, more importantly, the benefits of listening to my students. ■

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Endnotes

1 These issues constitute what Cummins has called Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Cummins made distinctions between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and CALP. BICS describes the ability of a second language speaker to communicate in social interactions that are not cognitively demanding while CALP refers to the second language speaker's ability to use the second language in an academic setting with reduced contextual clues and visuals. Cummins maintains that the acquiring of CALP is a good predictor of success in a second language.

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Ethics Meets Culture: Gray Areas In The Postsecondary ESL Classroom

This paper advocates closer and more systematic attention to ethical issues which, because of the various cultural and religious backgrounds of ESL students, are particular to the field of ESL. Two broad sets of issues are discussed. The first set, responsibilities of faculty members, can be further subdivided into faculty-student interactions and student-student interactions, and includes such topics as confidentiality, advice giving, political discussion, and tutoring. The second set, ethical systems in conflict, focuses on three areas: gift giving, plagiarism and cheating, and interaction with government and other outside institutions. Cautions are given regarding respecting cultural differences, understanding complicating factors such as gender and class, and acknowledging ambiguities in all ethical systems.

Professional ethics are the codes and standards of behavior expected of an individual in a particular field. Ethical issues encompass understandings of right and wrong and are based on religious and cultural underpinnings. While law and medical curricula frequently include courses in ethics and discussions of ethics are common in these professions, only recently has ethics become a focus in the ESL profession.

Ethics in the broader field of education as a whole has been addressed to some extent, but not systematically and not enough. Scriven (1982) speaks of "the virtual absence of courses on ethical problems for the teacher (or researcher) in either the precollege or the college area" (p. 311). He argues that ethics should be part of the curriculum, and, further, that instructors need to be concerned with their own ethics regarding such issues as whether the class covers the material promised, whether testing is fair, and whether faculty keep abreast of new developments in their fields. On a more theoretical level, proponents of critical pedagogy, such as Giroux (1992), state that ethics must be a central concern in pedagogy. They maintain that educators should "attempt to understand more fully how different discourses offer students diverse ethical referents for structuring their relationship to the wider society" (p. 74).

NAFSA, TESOL, the Center for Applied Linguistics and other educational associations deal with professional standards (e.g., the Center for Applied Linguistics' *Guidelines for Selecting Language Training Programs*, 1978, and *TESOL Core Standards*, 1984) and have committees that deal with ethical issues of international education. Of particular interest is the NAFSA Ethics Program established in 1991. The NAFSA Ethics Program includes the NAFSA Code of Ethics, the Principles for International Educational Exchange , and NAFSA's procedures for handling ethics-related complaints (NAFSA, 1994). The NAFSA Code of Ethics "sets forth a number of general guidelines for ethical conduct applicable to all NAFSA members and then details principles pertaining to many of the various activities members undertake" (p.5). These professional guidelines, although necessary and appropriate, by their nature cannot account for the ambiguities inherent in ESL. Moreover, ethics and associated ambiguities are seldom systematically presented in TESL education curricula nor routinely discussed among ESL professionals.

This paper argues that in addition to issues prevalent in most educational settings and in elaboration of the professional standards issued by the NAFSA Ethics Program (1991), there are several ethical issues in ESL specifically which are worthy of examination. Because of the different religious and cultural backgrounds of ESL students, these issues may not appear in quite the same way in non-ESL classes.

These ethical issues can be grouped into two broad categories or sets of issues: first, responsibilities of faculty members toward students, and second, ethical systems in conflict. The first set of issues involves the particular responsibilities of faculty toward ESL students; the nature of our ESL student body requires kinds of responsibilities that would be found only to a lesser degree in other types of academic environments. The second set of issues, here termed *ethical systems in conflict*, is far more complex and involves examining areas in which students' cultural backgrounds, traditions, and understandings may conflict with those of the instructor and/or with those of other students in the class. Such conflicts highlight our ethical responsibility to help students recognize and understand what happens in the United States, so once they exit our programs and enter other educational environments, they are aware of what is appropriate. Helping students understand what is appropriate in U.S. education involves looking at our own ethical systems very carefully. Professionals in ESL have usually had background courses in culture, but some issues require more than just studying surface-level cultural differences. They demand working through what a culture considers right and wrong.

A word of caution is in order. When we examine other cultures and their ethical systems in relation to our own, it is important that we examine our own ethical systems honestly, without hypocrisy. We need to be very aware of weaknesses, inconsistencies, and blind spots in our ethical systems and especially in the gap between our professed ethics and our society's actual practices. We need to respect other cultures and peoples while assisting students to better understand what happens in the U.S. and in education—the systems by which others will interpret their actions. In addition, we need to be aware that ethics in U.S. society are far from monolithic; in fact, our multicultural, multireligious society contains a multitude of cultural differences, including different concepts of certain ethical questions.

Thus, we identify issues of ethical concern in these two broad areas: first, faculty responsibilities, and second, systems of ethics in conflict. While many of the questions we raise do not have easy solutions, we, nevertheless, feel it is important to raise them. In addition, we offer practical classroom suggestions and insights from experienced practitioners.

Note that although we focus on the postsecondary level, many of the issues we discuss here are also of concern to teachers in secondary and even elementary ESL classes.

Faculty Responsibilities

There are several issues of ethical concern in the area of faculty responsibility that are related to the students' special international and multicultural backgrounds; these issues can be grouped under the categories of faculty-student interactions, in and out of class, and student-student interactions, mainly in class. For example, ESL instructors often find that their role includes more than classroom teaching. Sometimes the instructor must be a friend and helper, since students may feel they have nowhere else to go for guidance. If the problems brought forward are simple, such as how to get a drivers' license, there is usually no difficulty. However, problems are often more complex, such as medical or even psychiatric problems. Requests or pleas for assistance may appear in conversations outside class or in the dialogue journals students write. If, for example, a student threatens suicide in a journal, what should an ESL instructor do? Or if a student does not explicitly mention a problem, but is clearly stressed, nervous, and on the edge, should one ask if there is a problem? And if there is a problem, how should one handle it? It seems that, if the problem is serious, the appropriate response is to make a referral to a professional and follow up to see if the student actually sees a counselor or therapist. In some states, the law specifies that teachers must refer suicidal students to professional help. We need to know the limits of our expertise.

We need to find the right balance in responding to students with problems, respecting the confidentiality of anything that students confide in us, yet insuring that they get the professional help they need, if appropriate. It is essential for students to know that their journals and other private communications are kept in strictest confidence, yet we need to let them know that if they write about or tell us about a dangerous situation, we may need to inform someone who can help them (Peyton & Reed, 1990, p. 68). It is true that in some cultures, seeing a therapist is an unfamiliar or even unacceptable course of action; we need to be aware of this possibility, yet make students aware of this avenue of assistance. Assurances that the meetings with a therapist are confidential, and perhaps mentioning one's own experience with therapists, or those of other (unnamed, of course) students, may somewhat alleviate students' concerns. Or in some cases a student may find it more acceptable to be referred to a trained professional such as a minister or social worker rather than a therapist.

A related problematic area is giving advice, even solicited advice, on issues which may be filled with cultural land mines. For example, a student came to a sympathetic teacher with concerns about her marriage; her husband didn't really want her to learn English and to succeed academically—especially when her success outstripped his—and, according to the student, he both actively and passively belittled her and hindered her progress. An American teacher might feel inclined to advise that the student stand up for her rights or even leave if the situation became untenable. But such advice would not take into account the cultural, social, and financial issues particular to that student's national and ethnic background. It may be that the teacher's role must be confined to attentive and empathetic listening, perhaps with some gentle suggestions which might help the student make small changes in her life and in her relationship. Even this limited faculty role may be somewhat helpful to the student, although it clearly does not address the underlying societal and cultural issues.

Exploitation of students because of their backgrounds is another faculty ethical issue. This area is multifaceted. For example, if an instructor is a learner of another language, s/he should not use ESL students to practice on or with, certainly not in class, and probably not out of class. The students come to class with the expectation of learning English, not conversing with the instructor in their native tongue. This does not necessarily affirm the English-only rule. There may be an appropriate place and time for the use of the student's native language, but it cannot be overused for the benefit of the instructor. Nor should students, generally, be pumped for information for the instructor's advantage, say for a trip s/he is planning, or a book s/he is writing; if students' work is used for faculty research or writing, students' permission should be asked, and they should be given credit. Classroom-based research is laudable, but such research should be done under stringent guidelines which protect students, their time, and their privacy. Even when such activities take place outside of the classroom, there may be issues of power inequity, in which "consent" may not be true consent. Wong (1994) cautions the teacher/researcher that a person's responsibility to students does not end when students sign an informed consent form but rather that "ethical responsibilities of qualitative research are ongoing" (p. 13). The teacher/researcher must be ever mindful of how writing up the research and the way it is written up may affect students and their lives (e.g., students or their families may be undocumented).

In the same way, an instructor should consider carefully before hiring students to do such jobs as working in the instructor's yard or on the instructor's car, or babysitting children. Although s/he is being paid, the student may not recognize that there is an option to say "no" to the job, or may feel the pay is not enough, or may feel exploited, with no recourse because of the power the instructor has to give grades or otherwise to influence the student's academic life and future.

Another example of exploitation of a student's background is a case in which an ESL student is used as a source of political or other types of information. In one instance, an ESL instructor was approached about using class time and Southeast Asian students to assist groups in locating servicemen who were missing in action in Vietnam; this is inappropriate, as the power relationship is unequal. The NAFSA Code of Ethics (1992) states that NAFSA members shall "not exploit, threaten, coerce ... students or scholars." (p. 6). With regard to student information, the Code goes on to advise members to "secure permission of the student or scholar before sharing information with others inside or outside the organization, unless disclosure is authorized by law or institutional policy, or mandated by previous arrangement" (p. 6). Members are also cautioned to "keep in mind that policies on the confidentiality of information apply to law-enforcement organizations as much as they do to any other type of organization" (p. 10).

We also need to be sensitive to any political dynamics that might be operative among the students in the class. Experienced ESL instructors can tell many war stories about political situations which have unexpected implications in the classroom. For example, before the breakup of the Soviet Union, East Europeans and Russians found themselves together in one ESL class. When the East Europeans secretly read Solzhenitsyn in the library, they were reluctant to answer an innocent question from the instructor about what they had read over the weekend for fear that the Russians would report them to the authorities. Although it may be difficult for an instructor to anticipate such unfortunate events, it behooves us as ESL teachers to make ourselves familiar with the political conflicts and tensions which may enter the classroom with students from varying backgrounds. When students with known conflicts find themselves together in a given class, it is wise for an instructor to be aware of this potential problem. It is unlikely that the instructor can be the ultimate peacemaker, and one should have no such illusions. However, because these conflicts frequently have a power element associated with them and are not conflicts between equals, teachers need to be aware of the power differential and need to take care not to put students in awkward or maybe even dangerous positions, at least in the classroom, the one place where we have some control. If the problem becomes serious and disruptive, an instructor may want to have the students separated.

Finally, tutoring is another area in which ethics can be important. Many students request tutors in English upon their arrival in the United States. They may even ask their instructors to tutor them privately after class. While this could be potentially lucrative for an instructor, is it ethical? May an instructor accept a few limited tutoring obligations? Should students be referred to other instructors who then, in turn, refer their students back? How much tutoring is ethical? Is tutoring students in the same program in which one works at all acceptable? These issues really do not have a single answer. But, at the minimum, it is unethical to accept tutoring assignments from one's own students. In the process of tutoring one could, for example, accidentally divulge test information or become particularly fond of a student, always giving that student the benefit of the doubt. Since many ESL instructors need tutoring jobs for financial reasons, it seems unrealistic to suggest no tutoring at all. However, tutors need to exercise extreme caution in how they recruit students and whom they accept as students.

Systems of Ethics in Conflict

Sometimes ethical issues arise when there are cultural differences in the concepts of right and wrong, or acceptable and unacceptable, behavior. These issues arise so frequently that we may take them for granted and rarely think of them as underlying ethical concerns. Complicating the issue are factors such as gender, race, class, religion, and region, which also present cultural differences regarding ethical concepts. For example, research indicates that males and females sometimes make ethical decisions differently, with men basing their decisions on abstract principles and women basing theirs on the ways the decisions will affect people (Gilligan, 1982). As ESL instructors, we often confront problems in which ethical systems from various cultures appear to conflict. We have a responsibility to help our students understand the nature of these conflicts and possibly modify their behavior if they plan to remain in the United States for any length of time. Below we focus on three ethical issues: gift giving, plagiarism/cheating, and interaction with government or other outside institutions.

One issue of ethical concern that often arises in ESL classes is gift giving. In some cultures, gift giving is a much more important part of social interaction than it is in the United States. According to Seward (1972), the Japanese, for example, use the word on for obligations they "believe they incur passively or automatically just by being Japanese—these include obligations to their parents, teachers, and the emperor. They must try to repay, at least in part, these obligations" (p. 33). Condon (1984) further reports, "Gift giving in Japan reflects much of the culture and so is very different from gift giving in the United States. Not only who gives gifts, but what kind of gifts are given, when they are given, and how they are given are all equally important" (p. 81).

Within the United States, the system is different, and faculty may be troubled about the significance of accepting gifts. Often ESL students bring a little memento from their home countries to instructors. Such a token is usually perfectly acceptable, but anything more than a token may be problematic. If the student does not come from a background of means, buying such a gift might well have been a financial hardship. From the point of view of an instructor from the United States, it may seem wrong to accept an overly expensive gift. From the students' point of view, however, it is insulting for an instructor not to accept it. A particular problem arises when a gift is given shortly before a test or before grades are assigned. The gift then takes on the character of a bribe, although it is probably not intended as such. Leki (1992) points out that such small gifts can be viewed as "tokens of respect and gratitude with no baser intentions in mind at all" (p. 56). The NAFSA Code of Ethics (NAFSA, 1994) addresses the question of accepting gifts by cautioning members to be sensitive to the varying cultural practices of gift giving but to refrain from accepting any gifts that are expensive or could be intended to influence them as they perform their professional responsibilities (p. 7).

What do we do about these situations? It may be appropriate to take class time to discuss the entire issue of gift giving with students. Classes can work with differences in the connotations of words. A *memento* or a *token* is just a small gift with very little monetary value, whereas a *gift* per se is usually something a little larger. A gift given before a test could be viewed as a *bribe* and is not appropriate. Students should be taught that such gestures may be considered unethical and unacceptable.

Gift giving behavior, however, is very difficult to change. Even setting a program policy of no gifts may not work. Penny Larson (personal communication, 1994), a former community college administrator, reports that when her institution banned even group or class gifts, teachers then found themselves "receiving many individual gifts, which defeated the original purpose of the ban." Even after learning about bribes, students may offer a gift and actually say, "This is not a bribe." Sharon Seymour (personal communication, 1994), a community college instructor, suggests that instead of a gift the "whole class could do an album of pictures from everyone." It may be necessary to broach the issue with each new class of incoming students and tell them that a memento may be appropriate but that gift giving should not get out of hand. Each situation must be handled with tact and cultural understanding. ESL students need an understanding of the ramifications of their gift giving behaviors within the ethical and cultural milieu of the United States.

Dealing with plagiarism and cheating is a second common ethical issue in our profession. While anyone in education can expect problems in this area, the problem is more complex in ESL because of cultural differences in the definitions of plagiarism and cheating and in the various behaviors surrounding them. These topics can be hot points for faculty, who feel that their concept of academic honesty is an absolutely integral part of the educational process and that any violation is extremely serious.

Specifically, regarding plagiarism, what is defined as such in the United States may simply not have the same implications in some other cultures. In the United States, we put great value on originality and creativity in our writing and regard our writing as our personal possession (Leki, 1992). However, our thoughts and ideas must be supported by references to other writers and scholars in the field. This requires thorough documentation. This ideal writing style in the U.S., consisting of the writer's opinion and voice and style, supported by references to the work of others, may seem self-evidently appropriate to U.S. instructors (and often, but not always, to native writers of English); it may seem to be a confusing and alien amalgam to many ESL writers.

ESL students represent a range of different understandings of ownership of writing. In some cultures, the words of ancient scholars are valued, and it is seen as presumptuous to claim originality, as if one's own ideas were as good as or better than those of established writers (Leki, 1992). For example, Shen (1989) has written that as a student in China, he was forced to refer to experts in his papers because the Party taught that as an individual he had no claim to original ideas. In the U.S., then, he had to learn to find his voice by assuming another persona, an American self, to write the way American professors wanted him to write. Thus, perhaps, when students are taught that everything must come from the voice of others, they may feel that there is little need for documentation. In the U.S., however, because writing requires a combination of original ideas and references to others, it is important to clearly demarcate the two by means of appropriate documentation. Perhaps misunderstandings can be ameliorated by classroom discussion of the cultural differences and the ethical and practical considerations of switching or adopting the American mode of writing. Many ESL writing texts provide guidance in documentation (e.g., Axelrod & Cooper, 1994; Spack, 1990). In any case, it is unfair and even unethical to neglect this area of instruction if our goal is to prepare students for additional education in the United States.

Of interest is an exchange on plagiarism in recent issues of the *Journal of Second Language Writing*. Deckert (1993) found that first-year students at a tertiary-level institution in Hong Kong had a limited ability to recognize plagiarism or what would be considered plagiarism by Western standards. Pennycook (1994) took issue with Deckert's "understanding of the complexity of plagiarism," contending that Deckert's

> basic premise that plagiarism is clear and objectifiable and can therefore be easily recognized is much more open to question. More specifically, I think he oversimplifies what is in fact a highly complex issue, is dismissive of Chinese practices of learning, and suggests solutions to the 'problem' that lack sensitivity to the context of education here [Hong Kong]. (pp. 277-278)

Pennycook further contended that students' deviation from Western norms should not be simply explained by cultural differences and be considered something to be remedied, but should be questioned and may even be considered a kind of "cultural imposition" (p. 278). Naturally this assertion would have less validity in the United States, but it is still a viewpoint for ESL writing instructors to consider.

The issue of cheating, in forms apart from plagiarism (e.g., exchanging or copying answers during a test, stealing copies of a test in advance, having someone else write a paper, buying a paper from a commercial service or another student, having someone else take one's seat at an exam) has related cultural dimensions. In the United States there is a tradition of individualism in which each person is expected to do his or her own work. However, in *Habits of the Heart* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985), the authors point out that there are numerous ambiguities associated with individualism in the United States. While we rigorously affirm our right to individuality, we must also acknowledge our civic responsibilities to our fellow human beings. "Philosophical defenders of modern individualism have frequently presumed a social and cultural context for the individual ..." (p. 144).

Current educational practices in the United States provide a microcosm of this ambiguity. Many educators now advocate cooperative learning, an approach in which students teach each other, and the teacher is no longer a sage on the stage, but rather a guide from the side. At the time of tests and exams, however, the cooperative principle is no longer operative. While there are numerous studies showing that up to three fourths of native U.S. college students have cheated and have justified it on pragmatic grounds (e.g., Kibler, 1994; McLeod, 1994), anyone caught assisting another during an examination is subject to any one of a number of severe punishments. Are we perhaps sending a mixed message here? And by being harshly judgmental of international students who cheat, are we perhaps being somewhat hypocritical?

There are numerous cultural differences surrounding this issue. Leki (1992) points out that in many parts of the world, exam results can determine a student's whole future; thus it is accepted that "friends and relatives have the right to call upon each other for any help they need, and that the call must be answered. Some students feel as much obliged to share exam answers or research papers as they would to share their notes of that day's class or to share their book with a classmate" (p. 53).

Cultural differences are explored in the research of Kuehn, Stanwyck and Holland (1990), which deals with the self-reporting of attitudes toward three cheating behaviors: using crib notes, copying from someone else, and allowing another person to copy. The subjects included native-born U.S. students, Arabic speakers, and Spanish speakers. Analysis of written comments provided the following conclusions: "More than any other group, U.S. students categorized all three behaviors as cheating. Arabic and Spanish speakers tended to describe the behaviors as 'dishonest' instead of 'cheating.' No Spanish speakers used the word cheating to describe allowing someone to copy" (p. 316). The authors conclude that "What is cheating in one culture may have an entirely different value in another" (p. 317). One of our own students recently said that for scholars from the Ukraine it is moral and appropriate to help each other on the exam. In the U.S., if you ask someone during the exam to help you, you will be considered as a cheater. However, in the Ukraine, you participate in a kind of collective effort, not in a 'fight for yourself' struggle (Shats, 1994).

This issue is difficult to teach. We as instructors have strong feelings about the issue, combined with, perhaps, a sense of being personally betrayed by cheating in our classrooms. In fact, our obviously strong feelings may be a signal to the students of the importance of this issue and of the seriousness of cheating behaviors. W. Jon Lambden, a community college instructor, reports obtaining some success with this issue by asking his students at the beginning of the term whether they want to do their tests individually or cooperatively. They almost always prefer to do the test cooperatively. However, cooperative testing also entails cooperative grading. Thus, students quickly see the value of working individually, and by the end of the semester prefer to take tests individually. It is better for students to learn these concepts early, in the fairly sheltered environment of ESL, rather than later in their mainstream classes. Explicit discussion of Western standards regarding cheating and plagiarism is useful; some textbooks include readings on the topic (e.g., Kibler, 1994). Smith (1994) outlines a unit on cheating in which students analyze the causes and results of cheating and develop a class policy on cheating.

A third area in which cultural understandings may come into play is in the way different cultures interface with bureaucratic agencies or other individuals or organizations outside the academic setting. ESL instructors are sometimes asked to intercede on behalf of a student before the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). This might involve simply writing a letter on behalf of a student asking for a practical training extension or verifying information on an I-20 form. Such requests generally present no problem. However, any type of fabrication of information for the INS or attempts to offer extra monetary compensation for services rendered is clearly problematic. This may be a new understanding for students who come from countries where government bureaucracies can be easily bribed and are perceived as having little integrity. Instructors may also be asked to write a letter to parents or scholarship-granting organizations stating (falsely) that the student is no longer taking English classes, or is taking English classes at a higher level than s/he really is, or is getting better grades in the English classes than s/he really is. Or a student may ask for a favor or a change in grade, mentioning that s/he has connections with important people in the university or the government. Although instructors are unlikely to agree to such requests, and should not do so, an understanding of the cultural background that allows students to make such requests may help us in dealing with them.

However, understanding such issues is not a straightforward matter. There are many examples of ambiguity, both in the U.S. and in other countries. According to Reisman (1979), "a transaction bribe, or a TB, is a payment routinely and usually impersonally made to a public official to secure or accelerate the performance of his prescribed function. Examples of transaction bribes include...the bribe given to a customs official on the Mexican border to move things along more rapidly" (pp. 69-70). Furthermore, "In different societies there appear to be sectors in which TBs are acceptable according to an operational code and sectors in which they are not" (pp. 72-73). Noonan (1984) points out that holiday tips routinely given to letter carriers in the United States "and any other tips to federal employees are by law classified as bribes" (p. 688). Yet the practice is widespread in the United States and very much a part of our culture. This is a clear example of the necessity of examining our own cultural systems as well as those of our students. Such issues warrant class discussion. In addition to discussion, instructors can invite local, state, and federal officials to class to provide a more in-depth look at these issues.

In this paper we have limited ourselves to two broad areas of professional ethics that relate to what happens in the classroom and what happens between faculty and students: faculty responsibilities to students, and systems of ethics in conflict. This is not to say that other important ethical issues do not exist in the profession, for they do (e.g., recruitment of students, placement of students, program standards, employment issues, and faculty-faculty interactions). Rather, we have chosen these broad areas and our examples to illustrate the wide range of ethical issues that an ESL faculty member encounters. Faculty in the classroom for the first time as well as seasoned teachers face these and similar situations. Often we are unsure of how to deal with these issues, wanting to balance sensitivity and respect for our students and their cultural beliefs with knowledge of what is considered appropriate behavior in the U.S. Definitive answers as to what to do in each situation cannot be dictated for faculty or for students, yet by examining our own and our students' beliefs about what is right and wrong, we can better understand ourselves and others while assisting our students in becoming aware of what is appropriate in U.S. education. TESL education programs and the ESL profession must continue to grapple with these and other ethical issues. ■

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Can Advanced ESL Students Become Effective Self-Editors? [1]

Today's ESL writing teachers and students as well as content-area professors and textbook publishers generally agree that systematic attention to accuracy in student writing is both necessary and possible, even in a process-oriented composition classroom. The author has developed an integrated approach to teaching editing skills to advanced ESL writing students. The present study investigates the effectiveness of this approach.

A group of 30 students in two sections of a semester-long ESL freshman composition course were taught systematically to identify, prioritize, and attempt to correct their most serious and frequent errors. Their compositions were collected throughout the semester (3 to 5 papers per student, for a total of 136 essays), and analyzed to see whether they were able, over the course of the semester, to reduce the number of errors they made. The results showed that most students were successful in reducing their overall percentages of error; further, significant differences in their performance on in-class versus out-of-class writing were noted.

Most university-level ESL writing teachers know that the academic discourse community demands a relatively high standard of accuracy in student writing. Thus, our students will not succeed outside of the sheltered world of the ESL class unless they can learn to reduce the frequency and seriousness of their errors. Since we will not always be there to help our students, it is vitally important that they learn to edit their own work successfully.

In response to these observations, I have formulated a systematic approach to help my advanced ESL writing students become more self-sufficient as editors. I have also trained dozens of graduate student interns to use this approach and have shared the specifics with audiences at several conferences. However, though I had anecdotal evidence that my approach was an effective one–from watching my own students and from the reports of my graduate students–I was unable to present any empirical evidence to this effect.

To address this issue, I undertook a semester-long research project during which the progress of 30 ESL students was observed. The students in this course were systematically taught to identify, prioritize, and correct their most serious and frequent errors. Their compositions were collected throughout the semester and analyzed to see whether the students were able, over the course of the semester, to reduce the number of errors they made in five predefined categories.

Background: The Problem

Attention to grammar in ESL writing classes is an issue that has swung to various extremes over the past 20 years. Early L2 writing researchers (Krashen, 1984; Zamel, 1985) criticized ESL teachers for their obsessive attention to sentence-level error in student writing, claiming that this hindered the development of the students' own ideas. With the widespread acceptance of process approach techniques in both L1 and L2 composition, attention to error went to the opposite extreme–benign neglect. However, it quickly became obvious to some scholars that this view did not lead to the production of student papers that were accurate enough to satisfy the academic community (Eskey, 1983; Horowitz, 1986).

At the same time that teachers were realizing the importance of attention to both ideas and mechanics, fluency and accuracy, three other things were happening. First, research into the area of *error gravity* (e.g., Janopolous, 1992; Santos, 1988; Vann, Lorenz, & Meyer, 1991; Vann, Meyer, & Lorenz, 1984) demonstrated that content-area professors generally find ESL-type errors less tolerable than native-speaker errors and that these errors affect their overall evaluation of the students' papers. Second, researchers who examined ESL student opinions about the written feedback they receive on their papers (Cohen, 1987; Cohen & Cavalcanti, 1990; Ferris, 1995a; Foster & Migliacci, 1995; Hedgcock & Lefkowitz, 1994; Leki, 1991; McCurdy, 1992; Radecki & Swales, 1988), learned that ESL students themselves feel that written feedback on their grammar is important (i.e., that they expect it and find it helpful). Third, a number of textbooks concerned specifically with editing student writing have appeared over the past several years (e.g., Ascher, 1993; Fox, 1992; Lane & Lange, 1993; Raimes, 1992). In sum, it seems that the opinions of teachers, content-area professors, students, and textbook publishers have converged: Accuracy is important, and teachers can help their students to improve their editing skills. The question, of course, is how to do so effectively.

Studies of Error Correction in ESL Student Writing

When Should Errors Be Corrected? Studies and discussions of error correction in ESL student writing have addressed the following questions:

1. When should errors be corrected?
2. Which errors should be corrected?
3. By what method(s) should errors be corrected?[2]

With regard to the first question, early discussions of error correction in ESL composition (Hendrickson, 1980; Krashen, 1984), suggested that teachers can most effectively help students to reduce their written errors by intervening *between* drafts of compositions (rather than after a final draft) to point out error location to the student writers. This claim echoed those of L1 researchers (Freedman, 1987; Hillocks, 1986; Knoblauch & Brannon, 1981) and has empirical support from L2 studies (Fathman & Whalley, 1990; Robb, Ross & Shortreed, 1986).

Which Errors Should Be Corrected? Researchers agree that error correction in student writing should be selective (Hendrickson, 1980; Robb, et al., 1986). In particular, they state that error correction in writing will be most effective if teachers focus on errors which are global (interfere with the overall comprehensibility of a text), stigmatizing (offend native speaker audiences) and frequent (Bates, Lane & Lange, 1993; Hendrickson, 1980). Bates et al. suggest that "to be beneficial, feedback on errors must be accurate, clear, consistent, and selective, that is, priority given to those errors that most interfere with communication" (p. 16).

How Should Written Errors Be Corrected? As to how written errors should be corrected, researchers in both L1 and L2 composition have concluded that direct correction of errors in student writing (i.e., correcting the errors for the student) is ineffective in helping students to reduce their frequency of errors in subsequent compositions (Bates et al., 1993; Hillocks, 1986; Knoblauch & Brannon, 1981; Leki, 1990; Robb, et al., 1986). However, indirect correction methods (noting the location and/or type of error and asking students to correct errors themselves) appear to have a more positive effect on long-term student improvement in accuracy and editing skills (Bates et al., 1993; Fathman & Whalley, 1990; Hendrickson, 1980; Lalande, 1984; Robb, et al., 1986). Writing researchers also agree that ESL students need to be moved steadily towards independence as editors of their own writing, recognizing that students will eventually face many real-world writing tasks beyond the ESL classroom with which their teachers will not be able to help them (Bates, et al., 1993; Frodesen, 1991; Hendrickson, 1976; Lane & Lange, 1993).

Research Questions

Using these research findings as a springboard, I adopted the action research paradigm to further investigate the issue. I began by identifying the problem and developing a process approach to teaching editing skills. (The term *process approach* is used deliberately. Like the broader application of the term, this view of teaching editing skills assumes that learning editing skills is a recursive discovery process over which the individual student has control and responsibility.) I then sought to evaluate the effectiveness of the approach, using the following research questions to guide the study:

1. Was the editing process students were taught successful in helping individual students to reduce their overall percentages of error?
2. Were the students successful in reducing their percentages of error in specific categories on which they had been instructed to focus?
3. Were the students more successful in reducing errors on in-class or at-home essays?

Method

Subjects. The subjects were 30 university students enrolled in two sections of an ESL freshman composition course at California State University, Sacramento, during the Spring, 1993 semester. The 30 students ranged in class level from freshmen to graduate students. Six were international students; the other 24 were permanent residents of the United States. Their time in the United States ranged from four months to 15 years. The students represented 10 different first language groups (Amharic, Chinese, Estonian, Greek, Hmong, Korean, Laotian, Russian, Spanish, and Vietnamese), with the largest groups being Vietnamese speakers (9 students), Chinese speakers (8 students), and Spanish speakers (4 students).

All students in the course were at advanced levels of ESL proficiency. They had enrolled in the course after either placing at this level on the university's ESL diagnostic test or passing the previous course. Nearly two-thirds of the students had already taken one or more ESL composition courses at the university. Thus, most of these students were proficient in not only English language skills but English academic writing as well.

The Sample. The student essays analyzed for this study were essays written by the students during the composition class. Although three out-of-class essays and two in-class essays were assigned, some essays were missing from the total sample of 136 essays: 57 written in-class and 79 written out-of-class. The in-class essays averaged 484 words in length; the out-of-class essays were approximately 860 words long.

The essays were written on a variety of topics. They included personal experience, opinion, and comments on and analysis of other authors' texts (see Appendix A). The in-class essays were on assigned topics, but the students had some topical choice for their out-of-class assignments. Thus, students' progress at different points of the semester across a variety of topics and writing situations could be observed. The students wrote a minimum of three drafts of each out-of-class essay. I responded to first drafts, primarily making comments on students' ideas and organization. However, I usually did, in an end note, make a general comment about the student's most pervasive grammar problems, for example, *You have a lot of run-on sentences in this draft. I have marked several examples on the first page of your essay. Watch out for this as you revise.* Students revised their drafts at home and brought in their second drafts, which were edited by peers.[3] They then polished their papers at home and turned in a final (third) draft, on which I provided more comments and corrections and assigned a letter grade. Students were allowed to revise their essays as many times as they liked for a higher grade. Since not all students exercised this option, the third drafts were analyzed for this study.

Instructional Context. The composition class included a variety of activities: discussion of course readings (both teacher and student-led), discussion and practice in writing strategies, and peer revision activities. In addition, students were trained throughout the semester to develop and improve their editing skills. During the first week of the semester, they wrote a diagnostic essay in class. Students then received a diagnostic essay report form (Appendix C) on which their particular areas of weakness were noted, along with an indication of what grade they might receive if still writing at this level at the end of the semester.

Class instruction on editing consisted of the following steps: (a) consciousness-raising about the importance of editing in general and of each particular student's areas of need; (b) training in recognizing major error types; (c) teaching students to find and correct their own errors (Ferris, 1995b).

During the first week of the semester, on a diagnostic essay report form, students were advised that they appeared to have significant problems with certain error types; they were also directed to pay special attention to these error types during the course. Subsequent classroom activities related to editing included individual and small-group analysis of sample sentences and essays to reinforce the seriousness of the errors and the importance of editing. Such activities were coupled with exercises familiarizing students with the five error categories, peer- and self-editing of students' own essay drafts, and whole-class instruction by the teacher on various discrete grammar points (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Teaching Editing Skills: An Overview

Stage 1: (Weeks 1-3) Focusing Students On Form

Goals:

- Students learn to recognize the importance of improving editing skills
- Students begin to identify their own sources of error

Activities:

- Students write a diagnostic essay; teacher prepares a report of major weaknesses and indicates what sort of grade the student is likely to receive if such problems persist to the end of the term
- Students examine sample sentences and essays for the purpose of noting what comprehensibility problems are rooted in sentence-level errors

Stage 2: (Weeks 4-10) Providing Training In Recognizing Major Error Types

Goals and Activities:

- Students understand and identify major error types in sample essays
- Students peer edit
- Students keep written records (turned in with writing projects) of the major types of errors they make.
- Instruction on major sources of error is given in class, lab, or through independent study, as necessary.

Stage 3: (Weeks 11-15) Students Finding and Correcting Their Own Errors

Goals and Activities

- Students edit their own essays and chart their progress.
- Instruction on major sources of error continues.

Analysis of Sample. Each composition was analyzed for occurrences of error in five major categories (nouns, verbs, sentence structure, punctuation, miscellaneous). (See Figure 2 and Appendix B.) For pedagogical purposes, I had identified the five categories as being representative of the language errors which are most frequent and serious for ESL students in this context and at this level of proficiency.

During the analysis, an error frequency tally sheet was kept for each student (See Appendix C for an example). For each composition, the number of words was counted. Then the essay was read carefully for instances of error of the five major types. Each error was marked, using a color-coding system; after the marking was completed, the number of errors of each type was counted. Finally, for each essay, error percentages were calculated by dividing the number of errors in each category by the number of words in the essay (Kroll, 1990).

In most cases, the errors were easy to identify and classify. For instances which were less clear, a second rater analyzed and categorized the errors as well. Examples of errors for which the second rater was consulted included the following: (a) confusing sentences with multiple layers of errors; (b) lexical errors for which it was not clear whether there was a noun- or verb-form error or whether the writer had simply selected the wrong word; and (c) certain errors in spelling. For such cases, the second rater, who had been socialized previously to the categories of analysis being used, was asked to read the whole essay and then to categorize the particular error(s) in question. About 15% of the essays were read by the second rater. Interrater reliability was high (almost 93%).

Figure 2

Error Categories Used In Analysis

Type 1: **Noun Errors**
- a. Plural endings
- b. Articles and determiners

Type 2: **Verb Errors**
- a. Verb tense
- b. Verb form

Type 3: **Sentence Structure Errors**
- a. Sentence fragments
- b. Run-ons and comma splices
- c. Extra words
- d. Missing words
- e. Word order

Type 4: **Punctuation Errors**
- a. Comma use (not including comma splices)
- b. Semicolon use
- c. Quotation marks
- d. Apostrophes
- e. Capitalization

Type 5: **Miscellaneous Errors**
- a. Spelling
- b. Wrong word/word form
- c. Preposition use
- d. Pronoun reference

When all of the essays had been examined, two statistical analyses of the data were completed. First, each individual student's efforts were examined to see whether s/he had decreased percentages of error over the course of the semester. For each of the five error categories, a repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was completed across the five essays (two in class and three at home) that had been collected for the study. Second, the students' percentages of error on in-class versus out-of-class essays were calculated and compared by means of paired tests for each of the five error categories.

Results and Discussion

Research Question 1: Did Students Decrease Their Overall Percentages of Error? The results indicated that most students were successful in decreasing their overall percentages of error in at least some of the five categories. Of the 30 students, only two showed no improvement whatsoever. Table 1 shows the total number of students who decreased their percentages of error, by each error type. The ANOVA results indicated significant differences in error percentages over the course of the semester in all categories except punctuation.

Table 1

Total Number of Students Who Decreased Their Percentages of Error, by Category

Error Type	Out-of-Class[a]	In-class[b]	ANOVA results		
			F	df	p
1 Nouns	10	22	14.53	4, 68	.000
2 Verbs	18	2	6.97	4, 68	.000
3 Sentence structure	14	11	3.75	4, 68	.008
4 Punctuation	13	12	1.21	4, 68	.315 (ns)
5 Miscellaneous	16	19	6.12	4, 68	.000

Note. [a]$n = 29$; [b]$n = 27$

Research Question 2: Did Students Decrease Their Percentages of Error in Targeted Categories? It is encouraging to note that the overwhelming majority of the students in this study showed at least some improvement in editing their own errors. On the other hand, they were not always successful in reducing their percentages of error in the specific categories on which they had been advised to focus. As Table 2 shows, there was considerable variation in error reduction in the targeted categories across both error category and writing context (in class or at home). For nouns, for example, only 25% of the 20 students who were told to pay special attention to noun errors reduced their error percentages on out-of-class essays, while 90% of these same students made fewer noun errors during in-class writing by the end of the semester.

The results were especially dismal with regard to verb errors, a category of errors given much attention by ESL teachers, students, and content-area professors (Vann et al., 1991): Of 12 students advised to focus on verbs, only six (50%) improved their percentages of error on at-home essays while only one student (8%) decreased his/her number of verb errors on in-class essays.

On the other hand, a lot of improvement was seen in the *sentence structure* and *miscellaneous* categories in both contexts.

Finally, the differences seen in Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that, in some cases, students improved their error percentages even when they had not been specially instructed by the teacher to work on those types of errors. For instance, 18 of the 30 students in the sample decreased their error percentages in the verb category on out-of-class writing (Table 1), but only six of the 12 students who had been instructed to focus on verbs improved in this category (Table 2).

Table 2

Students' Success in Reducing Error Percentages in Individual Most Frequent Error Categories

Category	No. of students w/this problem in this category	No. of same students who improved in this category *At home*	*In class*
1 Nouns	20	5 (25%)	18 (90%)
2 Verbs	12	6 (50%)	1 (8%)
3 Sentence structure	16	10 (63%)	9 (56%)
4 Punctuation	4	0 (0%)	4 (100%)
5 Miscellaneous	18	10 (56%)	15 (83%)

One explanation for such variation may be the relative difficulty of the morpho-syntactic rules represented in the five categories. For instance, it is not particularly difficult to explain to students when to put appropriate plural endings on nouns or how to avoid sentence fragments or run-on sentences; on the contrary, it is extremely challenging for teachers to present and for students (even native speakers) to grasp the nuances of the English verb tense system. However, it is also likely that these results demonstrate that attention to editing concerns is a highly variable, individualized process, depending on such factors as first language, English language proficiency, learning styles, motivation, and personality. In other words, some students simply may have been more willing and/or more able to attend to these sentence-level problems than others were. If nothing else, this result suggests that an individualized approach to teaching editing, such as the one used in these composition classes, may be the most effective in helping the greatest number of students to improve in their grammatical accuracy.

Another surprising pattern in these data was that many students showed a significant improvement (decline) in their error percentages on their second of three at-home essays, followed by an upswing in error percentages on the third essay. There are two possible explanations for this pattern. One is that the second assignment, which asked students to relate ideas in a reading to their own experiences/opinions, appeared to be less cognitively demanding than the third assignment, which asked the students to analyze an argumentative essay. It has been suggested that the more comfortable student writers are with an essay topic, the more proficient their writing will be on all levels, including the syntactic level; further, argumentative writing has been shown to be especially demanding for second language writers (Ferris, 1994; Leki & Carson, 1995). On the other hand, the explanation may be simply that the third essay was written late in the semester, when the students were burdened with midterms, projects and papers from other classes, and may not have devoted as much time to editing their papers carefully as they had earlier in the term.

Research Question 3: Was There a Difference in Error Percentages Between In-Class and At-Home Essays? Table 3 provides the mean error percentages for the entire group of students in each of the five categories on at-home versus in-class essays, together with the results of the tests which measured differences between the two writing contexts. The results of the second set of statistical analyses were much more consistent, as Table 3 demonstrates: The students as a group made fewer errors in all categories on out-of-class essays. The differences between this finding and those in Tables 1 and 2–which indicated that for some categories, some students made fewer errors on in-class essays than at-home essays (See Table 1 for nouns, for example)–result from the fact that Table 3 looks at the whole group of students, rather than at individual progress (or regression).

Table 3

Error Percentages on At-Home vs. In-Class Essays

Error Type	Home^a		Class^b		t test results		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	df	p
1 Nouns	.007	.00	.011	.01	3.48	29	.002
2 Verbs	.010	.01	.016	.01	4.71	29	.000
3 Sentence structure	.009	.01	.015	.01	2.70	29	.011
4 Punctuation	.009	.01	.011	.01	1.56	29	.129 (ns)
5 Miscellaneous	.013	.01	.024	.01	4.03	29	.000

Note. $^a n = 79$; $^b n = 57$

The results shown in Table 3 suggest that students' written production is generally more accurate when they are given adequate time to edit their work. Prior research has indicated that ESL students' writing errors may be judged more harshly by the American academic audience than are native speakers' errors and that ESL students do not in general perform as well as native speakers on timed writing examinations (Ferris, 1994). Thus ESL students may have more opportunities to succeed in university studies if they are allowed to do their written work without the time pressure that characterizes written assignments and examinations in many disciplines. A prime example is the graduation writing examination that is required at many universities, including the one at which this research was conducted. Since students (especially ESL students) may be able to present their writing skills in the best light when they can write out of class (Kroll, 1990), perhaps more universities should adopt the portfolio approach to writing assessment.

Conclusions

The Importance of Personalized Editing Instruction. The somewhat mixed results of this research do not give a clear-cut answer to the original question which inspired the study: Was the system of editing taught to students successful in helping them to reduce their errors? At least modest success was demonstrated, in that only two students showed no improvement at all. The other 28 students made some progress in reducing their error percentages, even if this progress was not consistent across error types, contexts (in- or out-of-class), or assignments. As previously discussed, these mixed results show how individual a process editing really is, and this finding suggests that personalized instruction and guidance in editing may be most effective.

It should also be noted, of course, that this was not experimental research. No control group was used and the effects of natural development over the course of the semester were not measured (even if there were any logical way to measure such effects). In other words, whatever improvement was made by the students was not necessarily the result of the teaching techniques used. Still, the addition of systematic, personalized editing instruction certainly did not appear to have harmed the students. Most of them (28 of 30) showed some improvement over the course of the semester; thus it seems safe to assume that editing instruction helped at least some of them.

The Time Factor. The student writers in this study were far more likely to make errors in the five categories analyzed when writing in class, under time pressure, as shown by the consistent differences seen in Table 3. As discussed above, this result may indicate that out-of-class writing allows ESL students adequate time to monitor their production and thus to present their skills in the best possible light. While there may be practical reasons for continuing to use some sort of in-class evaluation (most notably the prevention of cheating), perhaps such assessment can be more equally balanced with consideration of assignments in which the students have the best opportunity to edit their work for grammatical accuracy.

Directions for Further Research. Since this study was small and had mixed results, it should be replicated before any firm conclusions are drawn. Other aspects of editing that should be further examined are the students' ability to decrease errors in the major categories between preliminary and final drafts (as was analyzed in Fathman & Whalley, 1990) and the effects of teacher and peer feedback on early drafts on grammatical accuracy in later drafts. The effects of students' linguistic proficiency levels and individual learning styles on their ability to edit successfully should also be examined.

Finally, in the last two years, at least four new texts devoted to helping ESL students edit their writing more successfully have been published (Ascher, 1993; Fox, 1992; Lane & Lange, 1993; Raimes, 1992). Future research should evaluate the effectiveness of such texts, used systematically by teachers and students, in helping students to improve their editing skills. These current approaches to error analysis and correction in writing may prove to be more effective in promoting accuracy in student writing than were earlier approaches, which focused on correcting every single error and on teaching students the entire English grammar rather than helping them to prioritize their own areas of need. ■

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Endnotes

1 This research was supported by a grant from the California State University Summer Fellowship Program.

2 This framework of questions was adapted in part from Hendrickson (1980).

3 Students also had access to tutors in the English department writing center and to the learning skills center. Though it is impossible to determine exactly how much help such tutors may have given to particular students, I attempted to ensure that students were doing their own work by requiring them to submit all drafts, peer feedback forms, prewriting notes, and so forth–thus building a fossil record of each essay project.

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Appendix A

Summary Of Essay Topics

In-Class Essays

1. **Diagnostic Essay** (first week of the semester): Students were given about 45 minutes to write on the following question:

In your opinion, what should be the most important objectives of a university reading/writing class (like this one!)? In your answer, you may wish to consider: (1) the need (in general) for students to take a writing class; (2) specific objectives that a class should meet. You may also wish to call upon your previous experiences with writing instruction, in English or in your native language.

2. **Final Examination** (end of the semester): Students were given two hours to write on their choice of the two questions below. Prior to the exam, they read "A Mason-Dixon Memory," by Clifton Davis, which appeared in the May, 1993, issue of *Reader's Digest.*

A: Clifton Davis tells of a recent event that triggered a significant childhood memory. Have you had an experience that brought a former incident to mind?

B: Clifton Davis quotes Dondre Green as saying "The kind of love they [his golf teammates] showed me that day will conquer hatred every time." While this is an inspiring and uplifting statement, do you think it is a realistic one? In other words, does the love, support, and kindness of good people outweigh the effects of the bigotry of unkind, narrow-minded people?

Out-of-Class Essays

[Note: All three assignments were taken directly from the student text *Guidelines* (Spack, 1990). For assignments 2 and 3, students were given a choice of readings from *Guidelines* on which to comment. The students wrote three out-of-class drafts on each assignment; only final drafts were used in the error analysis.]

1. **Essay 1 (first draft written around week 4 of the semester):** Write an essay in which you draw from your own experience to express a personal viewpoint. Describe in detail an event or experience that has led you to learn, believe, or understand something. Your purpose in writing this essay will be to reveal to your classmates and your instructor the significance of what you have experienced. (Spack, 1990, p. 37)

2. **Essay 2 (first draft written around week 8 of the semester):** Write an essay in which you examine the relationship between ideas in the reading and your own experiences and attitudes. Show how the generalizations or theories or experiences of another writer compare to what you have learned from experience or show how they help you make sense of your own world. In writing this essay, your purpose will be to illuminate, evaluate, or test the validity of the ideas contained in the reading. Direct references to the reading–in the form of summary, paraphrase, and quotation–are necessary (Spack, 1990, p. 102).

3. **Essay 3 (first draft written around week 12 of the semester):** Write an essay in which you analyze another author's argumentative essay. Determine what the author says, how well the author's points are made, and what points may have been overlooked. Establish and support your position by either agreeing or disagreeing with–or taking a mixed position toward –some key idea(s) or issue(s) raised in the reading. In writing this essay, your purpose will be to determine the effectiveness of the argument (Spack, 1990, p. 154).

Appendix B

Description Of Error Categories Used In Analysis

Type 1: Noun Errors

a. Plural endings. This included both nouns which had plural markers (but shouldn't have) and nouns which were missing obligatory plural markers.

EXAMPLES:

- The main objectives of this course is to help students to become better writers.
- All student should learn to write well.

b. Articles/Determiners. Errors were marked if an obligatory article was missing, or if the wrong article or determiner was used.

EXAMPLES:

- Good composition teacher should help her students to improve.
- This problems can only be solved by hard work.

Type 2: Verb Errors

a. Errors in verb tense.

EXAMPLES:

- Five years ago, I come to the United States.
- Five years ago, I had learned English.

b. Errors in verb form.

EXAMPLE:

- A teacher have to work very hard.

Type 3: Sentence Structure Errors

a. Sentence fragments.

EXAMPLE:

- Teacher that really cares about her students.

b. Run-ons or comma splices.

EXAMPLE:

- I didn't know what to do, I had so many problems.

c. Missing words in a sentence.

d. Extra words in a sentence.

e. Word order problems.

Type 4: Punctuation Errors

a. Errors in comma use, both missing and unnecessary commas (excluding comma splices).

b. Errors in semicolon use, both missing and unnecessary semicolons (excluding run-on sentences or comma splices).

c. Missing or misplaced quotation marks.

d. Missing or misplaced apostrophes.

e. Errors in capitalization.

Type 5: Miscellaneous Errors

a. Spelling errors.

b. Errors in word choice or word form.

EXAMPLES:

- The tension is at its pick (peak was intended).
- I am very boring (bored was intended).

c. Errors in preposition use.

d. Errors in pronoun reference.

Appendix C

Forms Used In Analysis With Examples From One Student

1. DIAGNOSTIC ESSAY REPORT

Student #3
Student Name

1. General Comments on Content (Ideas and Organization):

You have well developed ideas and good insights on the importance of reading and writing skills. You also seem to have a good idea of how to organize an essay.

I was especially interested in your idea about reading the essay aloud, since most ESL students would not say they wished they could do this.

I wish that you had touched more on why you think reading and writing skills are important to develop. What are the practical applications of these skills, both in and out of college?

2. General Comments on Editing (Grammar, Spelling, Punctuation):

You have good control of English sentence structure and a nice vocabulary. You should focus on some of the following problem areas:

(a) Noun errors. Examples:
this *three objectives*
When student *learn*

(b) Verb errors. Example:
It encourages me to participation *in class*

(c) Some sentences are difficult to follow. Example:
I believe that by having students to read to ourselves is necessary in order for a student to practice their reading skills.

Grade you would receive if writing at this level at the end of the semester: *B*

[NOTE: This grade has *not* been recorded in my grade book. It is for your information only.]

2. ERROR REPORT FORM

Student Name: Student #3

Essay	Number of Words	Error Types Number of errors \ Error frequency ratio				
		Nouns	Verbs	Sentence structure	Punct.	Misc.
In class						
Diagnostic	357	16\.045	2\.006	4\.011	4\.011	7\.020
Final	695	8\.012	14\.020	10\.014	11\.016	25\.036
At home						
Essay 1	1178	3\.003	11\.009	11\.009	22\.019	18\.015
Essay 2	743	2\.003	5\.007	9\.012	15\.020	15\.020
Essay 3	789	6\.008	12\.015	13\.017	13\.017	20\.025

The CATESOL Journal

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Competing Motivations: LEP Adolescents' Attitudes Toward English, Learning, and Literacy

■ This exploratory study examines the attitudes of 125 limited English proficient (LEP) students in an inner city middle school in Los Angeles. Although these students have completed bilingual or ESL programs in elementary school, they enter middle school with poor English literacy skills—all scoring below the 36th percentile on the Total Reading and Total Language parts of the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). A teacher-researcher team conducted a survey to see if students' attitudes would provide insights into their poor literacy skills. The study probes attitudes toward using English in the classroom—feelings about class, peers, and parental involvement—and learning goals. The paper describes findings in which students' positive attitudes toward English and school contrast with negative attitudes toward parent and teacher involvement and a limited awareness of literacy difficulties. Further, students' attitudes contribute to their maintaining an environment limited to the fossilized English input of peers. The authors provide suggestions for working with students' attitudes and for heightening literacy awareness.

Recent statistics on the number of limited English proficient (LEP) students show that there are well over one million in California. Increasingly, many of these LEP students who have been enrolled in ESL and bilingual programs in elementary schools are arriving in junior high and middle schools still unable to cope with mainstream classes because of poor literacy skills. Many of them find themselves in a no-man's land—ineligible for ESL classes because they have completed requisite classes yet unable to read and write English sufficiently to accomplish their school tasks. They are a population of seemingly linguistically fossilized and poorly prepared LEP teenagers. This exploratory study attempts to understand one such group of adolescents in the belief that insights into their attitudes will shed light on their fossilization and enable us as educators to help these children move beyond their current plateau. The study also provides an example of teachers and researchers working together systematically to find answers to their questions about LEP students.

Virgil Middle School has a population of about 2700 students, 65% of which is LEP. The 125 students surveyed in this study are part of the school's LEP population. This school is a large, year-round, multiple-track Title 1 middle school located in inner-city Los Angeles. Most of the students come from working class family backgrounds. Such is the location of the school that many of the students were personally affected by the Los Angeles urban unrest of May 1992. The school is 86% Hispanic, and the remaining 14% are made up of Anglos, African-Americans, Laotians, Koreans, Filipinos, and Thais.

In addition to poor reading and writing proficiency in English—as shown by CTBS-U scores below the 36th percentile in the Total Reading and Total Language parts of the exam—these LEP students were described by school staff as having characteristics of low self-esteem, difficulty in concentrating on school tasks, and a tendency to become school dropouts by the age of 16. The faculty was concerned as to what measures could be taken to work with this population. But first it was necessary to find out more about the students themselves. It was at this point that a teacher-researcher team began to study this group. The first phase, which is the subject of this paper, entailed surveying the students about their attitudes toward English. This study is part of a larger project which will investigate students' parents and school faculty for their understanding of reasons underlying students' poor literacy skills.

Attitudes and motivation toward second language learning have been the subject of much research in the past few decades. Underlying these studies has been the problem of operationalizing the concept of attitude. In our study, we use Brown's (1981, cited in Ellis, 1986) definition of attitude as a "set of beliefs that the learner holds towards members of the target language group (e.g., whether they are seen as 'interesting' or 'boring', 'honest', or 'dishonest', etc.) and also towards his own culture" (p. 117). We extend this definition to include attitudes toward language, the classroom environment, and personal goals.

Studies on attitude have examined a number of variables. These variables, among others, include the influence of the learner's attitude toward the second language (L2) culture, the influence of parents' attitudes toward the L2 culture on the learner, and the influence of the learner's need to identify with second-language speaking peers. Gardner and Lambert's (1972) seminal work on Anglophone students in French immersion programs in French Montreal found correlations that positive attitudes toward the second language culture create positive motivation for language learning. Similarly, Oller, Hudson and Liu's (1977) study of Chinese college students studying English showed that a positive attitude toward the L2 culture led to positive results for L2 learning.

In contrast, however, several studies found that negative attitudes toward the L2 culture correlated with increased proficiency. Thus, Oller, Baca, and Vigil (1977), in a sociolinguistic study of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, found that positive test results did not correlate with positive attitudes towards Anglo culture but rather with a "colonized minority's" motivation to improve living conditions. Similarly, Gibson's (1987) study of working-class Asian Indian immigrants in a rural U. S. high school found that high achievement was related to motivation to be successful rather than to positive attitudes toward the Anglo culture. Other studies have shown that positive attitudes toward the L2 culture sometimes correlate with low English proficiency. Thus Grubic (1992), in a study of a group of working class Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles, found positive attitudes toward English correlating with poor English proficiency and with little improvement over several years' time. Grubic attributed this fossilization to a combination of factors including socio-economic pressure on learners to forego study for work, poor study habits, and limited educational opportunities.

Not only attitudes about culture, but parents' attitudes and peer associations can affect language learning. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) report studies in which parents' positive attitudes toward the L2 related to students' success in the L2. Peers are also seen to exert an influence on the kinds of L2 dialects learned. Thus Goldstein (1987) found that adolescent learners wanted to learn several varieties of English, including that variety (here, Black English vernacular) which would strengthen peer relationships.

Out of all these conflicting results, we surmised that a cluster of consistent psycho-social and affective variables would provide a key to the students' seemingly stunted English language growth. Given our students' minority status, low socio-economic background, and adolescent age, we hypothesized that this group would reveal negative attitudes toward the target culture and language, mistrust of school personnel, and a preference for speaking the stronger L1 with peers. Our results were to disprove most of these hypotheses.

Thus, in the belief that attitudes toward L2 learning could only be determined by listening to the students themselves, this teacher-researcher team developed a questionnaire to survey a sample of the middle school LEP population. The research questions guiding the present study were:

1. What are students' attitudes toward using English?
2. What kinds of awareness do the students have about their literacy skills in English?[1] and
3. What are the students' attitudes toward teachers, parental involvement, school, and the value of their education?

Method

Design

The tool for data collection was a questionnaire consisting of 28 multiple-choice, fill-in, and open-ended questions (see Appendix). Attempts were made to phrase questions so that students could understand them. Five intact English classes were used, and students were given an hour of class time to complete the questionnaires. During that hour, the researchers walked around the classroom, answered students' questions, and translated from English into Spanish when students were not sure of meanings. Students were repeatedly told that questions referred to their attitudes and feelings toward using English in school-related work. The activity lasted an hour because these respondents had very limited vocabularies and trouble reading and expressing their thoughts in writing.

Respondents

Out of the school's LEP student population, about 900 or one-third were designated as Preparation for Redesignation Program (PRP). PRP students, always classified as LEP, have been unable to make the transition from bilingual/ESL classes to mainstream English classes even after spending four to five years in the bilingual/ESL program. These students are multiply funded, at least through bilingual education/LEP Economic Impact Aid and Title 1 monies. They have been unable to achieve redesignation to Fluent English Proficient (FEP) status. A representative sample of 125 students from the 6th, 7th, and 8th grades was surveyed. This sample was chosen because the students' PRP English classes were on track and available to the researchers.

Out of that student sample, 77 were U.S. born and 48 foreign born.

The U.S.-born students were all from Spanish-speaking households. The breakdown for foreign-born students by country of birth was El Salvador 21; Guatemala 12; Mexico 9; Thailand 2; and one each from Honduras, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and France. The first language for 96% (121/125) of the students was Spanish. Most of the students had been in bilingual or ESL programs in elementary schools in Los Angeles. Of those that were foreign born, 67% began school in the U.S. in kindergarten or 1st grades, 10% in 2nd grade, 19% in 3rd grade, and 4% in 4th grade. Most of the students had thus had at least five years of schooling in the U.S.

Analysis

From the student questionnaires, numerical tallies in the form of percents and written comments served as the data base for generalizing about students' perceptions. Responses are interpreted with caution. As Oller (1981) has pointed out, responses can be suspect for several reasons: students' desire for approval, students' rating themselves as they would like to appear, or students' desire to seem consistent. For this reason, responses are described in terms of percentages and no statistics were used.

Results and Discussion

The results describing students' responses to the survey are reported in terms of the following categories: attitudes toward class and school; literacy awareness; peer language; teachers (or preferred sources of authority); parental involvement; and school and success.

Attitudes Toward Class and School

In this section, students' responses to questions about attitudes toward school in general, class participation, completion of homework, and course preferences are summarized.

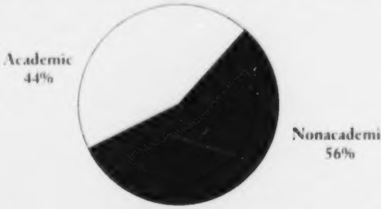
A majority of the students reported a positive attitude toward their education. In Question 22, responding to questions about whether school succeeded as a place of learning, more than three times as many students (59%) responded that they "…learn a lot in school" than those (14%) who said that they didn't "…learn much in school." And only one quarter (25%) of the students concluded that they "don't think school teaches me what I need or want to learn."

Class participation (Question 22) drew mixed responses: Forty six percent (46%) signaled they "like to answer questions in class" while 46% responded that they "don't like it when the teacher calls on me." When asked about the type of participation they preferred, twice as many students (45%) preferred to read aloud from books in class than did those (23%) who liked to read from their own writing. Thus, students indicated that they liked to participate in class when they felt secure in their involvement. They felt more secure in speaking and reading aloud from a book, but not in reading their own writing aloud.

Students also had contradictory responses toward homework (Question 22). Forty-four percent (44%) signaled that they get most of their homework finished. On the other hand, about one-third (34%) indicated they never seemed to get all their homework done. Thus, nearly half the students believed themselves to be conscientious about homework, while one-third believed themselves to be always behind.

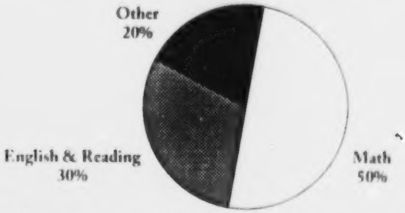
Questions about most and least liked subjects were also revealing about students' academic preferences. Students were closely divided in choosing academic versus nonacademic courses as their preferred subjects (Question 17). See Figure 1.

Figure 1: **Breakdown of preferred subjects in school**



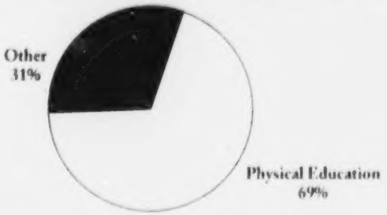
Of the 44% of students choosing academic subjects, 50% favored math, 30% chose English and reading, and 20% opted for social studies or science. See Figure 2.

Figure 2: **Breakdown of students preferring academic subjects**



Of the 56% of the students preferring nonacademic subjects, 69% chose physical education, while 31 % chose a variety of other courses (wood shop, etc.). See Figure 3.

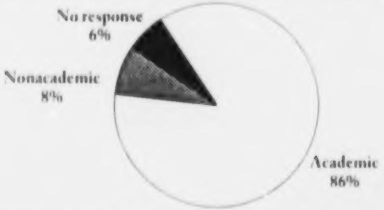
Figure 3: **Breakdown of students preferring nonacademic subjects**



Thus a majority of the students were more interested in nonacademic courses that do not promote literacy-related activities.

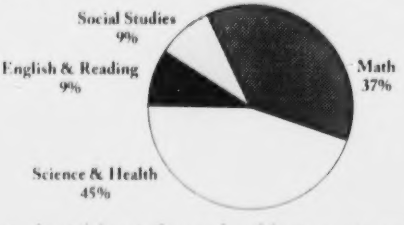
The choice of most disliked subject, Question 18, provided a sharper division of preferences. Over 86% of the students chose an academic subject as their least favorite course. Eight percent chose a nonacademic course, and 6% gave no response. See Figure 4.

Figure 4: **Breakdown of least preferred subjects**



The breakdown for the most disliked academic courses showed the following: science and health 45%, math 37%, social studies 9%, and English and reading 9%. See Figure 5.

Figure 5: **Breakdown of least preferred academic subjects**



Thus students' least favored subjects were academic—and most of these courses involve components in which students need to read and write.

Literacy Awareness

In this section, survey results regarding attitudes toward English and literacy skills are described.

A majority of the students felt positive about using English and pride in being bilingual. (Question 16).

Over 60% of students chose the comment "I like being able to speak English because I know more than one language and that makes me feel good." Similarly, over 58% chose the option, "I like the way English sounds." And 44% indicated a leisure use of English by choosing the response "When I read for fun, I read in English."

Over one-third of the students indicated experiencing difficulty with English (Question 16). Thus 39% reported vocabulary difficulties in reading by choosing, "When I read in English, there are so many words I don't understand that I just want to say, 'Forget it!'" And over 38% indicated vocabulary difficulties in speaking by choosing, "I never find the right words to say what I think", and 37% indicated vocabulary difficulties in writing with the response, "I never find the right word to write what I think."

Question 21 asked students about their awareness of difficulties with spelling, vocabulary, or dictionary use. Only one-third of the students responded. The tallies show that 24% of the students were aware of problems with spelling, 6% had difficulty finding words in the dictionary, and 13% indicated vocabulary problems because teachers used words they didn't understand. Thus, only one-third of the students show awareness of poor literacy skills—and this awareness primarily involved problems with vocabulary.

Whereas the majority of students were not aware of problems with literacy, students were cognizant of the difficulty of the skills. In Questions 19 and 20 students were asked to choose their easiest and most difficult skill in English, a near majority (48%) chose speaking as the easiest skill, while 27% chose reading. And 9% combined the two to choose speaking and reading as their easiest skills in English. On the other hand, asked to name their most difficult skill in English, over two-thirds (64%) chose writing while 10% selected reading. Answers to these questions indicate student awareness of the differing demands in each skill.

Peer Language

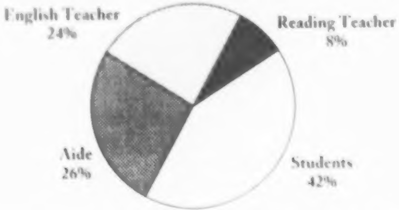
In Question 24, students were also asked about their preferred language of communication with friends. Over 75% (86/115) indicated that they use both English and Spanish with their friends. Only 21% (24/115) use only English with friends, while an even smaller percentage (6% or

7/115) use solely their L1 with friends. Many students were aware that they code switch by writing that they spoke "Spanglish" with friends.

Teachers (or Preferred Sources of Authority)

Students' attitudes toward preferred sources of help were probed in Question 25, which asked, "From whom is it easier to ask for help? English teacher, another student, teacher's aide, reading teacher." Students were also asked to explain their choices. Students rank-ordered (a) another student (42%); (b) an aide (26%); (c) reading teacher (24%); and (d) English teacher (8%). See Figure 6.

Figure 6: **Breakdown of easiest person to ask for help**



Students' comments as to their reasons are revealing about attitudes toward peers and adults. (Numbers in parentheses indicate number of students giving each reason, and quotations are taken verbatim from the questionnaires.) Students made "another student" their first choice for four basic reasons:

1. The same age is more comfortable. ("I choose another student because I feel more comfortable and when I ask the teacher I get nervase" [15]);

2. The same age is more understanding. ("I like to ask my friends because they understand better"[6]);

3. The same age is more trustworthy. ("It's because friends help Friend in other way" [6]);

4. The same age is more accessible. ("Student he sits next to you" [6]).

A teacher's aide was second choice for four general reasons:

1. An aide gives better attention. ("I like to talk to the Aide because they put more attention to me and they are nice" [13]);

2. An aide is more accessible. ("because the teacher aide is always walking around and looking if the kids have problems" [6]);

3. An aide explains well. ("I choose my Aide teacher because she will explain talk abouted wen you get in trabble" [5]);

4. An aide has more knowledge (4).

Those who preferred a reading teacher for help gave the following four general reasons: 1) a reading teacher explains well, "She will answer mi correct" (2); a reading teacher understands students better (1); 3) a reading teacher is easier to talk to (l); and 4) a reading teacher is more trustworthy (1).

Finally, an English teacher was preferred for reasons similar to those of an aide, reading teacher, and even another student:

1. An English teacher explains well. ("Teachers always maks everything easy to understand"[9]);

2. An English teacher has more knowledge. ("It's easiest to ask the English teacher because they no more than enyone" [8]);

3. An English teacher is more comfortable. ("because I feel more comfortable and she helps me a lot on my self" [5]);

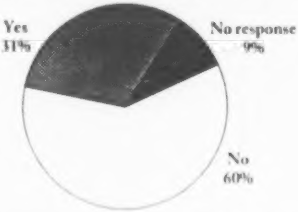
4. An English teacher is accessible. ("because it is easy" [3]).

Numbers show that students' favorite categories were in order of preference: (a) comfort (20); (b) clarity of explanation (16); (c) accessibility (16); (d) more attention (13); and (e) knowledgeableness (12). The adolescents' choices show that these qualities were all important when seeking help in school. While "another student" was preferred for his or her easy access and for friend-like qualities, teachers were preferred, though not exclusively, for their knowledge and clear explanations. The aides were sought after for their combined student-like qualities of accessibility and teacher-like qualities of knowledge and clarity of explanation. But aides also had an important quality of their own—that of giving good attention to students.

Parental Involvement

Students' attitudes toward their parents' involvement in their education was the goal of Question 27, "Do you like it when your parents come to school to speak with your teachers? Why or why not?" Nearly two thirds (60%) of the students did not want their parents to speak to teachers, while 31 % did. The other 9% did not respond. See Figure 7.

Figure 7: **Breakdown of students wanting parent/teacher conferences**



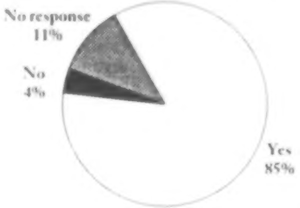
Those who did not want their parents talking to teachers gave the following main reasons: Fifty-four students were concerned with punishment ("first my mom is very extrict and if they teller that I tak my mom hits me"); 10 students were concerned with their parents' worrying over bad grades ("bec teachers don't give them good news"); and seven were concerned with teacher's informing on them ("because they'll tell her bad things about me").

Of the one-third who wanted parent-teacher talks, 22 students wanted parents to know about their school behavior and/or learning ("because they no how whe are begebin in are school"); nine felt parents' knowledge improved their work ("because they can tell her if I'm doing good in my grades and what do I need to try more"); and seven wanted to share pride with families ("because I want them to know how I am doing and I do good"). Students thus varied greatly concerning parental involvement. Those wanting involvement were proud of their accomplishments and wanted to share them with their families. The majority not wanting their parents' participation showed a fear of being found out and of being disciplined.

School and Success

In order to see if students connected education with the attainment of future goals, we posed Question 28 to the students, "Is being successful in school important to you? Why or why not?" Students overwhelmingly indicated that school was important for their future success—85%. Only 4% thought being successful in school was not important, and 11 % of the students did not respond. See Figure 8.

Figure 8: **Breakdown of students believing school brings success**



Students' main reasons were instructive as to their thinking: Thirty-six students felt school leads to a career or job ("because wen I gro up I one to be a Doctor or a Artitec"); 25 felt school would help them to be somebody in the future ("because i want to be something in life"); 18 answered that school helped them learn ("Yes because you can learned other things that you don't know"); and five each said that school improves family relations ("because my parents can be proud of me and I want them to be proud,") and school leads to college ("because wen I graduate fro high school I can go to college") and school helps one care about people ("because i like to help other people"). Students were thus overwhelmingly aware of the function of school to prepare them for achieving goals in their later lives.

Conclusions

Our survey shows that students have competing motivations and attitudes. Positive attitudes toward school, learning, and English are contrasted with limited awareness of literacy skills, less trust in teachers and parents than in peers, and a preference for nonacademic subjects.

On the positive side, students' attitudes towards English show that a majority take pride in being bilingual, like the sound of English, and use English for recreational reading. Students further report liking to participate in class. A majority also feel school teaches them a lot and report feeling relaxed and sure in class while a near majority like to talk and read aloud in class.

Further, students consider themselves to be socially bilingual as three-fourths of them use both English and Spanish with friends. Two-thirds also claim to be proud to know two languages.

On the other hand, only one-third of the students are aware of problems with expression in reading, writing, and speaking to teachers—although two-thirds are aware that writing is their hardest skill and speaking their easiest skill. Moreover, the students do not favor literacy-promoting courses. A majority prefer nonacademic subjects. Their favorite course is physical education and their most disliked course is math.

Students' negative attitudes also extend to teachers and parents. Students prefer to ask help from people they feel more comfortable with, another student or an aide, as opposed to a more knowledgeable source, an English or reading teacher. Students also prefer to keep their parents separate from their school lives. Nearly two-thirds do not want parents to confer with teachers, their main reason being fear of being disciplined.

Yet despite the negatives, students professed a basic optimism about their education. Eighty-five percent believe success in school is important for their future. School provides a promise of personal fulfillment, growth in family pride, a means to college, and even a path to a career.

Implications

We believe students' social attitudes provide a comfort zone that leads to their maintaining a fossilized interlanguage. Students' interactions with peers both in and out of school and with their families ensure few opportunities to interact with speakers of standard English. In this they are no different from most students in large city schools across the country whose major populations consist of language learners. Moreover, students' limited contact with teachers, as shown by their preference for seeking help from peers and aides, further curtails interactions with teachers who speak standard English. Also, students' preferences for nonacademic subjects like physical education over academic courses like English and social studies limit their reading and writing opportunities.

Students' attitudes, nevertheless, also provide a key to solutions to the literacy problem. Their positive feelings toward class, English, their peers, and school show a basic good will which can be capitalized upon. We believe that our understanding of attitudes could be improved if we examined more closely our students' uses of language in its contexts. This could best be done through an ethnographic study of four to six students. Thus, students' use of language would be described in terms of literacy activities at home as well as in class. This includes looking at samples of oral and written language (e.g., school papers, notes, letters) and interviews with parents and teachers.

In order for students to progress beyond their current plateau in English, we suggest the following:

1. *Students must engage in a standardized but flexible curriculum.* This curriculum will provide teachers with a multitude of materials and guide students to distinguish among the varieties of English (formal, informal, standard, nonstandard). The curriculum would include the following components: discussion and teaching of learning and thinking strategies; modeling through oral and written interaction; interaction with other students

as peer tutors; more one-on-one attention from teachers and paraprofessionals; lots of process writing with audience feedback; and the regular use of learning centers.[2]

2. *Students must engage with other students using language.* Students' comfort in interacting with peers provides a natural pathway for language promoting activities. Older students can provide role models through becoming tutors, pen pals, or visiting class and setting up discussions on topics of interest to the class. Students can also become tutors themselves to students in lower grades. Although not perfect models of English, students will develop skills in using language to ask questions, analyze problems, describe situations, and so forth, to younger students. They will also learn how to talk about texts and perhaps share writing activities with their tutees—thereby developing the behaviors prized by schools. (See Heath & Mangiola, 1991, for a description of a tutor project in a bilingual elementary school.)

3. *Students must involve parents in their education.* Students' reported attitudes of keeping parents at a distance contradicted their reported pride in sharing their school success. Students can develop projects that include their families as subject matter. For example, students can collect family histories or folk stories by taping relatives, transcribing, typing (in either the L1 or L2), and publishing these stories in a class magazine and sharing them with their families. Heath (1993) has also described a way of involving students in parent-teacher conferences by using students as interpreters and/or by having students help develop with teachers the content of the conferences.

In this study, we have shown that students' voices can provide insights into what makes them comfortable and uncomfortable about school. This knowledge not only helps us understand students but also guides us into ways we can help them become literate citizens. Students' good will, optimism, and natural curiosity can lead them to see beyond a limited English language environment into the multiple worlds of English that surround them. ■

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Acknowledgments

We wish to thank James H. Marshall, principal, and the teachers of Virgil Middle School, Los Angeles, who supported and participated in this study during 1992-1993.

Endnotes

[1] We believe literacy is not a set of skills but rather a process. However, for the purposes of the study we treat literacy as a set of skills such as reading, writing, vocabulary, and so forth.

[2] To meet these goals, we advocate smaller classes and an interdisciplinary team-teaching approach.

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Appendix

Student Questionnaire

1. Name ____

2. School ____

3. Grade ______ 4. Age ________ 5. Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female

6. Country of birth ____

7. Language(s) spoken at home ______________________________

8. Age when you came to the U. S. __________

9. Age when you began school in the U. S. __________

10. Grade when you began school in the U. S. __________

11. Did you go to school in a country other than the U. S.? ☐ Yes ☐ No

12. If YES, what was the highest grade you attended? __________

13. Name all the schools that you have attended in the U. S .

    ____

14. When you first came to the U. S., how did you feel about learning English? ____

15. Did you feel comfortable in class when you were first learning English?

    ____

16. Which of the following best express your feelings about English. (Check no more than 4.)

    - ☐ I feel relaxed and sure of myself in class.
    - ☐ I never find the right words to *say* what I think.
    - ☐ I like the way English sounds.
    - ☐ When I read for fun, I read in English.
    - ☐ I never find the right words to *write* what I think.

☐ I can't tell my teachers how I feel about problems with English.

☐ I like being able to speak English because I know more than one language and that makes me feel good.

☐ When I *read* in English, there are so many words I don't understand that I just want to say, "Forget it!"

17. What is your favorite subject in school? ______________________

18. What is the subject you dislike the most? ______________________

19. Which skill is the easiest for you in English?

☐ Speaking ☐ Reading ☐ Writing

20. Which skill is the hardest for you in English?

☐ Speaking ☐ Reading ☐ Writing

21. Do any of the following express your knowledge of English? (Check any that apply.)

☐ I have trouble spelling words in English.

☐ In my classes, teachers often use words that I don't understand.

☐ When I read in English, I have trouble finding words in the dictionary.

22. Which of the following best express how you feel about your classes? (Check no more than 4.)

☐ I like to answer questions in class.

☐ I don't like it when the teacher calls on me.

☐ I like to read from books aloud in class.

☐ I like to read my own writing aloud in class.

☐ I get most of my homework done.

☐ I learn a lot in school.

☐ I never seem to get all of my homework done.

☐ I don't learn much in school.

☐ I don't think school teaches me what I need or want to learn.

23. Would you rather speak, read, and write in English or another language? (Write the name of the language beside each activity.)

a. speak ____________ b. read ____________ c. write ____________

24. When you are with your friends, do you like to speak to them in English or in another language? ______________

If another language, which one? ______________

25. In class, from whom is it easier to ask for help? (Number in order from ***1* = *easiest*** to ***4* = *hardest*.**)

____ English teacher ____ another student

____ teacher's aide ____ reading teacher

Explain your order. ____

26. Would you have been a better student in the country where you were born? (Answer only if you were born in another country.) ____________

Why or why not? ____

27. Do you like it when your parents come to school to speak with your teachers? __________ Why or why not?__________________________

28. Is being successful in school important to you? ____________________

Why or why not? ____

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The CATESOL Journal CATESOL EXCHANGE

__Editor's Note:__ Although the following article is not the kind of paper we usually publish, we have decided to do so to remind us that ESL is not just about teaching and learning but also about learners and teachers – people working together to create a better life for all of us.

Her Rightful Place

RAYMOND DEVENNEY
Bell Multicultural High School

I always secretly cringed when I heard teachers say if they could make a difference for just one student in their careers they would be satisfied. Something inside of me always scoffed, and I thought, even as I nodded my head in apparent agreement with my colleague, that the person must have pretty low professional ambitions. But what does it mean to really help someone, to make a difference in someone's life? A good relationship, shared experiences, close interaction, learning about and from each other, helping students think more about themselves and the world, helping to sharpen or expand literary and linguistic skills, getting someone into college, finding someone a job? These were the kinds of things I had counted as reaching or helping a student, making a difference in a student's life. At least they were until I started the process of helping Loan try to find her father.

Loan

Loan was a 20-year-old Amerasian high school sophomore whom I had known for about two years. She had been in one of my classes when she first arrived in the school, and we had a friendly, though not especially close, relationship. We had never really talked about her past or her father, except for a few joking remarks she had made saying that her father looked like me. Not me personally – it was her way of referring to her mixed

Vietnamese and American heritage. I may have asked a few perfunctory questions, but we never discussed the topic at length. Yet one day in October 1991, out of the blue, Loan approached me with a scrap of faded notepaper with a name and address on it and asked me if I would help her try to find her father. She had a letter with the name of her father's mother and a Florida address for her from the early 1970s, a black-and-white picture of her dad with Loan's mother, and not much else. As an adoptive parent, I identified with Loan's hope to locate her father, having often fielded my own young daughter's questions about her biological Korean parents. But, though I never said so to Loan, to be honest, what initially intrigued me most was the practical, intellectual challenge of the task: How would I go about finding this ex-serviceman, especially with so little information to go on? I had no idea, and that's probably why I said I would do it. To me, it was a mystery, a puzzle to be solved, but to Loan I suspected it was much more, a defining moment in her life, regardless of the outcome.

Certainly as a child and teenager she had thought innumerable times about her father and had fantasized about a reunion. She had probably rehearsed in her mind what she would say, how she would act, how she would respond, maybe even what she would wear. These imaginings were even more poignant given the realities and hardships of her life and existence as an Amerasian child in postwar Vietnam, and later in a Vietnamese community in the United States.

But now she was going to try to do something to establish a relationship that had existed only in her dreams. She had worked up the courage to proceed in the search for her family – and for herself, and she had asked me to be a part of that investigation. Who am I, who do I look like, what is my father like, does he remember me, does he think about me, why hasn't he ever contacted me, does he love me – so much of her life kept locked inside of herself for so many years, and I was being asked to get involved in this personal quest.

On reflection, I felt honored. But why me? Wasn't someone other than an ESL teacher more capable of helping in this matter? Probably, but I think no one is as accessible to second language students as their ESL teachers, particularly students with limited English skills and even less knowledge of the working of the bureaucracies of American society. I was chosen not because I have an Asian daughter, not as a function of a close student-teacher relationship, not for skills or knowledge that I might possess, but by default, because Loan probably didn't know anyone else to ask. And that's important to remember. As teachers of immigrants we need to be ready, we need to be prepared on a moment's notice to become our students' advocates. We may be their last or only option for issues of pressing or personal concern that we never suspect. It's just part of the work we do as ESL teachers, to be ready for our call.

For my part, I wanted to be especially sure that Loan was willing to accept bad news about her father, or even outright hostility and rejection, if we were able to find him. But more likely, I cautioned, I didn't think we'd find him at all. She also needed to recognize that he might not want to be found. Loan said she had considered all of this and was still willing to look for her father. It was something she needed, and wanted, to do. And on that basis, our search, and my own development as a teacher, began.

Beginning the Search

The first thing I did was to attempt to contact Loan's grandmother, Mrs. Helen Davis, in Florida; but that address, as Loan already knew, was no longer current, and there were no other listings for Helen or H. Davis in that phone area. Because Davis was a common surname, I attempted to concentrate on finding Loan's father, Gary McGowin, through the phone book, hoping for luck with that more unfamiliar last name; however, this produced nothing either. Next, I got in touch with a friend of mine who had served as lawyer in the military for almost 10 years. Most of what I did eventually manage to find out came as a result of advice and suggestions he made.

He started with an overview of military personnel records and set the parameters of the search. There were two possibilities: Either the person was still on active duty and could be found through the Enlisted Records and Evaluation Center (EREC) in Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana; or the person had left the military, in which case his or her service records would have gone to the National Personnel Record Center (NPRC) in Saint Louis, Missouri. My lawyer friend's next piece of information was the key to the whole search process. I could probably get the information from the former source by phone, but the latter, and more likely source, was regarded as protected under Privacy Act regulations. However, and this was the crucial thing my friend told me, while I, or even Loan, had no right to obtain her father's military records, a member of Congress is free from such Privacy Act regulations. He or she can access any public record. The critical step would be to get Loan's congressman to make the request for Loan.

A call to Fort Benjamin Harrison confirmed that Loan's father was no longer on active duty, and a call to Saint Louis produced pretty much what my friend had predicted. The military representative did let us know that in fact there were several records under the name McGowin, Gary but that I had no right to them. Encouraged nonetheless, we planned the next step, a formal congressional request for information.

Loan's Mother and the Congresswoman

Another thing my lawyer friend advised me to do was to talk with my student's mother to try to gather as much information as possible about the serviceman. Loan's mother was the best resource for getting the information needed to identify and locate Gary McGowin. He urged me to use a great deal of tact and deliberation in dealing with Loan's mother because this could be a very sensitive area that my student's mother had kept private on purpose. The mother could have been raped; she could have been a prostitute; she could have been unsure, mistaken, even lying, about who the father really was: It could be an epoch of her life that she wanted to remain distant and closed. What she wanted and what her daughter wanted could be in direct conflict.

Fortunately, Loan's mom, De, had had a positive and close relationship with Gary. Most of the information she had possessed about him she lost in the chaotic times in Vietnam after 1975. What she did have was the crucial piece of information we needed for the congressional request, a very old military identification number for Loan's father – one that actually was issued prior to the uniform use of social security numbers as identification in the army. Additionally, she had an army post office address from his time in Vietnam, which identified Gary McGowin's military unit. She could also make a fairly approximate guess about his age, though she did not know his exact date of birth.

Loan's mother was open and encouraging to me, and she became a bastion of emotional support for Loan throughout this whole process. Still, at this point our search would have ended without the invaluable assistance of Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton and her dedicated administrative aide, Antonio Montes. They promised to help in any way they could, Tony even directing us on what we should do and how we should do it. He advised us on what to include in our formal letter and provided us with the necessary forms to complete so that the congresswoman could assist on Loan's behalf. By Christmas, the congresswoman's request for access to Gary McGowin's service file was on its way to Saint Louis.

A Time of Anticipation, A Time for Sadness

Tony Montes told us that it would probably be 8 to 10 weeks before we'd get any information from the military. We had hoped to come across a more current address in Gary McGowin's discharge records, or perhaps a phone number or street listing for Helen Davis. On my lawyer friend's advice, we also contacted the Veteran Administration's regional office to see if they had ever processed a benefits claim for Loan's father. If they had, we would have asked the congresswoman to get that file, too. Unfortunately, Gary never made a claim for benefits.

Over the next two months, we would periodically call to find out if the congresswoman had heard anything yet. Loan and I talked about what we would do with any information we got as well as about how Loan felt about the whole experience. She said she was just glad to be doing the search at last and that she was prepared to deal with whatever happened. Most of the time, however, Loan just waited anxiously.

Then, one day in late March, Loan sought me out in the teachers' room, and it was evident that she had been crying. With her she had a terse, formal governmental letter. The correspondence was from the National Personnel Records Center, stating only they regretted to inform her that Gary Mack McGowin died in Key West, Florida on October 29, 1978. She was crushed. Though we had always known that this was a possibility, her father's death was not what she was expecting or preparing for. She was trying to come to grips with issues of acceptance or rejection. Her father's death was the worst imaginable, and the least considered, scenario for Loan. I hugged her and told her how sorry I was. She thanked me and said at least she knew the truth and that she was glad she had tried to find her dad.

Loan's Father

While Loan knew the truth, she didn't know what had happened to her father. A couple of days later I asked her if she wanted to continue looking for information about her dad and perhaps even try to find other members of her family. She said she would, so our search shifted gears. When a person dies, I told her, there is often a notice, called an obituary, in the local newspaper. At the end of this obituary, names of surviving relatives of the deceased person are usually given.

From directory information, we learned the name of the local newspaper, the *Key West Citizen*, and we asked them to look for Gary McGowin's obituary. John Guerra, a reporter, dug back through the records and let us know that no obituary for Loan's father ever appeared in the paper. For more assistance in the search, he suggested we contact Tom Hambright, a local historian at the county library. Mr. Hambright said he would investigate for us, and in the middle of May he sent a letter saying that, while there had been no obituary for Gary McGowin, a very short article about his death did appear in the *Key West Citizen* on October 31, 1978: "No Foul Play Ruled in Man's Drowning."

Loan sat down and I read and explained the article to her. According to the newspaper, Gary had been a mate on a shrimp boat. Apparently after drinking heavily with the other crew members, Loan's father, wearing only a bathing suit, jumped off the vessel into the water and simply never surfaced, an accidental drowning. His body was recovered the next day by the Coast Guard. A small bag inside his suit contained some cash, a checkbook and a savings book, some personal papers, and a small amount of marijuana.

The difference between her reaction to this new information and the depression she felt after receiving the governmental letter was striking. This was cathartic. To me, it seemed as if she was trying to put together the reality of her father's existence with the few bits and pieces of information she had of him from her mother, her family lore: Her mother had mentioned to her that he liked to drink beer and had said he was a little "wild," but not in a mean way.

Loan chuckled at the reference to marijuana, but in a way reminiscent of how young people can never quite imagine that older people they know were ever young once, too. Then, when suddenly confronted with the evidence of this incomprehensible youth, they are forced to change forever the way they have come to see that older person, no longer a museum piece or family icon or fading photo, but a sensuous, dynamic, or impetuous young man or woman, much more like the young person is now than the youth had ever considered possible. And that's the point. That person is like me, that person could be me – and for Loan that was a special moment, a brief connection to a person and past and family she had never known, but which encompassed her now as we read and made small talk about a 13-year-old six-paragraph article in the *Key West Citizen*.

Also mentioned in the article, and cited by Tom Hambright as a potential lead, was the sheriff office's investigation of the incident, which was handled by Detective Lieutenant Richard Conrady. We called and requested any information they had on the case. A short time later Richard Roth, sheriff of Monroe County, Florida, sent us a copy of the file on the case.

What stood out in the transcript of questioning for Loan was the way the others talked about her dad to the police: he was a good crew member and a good guy. He did his job and didn't cause problems. They were sorry they couldn't have done anything to help. They didn't know why he suddenly decided to jump overboard; he wasn't trying to kill himself – it was a terrible accident. The sheriff's office also forwarded a copy of the medical examiner's report and suggested I get in touch with them to find out where Mr. McGowin's body was sent.

At the medical examiner's office, Nancy Favell dug through records as I waited on the phone. The body of Gary McGowin was released to Jeffrey Dean of the Dean-Lopez Funeral Home in Key West on October 31,

1978. We hoped to find out from Jeffrey Dean who attended or paid for the service; however, Mr. Dean's records indicated that no service was held in Key West. The body was only held there temporarily; it was picked up by the Hubbard-Copeland Funeral Home of Gainesville, Florida, and unfortunately we learned they no longer kept financial or service files from that time. They did tell us, however, that Mr. McGowin was buried in Evergreen Cemetery, the city cemetery, in Gainesville. Loan, after years of wondering and months of searching, had at last found her father.

Loan's Grandmother

After that, we were looking for living relatives – Loan's extended family, once again – and we had the vital information that would lead us to them. We concentrated on trying to locate McGowins in the Gainesville/Central Florida area, but this proved fruitless. We ended up with six people with the same surname, but none were related to Gary Mack McGowin. Several of these sources suggested we try in the Pensacola area, as they knew of several McGowin families in that area. Again, the people we reached were considerate and kind, but they were not related and didn't know Gary's family.

Suddenly, I realized that I was overlooking something obvious and important, Gary's mother. I called directory information in Gainesville and requested the listings under Helen or H. Davis. There was one, on Southwest 28th Place. And at this point I called Loan. Who would call? Loan suggested I should, that I could explain things better.

I dialed the number I had gotten from directory assistance. After several long rings, an elderly woman answered. I asked to speak with Mrs. Helen B. Davis. The woman said she was Helen Davis. I took a long deep breath, identified myself as a teacher from Washington, and asked if she was the mother of Gary Mack Davis. She said she was but that her son was dead. I told her I knew, I was calling on behalf of her son's daughter, her granddaughter, Miss Loan Le, who was one of my students in DC.

For a moment, Mrs. Davis couldn't speak. When she gathered herself together she said, "You mean Gary's baby, from Vietnam?" Mrs. Davis told me she had written to Loan's mother and had tried to find her for a long time, even worked through the Red Cross but without any luck. I told her briefly about our search and let her know that her granddaughter wanted to call her; Loan was waiting to hear from me about what to do.

Mrs. Davis was too surprised and shocked by the suddenness of events to be ecstatic – that would come later; I told her to stay by the phone and that the call would come through in a matter of minutes. Around 7 p.m. on the evening of June 25th, 1992, shortly after school had finished for the year, Loan tentatively, in a voice filled with nervous emotion, whispered "Hello" into the receiver and was connected to a part of her life she had only dreamed about up until that moment.

Taking Her Rightful Place

Over the summer, Loan and her grandmother exchanged phone calls, letters, photos, and invitations. In August, Loan's mother scraped together fare money to send her to Florida. The week before school started back Loan traveled to Gainesville to spend five days with her grandmother. It was a tearful and marvelous homecoming. Loan met uncles, aunts, cousins, neighbors and friends of the family. She heard family stories and recollections about her dad, and she informed her relatives about her own saga. She was told, and shown pictures to prove, how much she resembled her father. For Loan's grandmother that was something special, too, because her son now seemed to have reappeared in a way Mrs. Davis could never have expected or hoped for. What's more, Loan learned that her father had loved her very much and had never forgotten her. On the day before she returned home, Loan and her grandmother visited and placed flowers on her father's grave together.

This June Loan Le will take her rightful place among the 114 members of the 1994 graduating class of Bell Multicultural High School. Toward the end of the ceremony, her name will be called, and she will come across the dais in front of the assembled faculty to receive a handshake, a kiss on the cheek, and a diploma from her principal, Mrs. Maria Tukeva. Leading the applause of the families, friends, and well-wishers in the auditorium for all that she is, all she has been through, and all she has accomplished will be her mother, Mrs. De Le, of Washington, DC and her grandmother, Mrs. Helen B. Davis of Gainesville, Florida. And I will be on the stage leading the ovation for all that she will yet become. ■

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I would like to acknowledge the work of all those who helped in this search. I would also like to acknowledge the work of all those who help, especially teachers, in thousands of ways large and small every day to make significant differences in the lives of students.

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Action Research: Techniques for Collecting Data Through Surveys and Interviews

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Almost two decades ago we began conducting short, simple research projects with our ESL classes. We asked our students questions that related to what they thought we, the teachers, were doing right, what they felt provided them with optimal language learning experiences, what activities they liked best, and how the total curriculum was meeting their needs. Like many teachers involved in classroom observation and data collection at that time, we did not view our activities as research, nor did we believe that our work was particularly significant for the language teaching profession. Rather, we conducted this research for more personal reasons: We wanted to improve our classes and curricula, we needed to justify our classes and classroom activities to our superiors, and we wanted to learn more about ourselves as teachers. We did not know it then, but we were involved in action research,

> … a form of self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices, their understanding of the practices, and the situations in which these practices are carried out. (Carr & Kemmis, 1985, p. 220)

According to Huberman (1992), action research is a fancy way of saying, "Let's study what's happening in our classrooms and decide if we can make them better places by changing what and how we teach and how we relate to students and the community" (p. 1). As Carr and Kemmis (1985) point out, action research is educational research that is essentially practical in nature. It deals with finding solutions to practical problems that, unlike theoretical problems, must be resolved by some sort of action by those involved. We, as teachers, must become involved in finding solutions to our own problems by collecting data from our classrooms.

The information we have collected from our classroom research efforts has helped resolve some practical problems for us. It has helped us improve our instruction, understand ourselves as teachers and our students as learners, and strengthen our curricula. We would like to see more teachers participating in action research projects. Like Nunan (1989), we are not suggesting that teachers become academic researchers in addition to the many other things they do, but effective curriculum research and development can and should be carried out by those individuals most directly involved in classroom activities – teachers.

Action research has a number of other aspects which recommend it to classroom teachers. As Long (1983) points out, classroom-centered action research can provide a great deal of useful information about how language instruction is actually carried out. This is often very different from someone's idea about how it should be carried out or how people imagine it is carried out. Second, classroom-centered action research promotes reflective inquiry which, according to Nunan (1989) and Freeman (1989), should be the logical end point of professional self-development. Lange (1990) has noted that such inquiry helps teachers resist the temptation to jump on various bandwagons and allows us to formulate our own ideas about the process of language teaching and learning. It is these reasons, as well as our belief that our experiences with data collection techniques will be useful to other second language teachers, that motivate this paper.

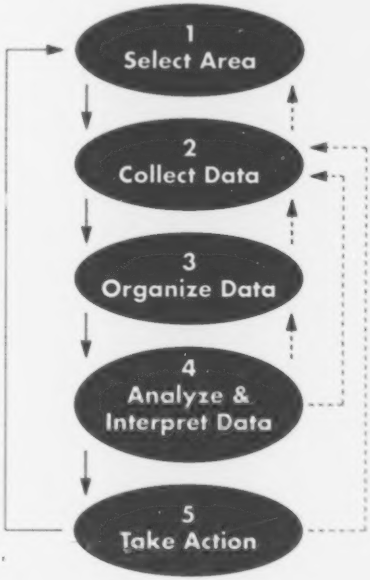
Data Collection

Like most action researchers (Calhoun, 1991; Calhoun, 1994; Glickman, 1990), we see research projects moving through five phases of inquiry. Figure 1 shows the five phases of the action research cycle as it is typically characterized in the literature.

In this paper, we focus primarily on Phase 2 of this action research cycle, data collection, and share four techniques for eliciting different types of information from students. These techniques have been used to collect data about the following topics:

A. **Curriculum**
  1. overall program
  2. lesson content
  3. classroom procedures

Figure 1.
Phases of action research


1
Select Area
2
Collect Data
3
Organize Data
4
Analyze &
Interpret Data
5
Take Action

B. **Students**
  1. language learning experience
  2. student background
  3. goals and future plans
  4. student expectations
  5. social experience outside the classroom

C. **Teachers**
  1. teacher effectiveness
  2. teacher self-evaluation

D. **Methods and materials**
  1. specific teaching methods
  2. materials
  3. classroom interaction patterns

These topics, or themes (Richards & Lockhart, 1994), are general categories that we have identified and worked with in our classrooms and are in no way meant to be exhaustive. General categories can lead to more specific topics. For example, under the category of language learning experiences, a teacher might want to investigate students' ideas about teaching materials, the degree to which students enjoy their classroom experiences, the amount of teacher talk, teacher-student talk versus student-student talk, or group work experiences. Under the category of social experiences outside of class, a teacher might seek more information about language students' speaking opportunities outside of class, the activities they most often pursue, how often they watch television or attend movies, and so forth.

When we first began collecting information in our classes, we usually knew what topics we wanted to investigate, but we sometimes had difficulty in deciding how to collect the data. We experimented by pursuing small case studies, personally observing our classes, using audio and video recordings, taking field notes, analyzing teacher and student journals and diaries, and conducting surveys and interviews.

With personal observations, we found it almost impossible to be a teacher and a careful observer at the same time. The technique interrupted the flow of the lesson. The same was true for taking field notes. We also experimented with audio and video techniques. Because students were unaccustomed to being audio- and videotaped, we found the techniques more obtrusive than the others we tried.

Student journals and diaries also made their way into our data gathering techniques. Because many of our students were absolute beginners, we found ourselves trying to guess at what the students were trying to say in free-writing exercises. Once again, we found data analysis to be far more time consuming than we could afford it to be given our many other responsibilities as teachers and program administrators.

After a period of trial and error with these techniques, we realized that surveys and interviews met our needs more completely. They seemed to elicit data that was more easily organized, analyzed, and interpreted than other techniques we tried. In this paper, we therefore focus on collecting data from students using these two techniques.

Data Collection Techniques

We have developed four survey and interview techniques for collecting action research data: limited choice, unfinished sentences, open-ended questions, and individual interviews. These techniques are not only efficient, they are also easy and inexpensive to administer quickly.

Limited choice. In this technique, students complete sentences by simply marking their choices on "check one" scales or continua. Because the questions are limited, we can concentrate on one topic and the students are not overburdened with the task. Therefore, this technique works well with beginning as well as multilevel language classes. Because response choices are given, scoring is quite straightforward, which allows the teacher to survey many students on a wide range of topics without feeling overwhelmed by large amounts of data.

This technique is particularly useful for making comparisons. For example, we looked at how students perceived their own performances in comparison with teacher perceptions (see Sample 1: Number scales). Each student completes an evaluation; at the same time, the teacher completes an evaluation for each student. We discovered that teacher and student perceptions were more similar when looking at those students whom the teachers rated the highest. This process helped us focus on the learners who had the most difficulty in class. Do they know how to self-evaluate? Do they understand how they are doing in relation to the goals of the class or how they are progressing in the target language? We also use the limited choice technique when we want to concentrate on one specific area in a class, such as working with partners, or when we want information about one part of the curriculum, such as our conversation and speaking courses. The limited choice technique allows us to control the topics as well as the kind and amount of feedback we receive.

We experimented using word scales, the Likert scale with five to eight choices, a continuum using 14 *X*s, and a multiple choice technique. We have found word scales to be a helpful way to review vocabulary as well as an easy way to make the results available to the students (e.g., *The students in this class usually come to school*). The Likert scale is easy to tabulate, but students have a tendency to number themselves (e.g., *I'm a 2; She's a 5*). We sometimes vary the scale to eight choices, but we don't want to use numbers every time. Continua using *X*s get students away from assigning numbers to themselves and allow more fine-tuning. They are especially helpful when you have a large class that you are trying to group by self-determined ability. The multiple choice or check one technique allows for more information to be included. Here are some examples of limited choice surveys:

SAMPLE 1: **Number scales**

Student self-evaluation

Name ______________________________

Date ______________________________

DIRECTIONS: *Circle the appropriate number.*

I am … happy with my work	1 2 3 4 5	not happy
My grammar is … improving	1 2 3 4 5	not improving
My writing is … improving	1 2 3 4 5	not improving
My speaking ability is … improving	1 2 3 4 5	not improving
My reading ability is … improving	1 2 3 4 5	not improving

SAMPLE 2: **Word scales**

Student self-evaluation for meeting with the teachers

Name ______________________________

Date ______________________________

DIRECTIONS: *Circle the appropriate word.*

I come to school …

sometimes	usually	everyday	

I am learning …

a little bit	a lot		

I have friends in class …

none	one	two or three	many

I study at home …

never	sometimes	often	always

English is…

difficult	sometimes difficult	easy	

I understand the teacher…
never sometimes usually always

Working with partners or groups in class is…
not good sometimes good usually good

SAMPLE 3: **Continua with Xs**

Student language proficiency self-evaluation

Name ______________________________

Date ______________________________

DIRECTIONS: *Circle the appropriate point on the continuum.*

> x x x x x x x x x x x x x x <

My grammar is improving.	My grammar is not improving.

> x x x x x x x x x x x x x x <

My spelling is improving.	My spelling is not improving.

> x x x x x x x x x x x x x x <

My speaking is improving.	My speaking is not improving.

> x x x x x x x x x x x x x x <

My writing is improving.	My writing is not improving.

SAMPLE 4: **Check one scales**
Student self-evaluation

Name ______________________________

Date ______________________________

DIRECTIONS: *Put a check next to the statements that best apply.*

I feel that …
__ I don't have enough time or space to study at home.
__ I am not very interested in the class work of this past week.
__ the work is too difficult for me at this time.
__ the work was too easy, and I was bored.

I would like to …
__ do something different.
__ do this work over again.
__ do more of the same kind of work.

In this class I like to …
__ read.
__ have conversations.
__ listen to the teacher explain.
__ sing.
__ write examples.
__ listen to the tapes.
__ practice spelling.
__ practice pronunciation.
__ work with a partner.
__ do line ups and scrambles.

Unfinished Sentences. We got the idea for this survey from a party game: "If someone gave me $10,000 right now, I would …" We applied the idea of unfinished sentences to our ESL classrooms:

If I were the teacher I would ...

One classroom activity I really like to do is ...

Today, I learned ...

Depending on the topic we are surveying, such as personal reactions to classroom activities, or when we want to stretch our students, help them go beyond their present level, or foster creativity, we often prefer the unfinished sentence technique to limited choice. The teacher can still control the response topics, but the students are freer to respond with their own ideas within the limited categories that the teacher has chosen. The technique can still be used in multilevel classes or with low-level students. The scoring may be a bit more time consuming than the limited choice technique, but it is not overwhelming for the teacher. Here is an example of an unfinished sentence survey:

SAMPLE 1: **Student course evaluation**

Name ____________________________________

Date ____________________________________

DIRECTIONS: *Complete the sentences.*

1. The thing that was the hardest for me this week was _____ ____________________________________

2. One thing I learned this week was ________________ ____________________________________

3. One activity we did in class that I really liked was _______ ____________________________________

4. I didn't like ____________________________ ____________________________________

5. I would like to __________________________ ____________________________________

6. The hardest thing about working in a group is _________ ____________________________________

Open-ended questions. *(What was your most difficult ESL class? Why? What would you like to change about the ESL program?)* Open-ended questions work well in surveys of classes or program curricula for more advanced level students. With this technique, students are asked to write down their own ideas or opinions in response to open-ended questions. They are asked to do this anonymously. Because this technique allows for more variety in responses, the data analysis takes longer; therefore, the number of questions should be limited. Here are some examples of open-ended question surveys:

SAMPLE 1: Program evaluation for mainstream students

Date ______________________________

DIRECTIONS: *We want to know what you think about your classes, your teachers, and the language program in general. Please give short answers to each of the following questions. Do not put your name on this paper.*

1. Do you feel that your English skills improved as a result of this English program? ______________________
____

2. What is one thing you could have done to improve your English skills faster? ______________________
____

3. If you could have dropped one class from your ESL program, which one would you have dropped? ______________
____

4. What would you like to change about this ESL program? __
____

5. Do you feel this ESL program helped you meet your academic needs? ______________________
____

SAMPLE 2: Course evaluation for continuing students

Date ______________________________

DIRECTIONS: *We want to know what you think about your classes, your teachers, and the language program in general. On a separate piece of paper, please give short answers to each of the following questions. Do not put your name on this paper.*

1. Which was your most difficult ESL class? Why? __________
____

2. Which was your easiest class? Why? ______________
____

3. Which is your most interesting class? Why? __________
____

4. Which class was least interesting? Why? __________
____

5. What activities did you prefer in your ESL classes? ______
____

6. What activities were most helpful for improving your English?
____

7. What activities were not helpful for improving your English?
____

SAMPLE 3: **Out-of-class experience**

Date ______________________________________

DIRECTIONS: *We want to know what you think about your classes, your teachers, and the language program in general. Please give short answers to each of the following questions. Do not put your name on this paper.*

1. What did you do outside of class that was most helpful for improving your English? ______________________

____

2. How many hours a day do you speak English socially out of school? Please briefly describe where and when you speak English socially out of school. ______________________

____

3. In what situation do you use English the most outside of school? ______________________

____

Individual interviews. Depending on the students and their literacy skills, we have found that short, individual oral interviews may work better than written forms. For example, adult nonacademic students are often able to communicate their ideas better orally than in writing and may be able to give you more useful information this way. Students are given the questions beforehand, in writing or orally, so that they have sufficient time to prepare thoughtful answers. Oral interviews can be structured with limited choice, unfinished sentence, continuum, or open ended questions. The example below uses number scales to elicit both teacher and self-evaluation data. Questions that elicit short, specific answers are the most useful. It is also very helpful to record the interviews on audio cassette for analysis at a later time. In this way, we can participate in the interview with the students; we do not interrupt the interview by taking notes. Students feel less uncomfortable with the tape than they do when the teacher is busy taking notes, not concentrating on the discussion or not maintaining eye contact.

SAMPLE 1: **Number scales for comparison**
Self-evaluation/Teacher evaluation

Name ____

Date ____

1 = absolutely not 8 = absolutely yes

DIRECTIONS: *Evaluate your own performance and then evaluate the teacher's role in helping you to achieve your goal by circling the appropriate number under each column.*

	Student	**Teacher**
I always do my best in this class.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I study outside of class.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I ask for help when I need it.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I have made an extra effort to reach goals that are important to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I am satisfied with my progress.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I am working well with my group.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I try to contact native speakers outside of class.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I am improving my speaking ability.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I am improving my writing ability.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
I am improving my listening ability.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
My reading is improving.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Looking at the Data

In looking at student responses to these surveys and interviews, we have found it helpful to pay careful attention to the following two areas.

1. ***Objectivity***. There is built-in bias in every survey and questioning technique. We hear and encourage remarks from our students that fit with our beliefs, thus reinforcing our belief systems without even realizing it. Students may say only what they think the teachers want them to say. Furthermore, students themselves may have certain personal and cultural expectations and a limited set of concepts for talking about teaching and learning. Good action researchers must be aware of these preconceptions and control for them by varying the techniques used to survey and question students.

2. ***Sampling***. We listen to the students and form our ideas based on what they have to say, but not all of the students talk to us. We have to make certain that we are not listening only to a vocal few. Teacher researchers can control the sample size by collecting information over time, collecting information from all students, and using and analyzing all results. The full range of student beliefs needs to be accurately represented.

While these data collection techniques are not exhaustive, they have provided us with important tools for gathering the information we deem important in our classrooms. One goal we had was to discover which activities students preferred and found most helpful and to include students preferences more often in our lesson planning. We learned that students often preferred language-learning activities that we did not believe were the most helpful. We made a commitment to include the activities students preferred more often in our lessons and to track the results. This small instructional change brought about a change in student attitude as a greater number of students felt they were improving.

We also wanted to see more student input into the language program curriculum. By analyzing the data from the open-ended questions, we discovered that students wanted more opportunities to interact with Americans. This led us to add an informal conversation class to the program. Students also indicated they wanted more advanced grammar study. We also added a grammar class at the advanced level and began tracking exit scores. Even though the increase in the mean of the exit scores was not significant over the quarters immediately following the inclusion of the advanced grammar course, students always indicated in their surveys that the grammar class was helping them.

From our experiences in data collection, we have discovered that there are many different ways to learn, both in formal and informal sessions. Being action researchers in our language classrooms has given us the opportunity to learn by observing our own classrooms and by reflecting on our own practice. All classroom teachers can and should do this kind of research, but the process should not stop there. By sharing observations, knowledge, and experience with colleagues in school settings and at professional conferences, and by writing papers such as this one, we can all make important contributions to the profession about our knowledge of the process of teaching and learning languages. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Critical Thinking and The Process of Critical Inquiry

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What We Teach as *Critical Thinking*

Open any writing text and you will see that critical thinking is taught as a skill devoted to the operations of logic and rooting out the mistakes in one's own and other's logic. We ask students to search for what may reduce the credibility of arguments, such as logical fallacies, hidden premises, or assumptions. We teach our students to construct arguments that avoid fallacious appeals and build refutations of their arguments.

Along with logical operations, I have tried to foster a critical spirit and an appreciation of the values underlying critical thinking. For example, to encourage open-mindedness, fairness, and objectivity, I have students read material that expresses multiple viewpoints, ambiguity, and disagreement among authorities. For intellectual honesty, they must look for points which they can concede and I ask them to refrain from drawing conclusions until they have read many sides of an issue.

However, in reading students' written drafts and conferencing with them throughout their writing and research process, I have found that only a few adopt these values, while others use critical thinking skills as a tool to argue for the validity of their opinions, not necessarily to find some truth or think deeply about a topic.

For example, in an advanced composition class in ESL I taught at City College of San Francisco last semester, the students were asked to write a research paper on a current controversial topic. One student wrote an essay arguing that China should be granted Most Favored Nation status because it was establishing better human rights practices. In it, he supported his opinion only by discussing the improvements that China was making, failing to acknowledge other more serious violations that were presented in the sources he used. (Although it may seem that he had simply done inadequate research and/or taken inadequate consideration of known materials or arguments, I believe other factors were at work.)

This student's thesis statement (and the research question which initially guided his research) remained the same throughout the research process. However, another student who began this writing assignment with the same thesis found herself confused in the course of her research by the complexity of the subject. Concerned about the various views she encountered, she wondered whether she had to stand firm with her original thesis or whether she could acknowledge the complexity of the problem in the essay.

Critical Inquiry and Its Implications for Writing

The reasonableness of an argument is the sense you get as a reader that the author is fair and sincere. The reasonable writer does not conceal or distort facts. Fair arguments always avoid logical fallacies and acknowledge opposition. If the opposition is dismissed too quickly, the reader is justified in questioning the honesty, fairness, and validity of the argument.

Unlike the first student, who used persuasive argumentation to justify his point, the second student was involved in the process of critical inquiry by questioning her assumptions, not just by looking for information that would support her belief. Although the process of critical inquiry alone does not seem to make for better argumentative essays, the second student's final draft was noticeably better for several reasons. First, the writer's voice seemed more authentic and the writing less formulaic since it revealed a personal perspective based on the evidence reviewed. Furthermore, the thesis was more developed due to the synthesis of examples from many sides of the issue. As a result, the argument was more credible, reflecting the writer considerations and conceding the complexity of the problem. The suggestions the writer proposed seemed more realistic in their application and more convincing because of her objectivity and fairness in examining the facts. To me, she had questioned her assumptions and found herself not just looking for support for her opinions, but looking for something that rang true for her.

Some Factors to Consider

I have often wondered what makes some students embark on critical inquiry and others not. At first glance, it does not appear that the language ability of those who do is necessarily more sophisticated than that of others, although this may play some part in their ability to tolerate ambiguity and express their opinions. Many students say that they do not have enough time to fully engage themselves in the research process or that they have other responsibilities in their lives, such as family and jobs, which take precedence over school work. Those that seem to be engaged, however, have an intention to discover what is most true for themselves, a willingness to let go of the preconceived notions, a desire to apply critical thinking values, and a personal interest in reaching the most reasonable conclusion or solution. (Students gave these answers when asked what made their research successful, meaningful, and valuable to them.) Other factors may also be involved, such as an individual's age, intellectual capacity, or ethical approach to life as well as teacher expectations and methodology.

All of the above could be considerations for both native and nonnative speakers of English, but what distinguishes ESL students from others is their multicultural backgrounds, and so we must also take into consideration the different cultural expectations and practices that students bring into our classrooms which have an influence on their approach to writing and critical thinking.

An example of how culture affects the conventions of writing was illustrated by a student I had from China who, in his research paper, had not only copied phrases from another text without using quotation marks, but conceded that his opinion was not important since he had very little expertise in the area he had researched. Since we had discussed thesis statements, source citations, and the use of quotation marks throughout the semester, I assumed that he knew he must assert his opinion in a thesis statement and that copying another writer's words without using quotation marks is plagiarism. However, when I asked him about this, he failed to comprehend that it was unacceptable. He said, "Knowing whose words to copy is a sign of a literate and educated person in China. My opinions will convince no one." In China he was taught that good writing must include the words of others who are respected by that society and that their opinions are more desirable than his own, while in my classroom he was encouraged to assert his own opinions and use expert opinion only as support for his own. If the concept of plagiarism and rhetorical conventions in writing are determined in part by culture, acceptable ways of thinking critically could be, too.

Pedagogy

One thing I have found helpful in encouraging critical inquiry is to have students keep a log of their research process. In the log, students both summarize what they have done in their research during a given week and answer questions I assign. The questions are intended to focus the students' attention on their own critical thinking (reasoning) process and the underlying values of critical thinking, to give them permission to change their minds, and to make them aware of different ways of knowing (e.g., intuition). A few of the questions they answer are:

1. Did your research question change over the course of the research? If so, what questions did you begin with, what changes did you make, and why?
2. Do you believe you deliberately left out arguments and/or factual information that proved your position wrong? If so, why?
3. How would your position have changed if you had considered information that was contrary to your position?
4. Was there anything that you believed was true at some point in your research process that was changed or verified with further research?

At some point during the semester, I have an individual conference with all students to discuss their research process, using both their summaries and the above questions as a springboard for discussion.

Conclusion

The way we perceive or define critical thinking determines the way we teach it and what we expect from our students. If as educators we believe that the application of critical thinking leads to intellectual development and personal transformation, we have to demonstrate to students that effective argumentation is not merely using critical concepts and techniques to maintain our prejudices. Assuming that such development and transformation is desirable and valuable, we may need to teach critical thinking by modeling the process one undergoes in thinking critically, just as in most composition courses we model the writing process. Further research in various fields such as sociolinguistics, English, philosophy, and education may help us understand how knowledge and thought processes are culturally constructed and how rhetoric plays a role cross-culturally in the construction of thinking and writing. We need to clarify what it is we are teaching when we teach critical thinking. Further, we need to delineate the stages involved in critical inquiry, determine our expectations in teaching critical thinking, and utilize both our students' knowledge – that is, what they have to say about critical thinking – and our findings through classroom research in designing classroom practices that will encourage the process of critical inquiry. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

The English-Only Question: An Official Language for Americans?

Dennis Baron.
New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

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When Dennis Baron moved with his family to France, only the intervention of a sympathetic authority prevented French school officials from moving his non-French-speaking daughter back from the sixth grade to the first. With this disturbing tale, the author of *The English-Only Question* prefaces his thought-provoking book.

Although Baron's opposition to English-only is evident from this and other harrowing accounts of an official language stance being carried to the extreme, his stated objective is to demonstrate that the arguments both for and against the English-only position have changed little in the last 200 years. And it is the pro-English examples that are most familiar: Benjamin Franklin's expression of fear that Pennsylvania would become "a colony of aliens;" the turn-of-the-last-century suggestion that because Irish immigrants did not speak English, they were not human; Theodore Roosevelt's lament that this nation was becoming "a polyglot boarding house." By citing such examples, and examining them, Baron hopes to prove that concern about the status of English is unwarranted.

The book is divided into six thematic chapters. In chapter 1, "An Official Language," Baron explores the legal status of English and minority languages and reviews current attempts to make English the official language at various levels of government. Chapter 2, "Language and Liberty," investigates the relationship between language, power, and social organization. Chapter 3, "Defending the American Tongue," and chapter 4, "Language and the Law," deal with language and nativism, the proprietorial attitude toward the United States that is held by many English-speaking people. Chapter 5 concerns the treatment of official English in the schools and the impact of such policy on minority-language speakers. The final chapter reviews the ways in which other countries have handled the official language issue and reports the substance of congressional debate over the English Language Amendment (ELA).[1]

The status of English in the United States, Baron maintains, has always been fraught with political implications. He cites the long-standing goal of literacy programs to assimilate non-English-speaking peoples by supplanting their own language and culture with the dominant language and culture, and also notes attempts to disenfranchise such groups as immigrants, radical minorities, and non-Protestants. Literacy tests have always been intentionally discriminatory, asserts Baron, maintaining that the one he himself was required to take in 1965 before registering to vote in New York state had originally been contrived to disenfranchise Yiddish and German speakers.

Baron is quick to note weaknesses in the thinking of English-only proponents. Basing its mythology on the Judaeo-Christian ideal of a pre-Babel monolingual Eden, the pro-English constituency argues that monolinguism will promote national solidarity. As Baron points out, however, few modern nations are indeed monolingual.[2] Equally illogical, in Baron's view, is a public language policy that encourages immigrants to forsake their native languages while it simultaneously deplores the inability of most Americans to speak a second tongue.

The treatment of the literacy issue by various states is examined. The encouragement of French in Louisiana through state constitutional protection of "historic, linguistic, and cultural origins" (p. 87) is contrasted with the situation in New Mexico, where Spanish has traditionally been stigmatized and school children even penalized for speaking it while at play (pp. 94-104). As for California, the negative climate manifested by the 1986 passage of Proposition 63, which declared English the official state language, is scrutinized (p. 17). (These attitudes have become more mainstream with the recent acceptance of Proposition 187, which denied undocumented immigrants access to public education and social services.)[3] Occupying a rather neutral position is Illinois, where English is statutorily the official language, but speakers of minority languages are offered a variety of support services (p. 113).

Baron also explores the very real difficulties of establishing bilingual programs. The mixed successes of other countries in dealing with the literacy issue are instructive. The author suggests that rather than legislating the use or nonuse of any given language, our national goal should be to enable Americans "to learn to read and write well enough in any one language ... to make that language work for them" (p. 199).

The breadth of historical, political, philosophical, and literary information is impressive. Inclusion of such commentaries as John Locke's observations on the arbitrary nature of word to referent, Walt Whitman's expressions of enthusiasm for a language as democratic as America itself, and Henry James' condemnation of American linguistic anarchy give richness and depth to the book. The work is well annotated and contains a substantial bibliography. In addition, although Baron's opposition to the English-only stance is clear from the outset, he is commendably dispassionate and unbiased in his presentation.

It may be the desire to avoid bias to which the lack of humor in the book can be attributed. Certainly, there must be some laughable incidents revolving around the literacy issue, but however masterfully Baron has researched the historical data, he has failed to uncover a single anecdote that he can relate in a humorous way. To have done so would not only make the book more enjoyable reading but also reinforce the point that the author is trying to make – that some of the reasons for insisting on English-only are downright ludicrous.

Despite this shortcoming, *The English-Only Question* is valuable reading. It would be especially so for ESL teachers in training and for those teaching in bilingual programs or in institutions with varied ethnic populations because it gives some feeling for obstacles that immigrants have had to face. It is particularly timely for its examination of the polarized attitudes towards immigrants that have periodically surfaced in California (most recently in the passage of Proposition 187). For those who have espoused English-only, this book could be the catalyst required to make them rethink their position. ■

Endnotes

1. The English Language Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was first proposed in 1981 by Senator S.I. Hayakawa and would require immigrants to learn English. Although still in the planning stages, the ELA, touching upon such issues as immigration policy and language loyalty, has aroused great public furor. It is supported by the lobbying group U.S. English.

2. Considered to be among the most stable of countries, Switzerland, which recognizes three national languages, is a case in point.

3. Editor's note: In the Fall, 1995, Proposition 187 was deemed largely unconstitutional by a federal judge, but California voters have predicted an alarming anti-immigrant trend that must be monitored carefully and opposed locally in California and nationally.

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

English: Our Official Language?

Bee Gallegos, Ed.
New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1994.

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The recent elimination of affirmative action programs at the University of California, the passage of Proposition 187, and the 1986 passage of Proposition 63 (which declared English California's official language) have political leaders, civil rights organizers, and the intelligentsia scratching their heads. Bee Gallegos' *English: Our Official Language?* gives insight into the economic and social dynamics of the past two decades that have contributed to the xenophobic attitudes of intolerance so prevalent in California today. This collection of articles focuses on the controversy of giving a superior status to English and consequently a subordinate status to other languages and the people who use them. The book is a must for ESL teachers who are compelled to defend students from damaging linguistic policies advocated by U.S. English – a powerful organization that promotes Official English or English Only language amendments to the United States and individual state constitutions.

An instructor in an overcrowded ESL classroom may well wonder at the call to amend the linguistic policy of the U.S. Constitution; after all, there are more speakers of English now than ever before in American history, with tens of thousands on waiting lists to study English. *English: Our Official Language?* sheds light on this paradox; it can enlighten, enrage, and thoroughly inform the reader regarding U.S. language policy.

The collection is divided into four sections, the first of which is dedicated to the current English language amendment controversy. "Language Debates in the United States" by Jamie B. Draper and Martha Jimenez begins the discussion by taking the reader along a tumultuous time line of language policy throughout the decade of the 1980s (p. 10). These authors provide brief synopses of policies regarding English language amendments, bilingual education, immigration legislation, foreign language instruction, and more in an effort to demonstrate the evolving nature of current language policy.

Articles in favor of an English language amendment, including a speech by the late S. I. Hayakawa (founder of U.S. English), reveal numerous misconceptions and the xenophobic rhetoric that has terrorized a misinformed public into legitimizing the superiority of the English language over other languages. In his 1985 speech, the Senator stated: "… the present politically ambitious 'Hispanic Caucus' looks forward to a destiny for Spanish-speaking Americans separate from that of … the rest of us who rejoice in … the English language …" (p. 19). Ironically, Hayakawa condemned the spending of tax dollars on bilingual education after earlier boasting of his children's multilingual abilities gained because of state-funded university foreign language programs.

The second section deals with the historical, political, and legal impact of the English language controversy, and the third section concentrates on the social, cultural, and economic implications of language policies. Several articles explain that English has never been granted status as the official language of the United States, and this is the basis for an English language amendment to the Constitution. In her article Ingrid Betancourt suggests the framers of the Constitution refused "to institute a dictate that would be both culturally and politically divisive" (p. 132).

Jack Citrin's "Language, Politics, and American Identity" is an historical study of political and social trends that have shaped policy and attitude towards English language amendments. Citrin points to the political attitudes of ethnic solidarity during the 1960s and changes in immigration patterns during the 1970s and 1980s as the impetus for the current English language amendments throughout the United States. Currently, 17 states have English language statutes or amendments to their constitutions. Other articles in the second and third sections discuss California's own Proposition 63, as well as English language legislation in other states, especially Arizona's Proposition 106.

The final section of the book deals with issues of education tied to language policy, for example, bilingual education. The article titled "Bilingual Education" presents a detailed history of bilingual education and foreign language instruction throughout the United States dating back to the 18th century. This article discusses the twists and turns that bilingual educational philosophies took as a result of the expansionist agenda, the Civil War, massive immigration, the world wars, the Civil Rights Movement, and current immigration patterns. The need for colleges and universities to serve foreign students, especially in the sciences, and the impact Proposition 63 has had on libraries are also addressed in this section.

Contesting unfounded claims that bilingual programs fail, Lisa Davis reports on the successful bilingual program in Calexico, California, where 90% of the student population live in poverty. Davis retraces the academic steps of a young man who entered the United States and the Calexico school district five years earlier. She cites specific examples of what the district has been doing to beat all odds. The bottom line is that the district is truly dedicated to a well-developed and sound bilingual program. English-only advocates can point to the district's low test scores and claim that Calexico is failing its students. Calexico's superintendent, Roberto Moreno, is the first to step up and admit "kids are coming here from backgrounds that prevent them from doing well on [standardized] tests," but he gladly points out low dropout rates (15%) and proudly states that 95% of the graduates go on to college (p. 116).

Several of the issues and facts discussed throughout this collection are touched upon in more than one article, which is actually a strength in this book, because the breadth of information requires reiteration. ESL/bilingual teachers must fight to preserve the rights of the language-minority communities we serve. *English: Our Official Language?* is an historical, legal, social, and pedagogical arsenal of facts that educators can use to intelligently and concisely counter the ethnically divisive and detrimental philosophies of U.S. English and other similar organizations. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Collaborations: English in Our Lives, Beginning 1 Student Book
Jann Huizenga, Gail Weinstein-Shr

Collaborations: English in Our Lives, Beginning 2 Student Book
Gail Weinstein-Shr, Jann Huizenga

Collaborations: English in Our Lives, Beginning 1 and 2 Workbooks
Jann Huizenga

Teacher's Kit, Blackline Masters, Transparencies, Assessment Program *(In development)*
Boston: Heinle and Heinle, 1996.

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In response to the challenging question, "Why don't learners learn what teachers teach?" David Nunan (1995) suggests that it is possible to close the gap between teaching and learning if learners can be encouraged to actively participate and make decisions about (a) the content of what they learn, (b) the process they use to learn, and (c) the language they use to communicate in real or simulated contexts. In both *Collaborations 1* (low beginning) and *Collaborations 2* (high beginning), Jann Huizenga and Gail Weinstein-Shr address these issues. Shifting from a traditional audio-lingual, competency-based approach (although competencies are addressed) to a more interactive, learner-centered approach, these authors encourage students to reflect on their own experiences and learning styles and use language to fulfill genuine purposes. Teachers and administrators should note that the *Collaborations* series adheres to California state model standards, which will facilitate implementation of these standards.

Many traditional beginning-level ESL books treat the competencies (health, transportation, food, etc.) as separate entities and divide them by chapter. The *Collaborations* books link the competencies throughout the six units, beginning with the individual and moving out through a series of widening language environments; the units are (1) self, (2) school, (3) home, (4) work, (5) local community, and (6) global community. Each unit contains high-interest narratives by newcomers to North America, which give readers the opportunity to compare and contrast their own experiences. Some of the competencies that are interwoven throughout the units are family, employment, food, transportation, and celebrations.

In the series, students are given an active say in content. An excellent example of a learner-centered critical thinking exercise is "Making Classroom Rules" (*Book 2*, p. 30). In small groups learners make the rules they want for their classroom; this is a collaborative activity, involving negotiation and team-building skills, skills essential in the workplace as well as in the classroom.

Students are challenged to reflect on their own learning processes and are thereby encouraged to be independent thinkers. As early as *Book 1*, students develop metacognitve skills by articulating what they learned and why they liked it. In the exercise "Looking Back" (p. 47) students have to think about their learning and tell the class their ideas. A structured form is provided so even very low level students begin to express themselves.

In both *Workbooks 1* and *2* there are "Language Learning Diary" exercises, a kind of structured journaling in which students write what they learned, who they spoke to, what they read, the new words they learned, and what they want to learn. I have done reflective activities like this in my class and students respond positively to them; the *Collaborations* series would encourage me to do more. This diary is also a good retention strategy in open-entry classes. When students actually see what they have accomplished, they are motivated to continue coming to class. Students are also requested to assess themselves. In both books there is a learning log or "Checklist for Learning." These exercises not only help students articulate what they have learned, but they build self-esteem and confidence, characteristics that are essential for students in their daily lives and when they start their careers (The Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills, 1992).

Huizenga and Weinstein-Shr also include exercises that enable students to use language in real settings for real audiences. In *Student Book 2*, students work in groups to make a "Handbook for Newcomers Survival

Guide" – they are encouraged to be their own researchers and ask people outside of the class to help them with their guides. There are revision exercises such as, "With your classmates, look again at your page. What else should go in? What should come out? What corrections do you want to make? Decide together and revise what you wrote." There are also questions that give students a notion of audience, such as "Who should read it?" (p. 96) In *Student Book 2*, "Bringing the Outside In" (p. 92), students make wall displays about themselves – this excellent interactive activity becomes a sort of poster session that builds rapport in the classroom as well as integrates the four language skills for a real audience.

Another exercise that encourages students to use language to communicate in real contexts is in *Book 1*, "Bringing the Outside in: Samples of Our Work." In other books I have seen Employment units with exercises that ask, "What can you do? Tell your skills." *Collaborations* goes further by asking students to demonstrate their skill: "What work can you do? Bring something to class. For example, if you knit, bring in a sweater. If you paint, bring in a painting. Tell the class what you can do (and show the class)" (p. 61). Such esteem and rapport builder exercises lower the affective filter (in other words, help students relax and open up) and are essential components of a successful ESL class.

The weaknesses of the book are few, but experienced teachers will notice them and want to supplement with their own materials to compensate for them. The first one is the absence of any kind of pronunciation practice. Pronunciation should be integrated into the lessons. Even in the beginning level, basic intonation practice and work on problematic sounds as they come up in the unit should be practiced in context. The second shortcoming (especially in *Student Book 2*) is the lack of challenging writing lessons. While there are several different exercises that students have to write (journal writing, learning diaries), the only writing I saw that had actual paragraphs was in *Workbook 2*, "Write your own story about your past, present, and future work" (p. 45). This book needs more formal paragraph writing instruction so that beginning students become familiar with paragraphing instead of waiting until the advanced level to develop their writing strategies; in addition, basic peer revision techniques should be included as well.

The strengths of *Collaborations* are many: The level of sophistication in these beginning-low books is very impressive. By using these books, students can become active participants and decision makers in their classrooms. I admire Huizenga and Weinstein-Shr for going down a different path to meet the needs of our diverse adult students – in doing so, they have enhanced competency-based education. ■

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Ann Johns, Department of Rhetoric and Writing Studies, San Diego State University, for inspiring me.

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy

H. Douglas Brown.
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents, 1994.

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Teaching by Principles is a companion piece to the now classic *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching* which recently came out in its third edition (1994). *Teaching* begins where *Principles* leaves off, moving the TESOL trainee from understanding the theoretical framework behind language teaching and into the classroom itself. It is a how-to book, guiding the novice through activities, group discussions, and individual soul-searching, as Brown attempts to shape a beginner into a seasoned teacher. If students master the material he has presented, there is a good chance their success rate will be high.

Teaching reiterates the foundations of language learning and teaching (chapters 1 through 5), goes on to explore contexts of teaching (chapters 6 through 8), and then moves rapidly into how one actually teaches listening, speaking, reading, and writing to warm bodies. The author concludes with a section on classroom practicalities: lesson planning, classroom management, and lifelong learning. There is a superb bibliography and both a subject and name index.

One of the reasons that Brown's book works well is its layout. It has sections and subsections set off by varying type sizes, which indicate categories and degrees of importance. At the end of each chapter is a section offering "topics for discussion, action, and research," from which I was able to select items for exploration either in class or for home reflection. These questions are often directed to pairs or small groups, which reinforces the interactive approach that Brown hopes trainees will utilize in their classrooms.

In Part I, Foundations for Classroom Practice, Brown moves the trainee through basic second language acquisition theory, and discusses historic and contemporary approaches to language teaching. He analyzes the learning process and the learner from the standpoint of cognitive, affective, and linguistic variables, a concrete pedagogical construct for the teacher trainee. From there, he moves into Part II, Contexts of Teaching, and describes learner variables including age, language proficiency level, and sociopolitical and institutional contexts. His chapter "Teaching Across Age Levels" explains in eight succinct pages how language learners differ by age; he does a similar job with his chapter, "Teaching Across Proficiency Levels."

Part III, Designing and Implementing Techniques, begins with an analysis of materials (texts, audiovisuals, and computer technology), describes the processes involved in interactive language teaching, explores grouping and groupwork (cooperative, collaborative, etc.), and considers learning styles and learner strategies. Included in these chapters are some interesting charts, tables, and inventories by which the reader can get a grip on some of these critical elements of instruction.

Brown has compiled resources from the corpus of second language pedagogy. Thus the reader encounters such masterful tools as "A Taxonomy of Language Teaching Techniques," which has been reprinted with permission from another publication (chapter 9), and "Foreign Language Interaction Analysis" (chapter 10). This piecing together from L2 scholarship is one of the things that Brown does best. He finds relevant and innovative data for his teacher trainees, just as he hopes the language teacher will create relevant and innovative lessons for her learners.

Chapters 13 through 19 are the chapters the novice in the field will refer to again and again. For that matter it wouldn't hurt the experienced to refresh themselves with specific techniques and tasks for teaching listening comprehension, oral communication skills, reading and writing skills, and grammar and vocabulary. Rich in detail, these chapters include the what and how of teaching these language domains. Brown includes lists of microskills, procedures for different levels of proficiency, types of performance, and suggestions for designing lessons. The chapters also include samples from pages of the kinds of texts adolescent and adult learners might encounter. This section concludes with a chapter on testing in which Brown offers a rationale for tests and testing and describes how to design good ones.

I used *Teaching by Principles* in a methods course I teach for the CLAD (Cross-cultural, Language, and Academic Development) certificate. This is a course for beginning and experienced K-12 teachers who will be working with limited English speakers in their classrooms. On the same evening in the room next door, another teacher used *Teaching* with her TESOL-certificate students who will eventually be going overseas. These are two very different groups of learners, and while the book worked for my students, I suspect *Teaching* was a better match for her group. Let me explain why.

My students are practitioners who, for the most part, are already teaching or who have taught before. They have completed a fifth year of education courses which is required for California teaching credentials. They have studied foundations of learning; they know about groupwork and learning styles. They are learning how to teach their non-native speakers in the most effective ways to promote academic success. Accordingly, they loved the chapters on the nuts and bolts but were less than ecstatic about the theoretical underpinnings. And even in the practical sections there was still a significant mismatch because many of my students were primary grade teachers (K-3). What is useful to the adult instructor may be of little use to the elementary school teacher because learning takes place in small children very differently, as Brown notes.

The focus on the adult learner, however, is the only weakness of the text. *Teaching* is a terrific book, and I suspect the students in the class next door will refer again and again to this thorough text when planning lessons in Seoul or Tokyo or Madrid. *Teaching* shows its strength in what Brown knows best: the college student and the adult learner. For the teacher of these students it is a near-perfect training manual. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Creating Contexts for Second Language Acquisition

Arnulfo G. Ramirez
White Plains, NY: Longman, Inc. 1995.

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Creating Contexts for Second Language Acquisition promises to be a valuable resource for teachers and researchers whose focus is on language acquisition in the classroom. The material was compiled to assist second language instructors of English, French, German, and Spanish at the high school and adult levels. A guiding aim of the book is to help teachers develop awareness of how they can create effective learning contexts in second language classrooms.

Ramirez offers many teaching ideas and highlights relevant research. But although he states that second language acquisition research can provide valuable insights into facilitating classroom language acquisition, the many fine teaching ideas supplied throughout this text often appear to stand isolated from the pedagogical orientations that inspire them.

These ideas for second and foreign language teaching, drawn from a wide variety of sources, generally support a communicative approach incorporating a strong interactive emphasis. Pedagogy, learner variables, and assessment concepts are presented with clarity. Each chapter of the book ends with a summary and an exploratory section offering a variety of activities, such as practice lesson development, assessment of student attitudes, and interviews with teachers and language learners. Useful reference lists complete each chapter.

Chapter 1 sets the instructional theme for the book, which has authentic communication at its heart. Ramirez focuses on communicative competence. He explores a variety of dimensions including such social strategies as the ability to keep conversations going after misunderstandings occur and the awareness of turn-taking rules.

Chapter 3, devoted to cultural considerations, contains a treasury of ideas that furthers teacher and learner sensitivity. Survey instruments for assessing stereotypes about ethnic groups can inform the teacher or researcher about attitudinal orientations learners have. The results can be used in classroom discussions or other activities that develop insight into helpful as well as negative attitudes. Ramirez provides simple suggestions for teaching about culture that are very *do*-able—these include staging cultural minidramas, using authentic cultural realia, and having students consider the multiple, cross-cultural connotations of such common terms as *bread*.

Chapter 5 takes the reader on an historical walk through the history of language teaching. The renewing emphasis on the teaching of grammar, albeit within a natural context of usages, is described and supported with citations of recent investigations. Such an approach values the use of inductive reasoning. Sample exercises include having learners complete sentences, combine sentences, complete blanks in dialogues, and create dialogues and interviews to practice specific constructions, such as "If I were a teacher, I would ..." (p. 128-9).

Ramirez gives considerable attention to pronunciation by providing a variety of exercises, such as rehearsed practice and extemporaneous speaking for work with segmental and suprasegmental features. Listening and spelling exercises are also described that enhance awareness of standard pronunciation. The text provides sample classroom exercises focused on English, French, German, and Spanish.

Chapter 6 highlights measures for assessing learner differences with respect to language learning strategies, communication strategies, learning styles, attitudes, motivation, and anxiety levels. These measures provide excellent insights into why learners perform as they do.

A chapter each is devoted to listening, speaking, reading, and writing that briefly summarize recent major research and present a variety of instructional activities for beginning-, intermediate-, and advanced-proficiency students. The reading and listening chapters deal with these receptive skills from the perspective of process learning and meaning reconstruction, representative of the current pedagogical state of the art. Ramirez enhances the section on reading comprehension with material that shows how culturally determined meanings (from a Filipino and U.S. perspective) affect understanding of a sample passage about the nature of farming.

Speech skills are considered in light of the goal of affording learners the ability to engage in human interactions competently. Helping the learner to realize the importance of discourse style while accounting for such context variables as age, power relationships, gender, and cultural backgrounds leads to valuable communicative sophistication. Also useful is the concern for building awareness of a wide variety of discourse strategies, like getting another's attention, initiating and terminating or avoiding topics, and methods of conversational repair.

Because he views writing as a vital social act, Ramirez advocates giving assignments with authentic human purposes, providing generous allotments of class time for these assignments, and planning for collaborative writing among groups of students.

Teachers seeking to further their skills in the language classroom may benefit from the observation and self-reflection scales provided in chapter 12. Some indicators of successful teaching are drawn from the school effectiveness research of the last two decades and the California Foreign Language Framework. Additional indicators have their sources in the communicative teaching criteria developed by Richards and Nunan (1990) and in learner strategies scholarship. Ramirez also suggests participation in the major language teaching organizations listed for further professional development.

Ramirez' book is a fine resource of ideas that provides a context for language acquisition in the classroom along with ways to assess the progress of that acquisition, but it fails to address some current key trends in teaching. Thematic and literature-based approaches to lesson planning are in wide use today and should be discussed. Multicultural literature resources should also be mentioned (e.g., Day's annotated listing [1994] is excellent for secondary levels). Portfolio development has come into wide use, yet this text does not deal with its possibilities for demonstrating language growth. Although some theories of language acquisition are referenced, the author does not clearly link much of the material on teaching techniques or assessment procedures to them. On the other hand, the usefulness of this teaching resource outweighs its deficiencies, which could be addressed in a second edition. *Creating Contexts for Second Language Acquisition* is a comprehensive book that ought to be a component of the professional libraries of secondary and adult level language teachers and researchers. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Academic Competence: Theory and Classroom Practice: Preparing ESL Students for Content Courses

Hugh Douglas Adamson.
New York: Longman, 1993.

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Teachers have long believed that the most important factors in academic success are general language proficiency and sociolinguistic competence (i.e., how to interact in socially appropriate ways). Research by Collier (1989) and Cummings (1984) suggests that ESL students' academic success depends on not only proficiency in English, but also on contextual understanding or background knowledge of academic material. Similar conclusions were reached in a study by Saville-Troike (1984) in which the term *academic competence* was developed to describe such nonlinguistic factors of knowledge.

Hugh Adamson's *Academic Competence* provides both an empirical and a theoretical framework to use in preparing ESL students for content courses. This student-focused text cautions the reader that the failure of current mainstreaming practices lies in isolating ESL programs from the curriculum and in using theme-based textbooks that provide little if any help to the ESL student (pp. 114-119). Adamson emphasizes the concept of academic competence and presents case studies in support of the proposition that proficiency must include knowledge other than that of linguistic patterns.

In chapter 2 Adamson compares and contrasts two dominant theories of language learning – structuralism (the analysis of structures such as words, sounds, and sentences) and communicative competence (the claim that language proficiency consists of much broader abilities than those measured by traditional language proficiency tests). Familiar models presented in this chapter include the separate abilities theory of language proficiency, generative and universal grammar, speech acts, the cooperative principle, and the preference model of language proficiency. (Tables summarizing the key characteristics of each model would be helpful to include in this and the next chapter in a future edition of the text.) Adamson concludes that reasoning ability and background knowledge are as important as linguistic structures, general vocabulary, and language functions in achieving academic success.

Schema theory, which emphasizes the "relationship between general language proficiency and a background knowledge in a particular topic" (p. 48), is adequately presented in chapter 3. To move successfully from the ESL program to the mainstream, students must cultivate the ability to understand discourse by mastering contextual information (brain-to-page or top-down processing). They must also increase their aptitude in grammar and vocabulary (page-to-brain or bottom-up strategy). A strength of this chapter lies in the author's efforts to analyze the impact of relevant schools of educational philosophy, such as objectivism, social constructionism, and experiential realism, on ESL teaching and learning practice.

According to Adamson, ESL students fail academically because they have little if any acquired knowledge of an academic subject in their first language, lack basic information about the target culture (e.g., what is expected of them at school), and have weak coping skills. The case studies described in chapter 4 provide ample evidence and serve as an urgent call for reevaluating the nature and organization of ESL programs. Adamson advocates augmenting the three types of established content courses (theme-based, sheltered, and adjunct) by offering "precourses" in which knowledge of specific subject matter, academic learning strategies or scripts for school, and critical thinking can be taught more effectively (pp. 98-101).

The theory of academic competence discussed in chapters 5 and 6 suggests the following general principles for preparing ESL students to meet the demands of mainstreaming:

1. Academic strategies should be explicitly taught on an individual basis.
2. Students can best learn academic strategies in a content-based course that uses authentic texts in a setting that provides for contact with native speakers.
3. Teaching should be interactive and experiential.
4. The subject matter should be one that students will need to know when they are mainstreamed.

The last chapter of the book is particularly helpful because it presents in detail a week-long instructional unit from an adjunct course along with a host of reading, listening, and writing activities. Spolsky's preference model of language proficiency is concisely described in the appendix, where the ESL practitioner will find that interlanguage, the psycholinguistic system, and other components of the model are discussed from the learner's viewpoint.

The focused writing style, the well-designed qualitative research, and the practical recommendations contained in this text will make it very appealing to classroom teachers of beginning literacy, high school ESL, and university courses. The timely policy suggestions found throughout this volume will benefit ESL program coordinators and decision-makers at all levels. Lastly, ESL researchers should heed Adamson's message and strive to develop sound methodological tools that can be used to more effectively mainstream our nonnative students and improve their academic performance. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

How To Be A More Successful Language Learner: Toward Learner Autonomy (2nd ed.)

Joan Rubin and Irene Thompson.
Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle Publishers, 1994.

JOAN R. STEIN
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Anyone who has ever tried to master a foreign language dreams of finding some way to make the process easier. *How To Be A More Successful Language Learner* helps the language learner toward this goal by explaining in detail the skills and approaches that promote language learning. Although reading this how to/self-improvement book will not make readers fluent in any language, it will give them a running start toward the acquisition of their chosen foreign language. The writers of this book have effectively made the wealth of information accumulated during the last 20 years of second language acquisition (SLA) research accessible to nonprofessionals. As a result, everyone can benefit from the methods and techniques now known to lead to greater success in foreign language learning.

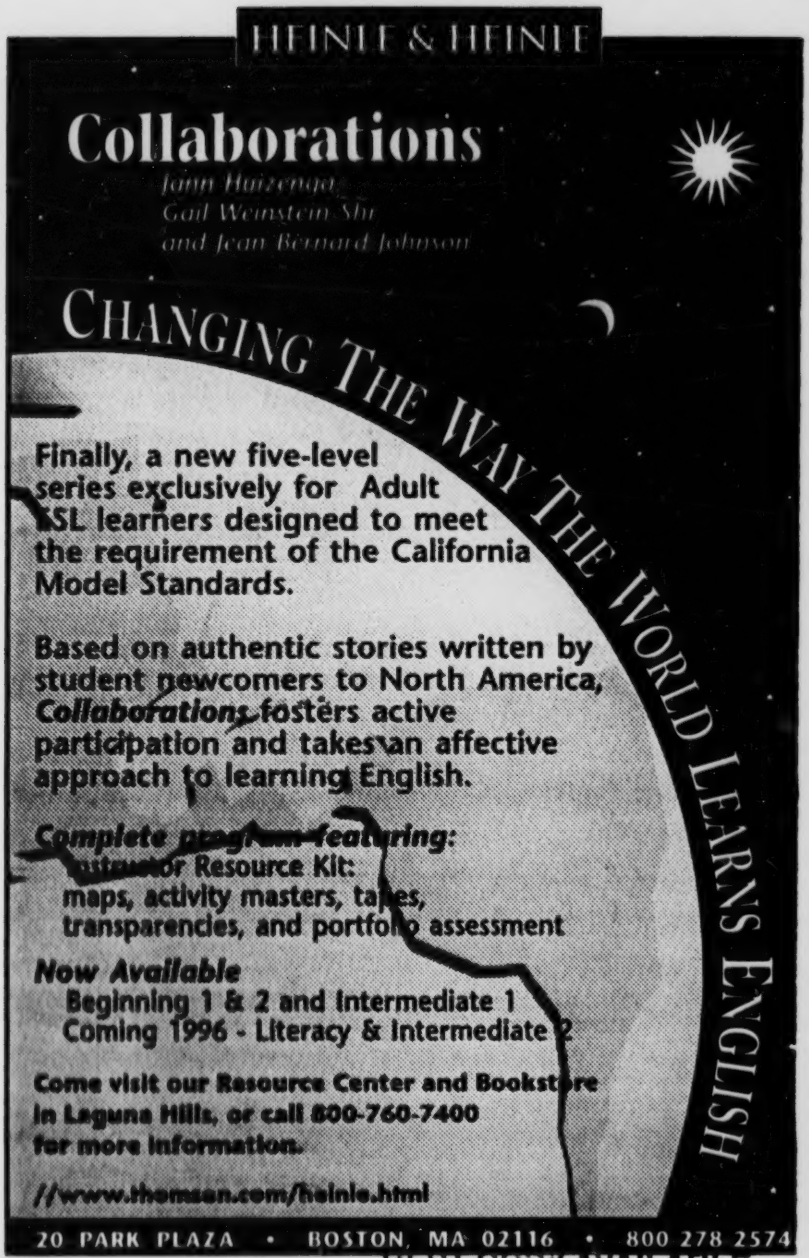
The book is divided into two parts. The first, Before You Begin, contains seven chapters and is designed to familiarize students with the essentials of language learning. The first two chapters deal with what recent SLA research has taught us about factors affecting language learning and the process of language acquisition. Chapters 3 and 4 concentrate on setting realistic goals and establishing a study plan, thus helping students establish a clear idea of what they expect to accomplish and the best way to go about attaining their objectives. Chapters 5 and 6 give the language student an overview of the different aspects of communication and language; the goal of these two chapters is to make language learners aware of the vitality and intricacy of language so that they begin to realize that the task they are about to undertake is not simply or quickly accomplished. The final chapter in this section explores the resources available to help the language learner succeed.

The second part of this book, Once You Begin, contains eight chapters. Some of the information in this section repeats what is found in the first part, either as reinforcement or for elaboration. In chapter 8, as in chapter 3, the writers impress on the language learner the importance of taking charge of a study plan. Chapter 9 is a pep talk; it lets language learners know that they are not beginning their language study at point zero but rather already possess a lot of knowledge that will help them to learn their chosen language. Like chapter 4, chapter 10 encourages learners to evaluate their progress continually, and it provides questionnaires to help learners assess how well they are doing. The remaining five chapters in this book follow the same pattern – each chapter takes an aspect of language acquisition and suggests a strategy to follow to best achieve the chosen skill. At the end of the book the writers include two appendixes: one lists the addresses of major publishers of foreign language materials, and the other the addresses of useful organizations.

This second edition of *How To Be A More Successful Language Learner* augments the first edition (published in 1982) most notably by including sections on cognitive and metacognitive strategies for language acquisition and the application of computers and media devices to language learning. The inclusion of these sections improves the book for the language student and makes the book even more useful for foreign language teachers than it was before.

There is no doubt that this book can help foreign language teachers organize their classes around a specific skill area; it can also make teachers more aware of different learning styles and methods, thus enabling them to create more appropriate lessons for their students. The overriding purpose of this book, however, is to give self-motivated language students the tools and knowledge to control and direct their own language study. These students may very well be learning in a formal classroom setting, but the writers' philosophy is that even in a classroom students should play an active role in guiding their course of study.

To a certain degree this book preaches to the choir. It will probably be most helpful to a language learner who has already experienced some degree of success in studying a language and wants either to improve in that language or get a fresh start with a new language. If a student has had quite a bit of trouble learning a foreign language, some of the easy and sometimes obvious solutions the writers of this book propose will probably not be of much use. However, as a tool to improve one's language learning skills and to make the most of a foreign language class this book is extremely effective. Academic research is at its most useful when it can improve the lives of the general population. *How To Become A More Successful Language Learner* takes the information gained from SLA research and makes it available to the foreign language student in a way that is both easily understood and highly applicable to the student's own language study. Everyone with an interest in language acquisition would benefit from reading this book. ■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EDITORS' NOTE

This third theme issue of *The CATESOL Journal* concerns a topic that is especially critical in California's schools today: intersegmental articulation. We would like to thank Anne Ediger for initially suggesting that we devote an issue of the journal to this topic along with its ramifications for California's English language learners. We would also like to express our sincerest appreciation to this issue's guest editors—Robby Ching, Anne Ediger, and Deborah Poole. Their very dedicated efforts on behalf of the journal has resulted in an issue that we know will be of great interest to the CATESOL readership.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Why ESL Articulation Is a Burning Issue

With this special theme issue on articulation, *The CATESOL Journal* focuses on a topic which is rapidly becoming critical in the education of English language learners in California. Traditionally, *articulation* has referred to the formal intersegmental agreements developed between institutions at various levels in higher education (community colleges and 4-year colleges or universities) in which courses at the respective colleges or universities were judged to be equivalent or to meet certain standards of rigor or content. In most cases, it was the higher level institution which required the meeting of certain standards by the lower level institutions.

Although articulation in this formal, bureaucratic sense has long been a feature of movement across our educational segments, this volume brings into focus the essential role of grass roots practitioners in achieving its goals. Taken together, these articles suggest that the kind of intersegmental articulation which dictates solely in a top down fashion can no longer be viewed as adequate. As a result, the concept of articulation can be expanded considerably beyond the traditional definition to include a broader range of intersegmental agreements, negotiations of standards, and collaboration among ESL teaching professionals across the segments. But why focus on articulation now?

Recent Initiatives

The need for second language (L2) educators to communicate across segments and levels is evidenced in a number of developments which coincide with publication of this theme issue. The most closely related of these is the intersegmental document *California Pathways*, (ESL Intersegmental Project, 1996; see Browning, this issue) which has now been endorsed by the academic senates of all three segments of higher education, the California Community Colleges (CCC), the California State University (CSU), and the University of California (UC). *California Pathways* consolidates a wide range of information about the immigrant and second language student population in California, the second language acquisition process, and policies and practices in the four segments (secondary, CCC, CSU, and UC) that affect second language students. The document also includes proficiency level descriptors for the four skill areas, providing California educators across the segments with a common language with which to talk about the skills of their students. As an intersegmental effort, *California Pathways* represents an important model of cooperation between institution and practitioner since it was commissioned by the Intersegmental Council of Academic Senates (ICAS),[1] but was written by 10 ESL practitioners from throughout the state.

During the last few years while *California Pathways* (ESL Intersegmental Project, 1996) was being developed, TESOL, as an international professional organization of ESL practitioners, was also bringing together professionals from the across the elementary and secondary segments to undertake the development of ESL standards for Pre-K–12 ESL instruction. A version of these standards was released at the 1996 TESOL Conference in Chicago, [2] and efforts to revise and fine-tune them continue. In addition to these standards, TESOL is also preparing ESL assessment guidelines and curriculum development documents which are intended to provide a framework for infusing the standards into district- and state-level ESL curricula and assessment procedures, provide teachers with ideas for translating the standards into classroom practice, and aid in teacher training efforts.

In Canada, similar efforts over recent years have resulted in the development of the first phase of a document known as the "Canadian Language Benchmarks." The effort began in 1990 when the Canadian federal governments' Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) office undertook to develop a set of language benchmarks, "a description of a person's ability to use the English language to accomplish a set of tasks" (National Working Group on Language Benchmarks, 1996a, p. I) in order to help "the adult newcomer to Canada who needs language skills to achieve integration into Canadian society" (p. I). In addition to the basic Benchmarks documents, another related document is in the process of being developed—the Canadian Language Benchmarks Assessment. [3]

In California, an important development which heightened the urgency of intersegmental articulation and cooperation occurred in the Fall of 1995, when the CSU trustees proposed to end remediation in the CSU system. In the initial proposal, many ESL courses were included within the general category of remediation (see Murray; and Ching, McKee & Ford, this volume). An outpouring of opposition to this proposal and a rather thorough airing of the issues involved in ESL instruction at the university level resulted in a final proposal that explicitly recognized ESL courses as developmental rather than remedial and that included ESL students among the categories of students to be exempted from a general cutback in remediation. At the same time, the CSU trustees called for increased articulation among the segments, recognizing the need for each segment to better understand the needs and expectations of other segments. They affirmed the belief that such understanding would result in better preparation of students.

A new development in the standards arena is the release by the California Education Round Table (1997) of a document, *Standards in English and Mathematics for California High School Graduates.*[4] Responding directly to the concerns of the CSU trustees, it is designed to "make clear what is expected of them [high school students] by the time they complete their high school careers" (California Round Table, p. iii). The standards it sets are laudable as goals; however, many L2 students entering the K–12 system at various points and with varying degrees of L1 literacy will be unable to demonstrate mastery of these standards by the time of graduation. For example, according to the *Standards*, "the student appropriately uses the conventions of standard English in oral presentations, including:

> 2.1 vocabulary for specific audiences and settings;
> 2.2 grammar of standard spoken English;
> 2.3 conventional sentence structure for spoken English;
> 2.4 intonation appropriate for questions and statements;
> 2.5 conventional word stress patterns for spoken English (p. 58).

In other words, L2 students should be proficient in standard spoken English by the time they graduate from high school. Similarly, they should write without an "accent" in a variety of genres as well as perform other complex, language-based tasks. Although recognizing that language learning is developmental, the document asserts, "the English content standards establish expectations for *all* students" (California Education Round Table, 1997, p. 46).

Commonly agreed upon standards (similar to those of this document) that reach across the segments can be of great benefit to L2 students as well as others. However, standards that are unrealistic and that fail to take into adequate account the nature of second language acquisition may have adverse and unforeseen effects.

Emerging Themes

Across the collection of articles in this volume, a number of the same themes recur. Among the most consistent to emerge is the recognition that the goals and assumptions of the California Master Plan for higher education (Commission for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education, 1987) are often unrealistic. The California Master Plan assumes that students at each level of postsecondary education in California will receive equivalent preparation and that the general education that students receive in each of the three postsecondary segments will equally and adequately prepare them for upper division university study in the disciplines. The Master Plan, however, provides no mechanism for how this will be achieved. Differences in class size, teacher training, and institutional support affect the ability of the different levels to accomplish the same task. Furthermore, second language students enter the system at different points yet are expected to achieve equal levels of proficiency by the time they exit, and as the articles included in the volume illustrate, policies and practices seldom take into account the time required to acquire academic proficiency in a second language. These realities have all contributed to the difficulties students encounter as they move across segments. In many instances they are viewed as underprepared by the receiving segment, and they are often reclassified as ESL in spite of having exited an ESL program at the previous level.

A related issue discussed by a number of the authors is the variation and inconsistency within each segment. Virtually every segment from K–12 to the University of California is characterized by wide variation in terms of L2 practices. For some segments, this situation exists because few if any systemwide guidelines concerning ESL students are in place. In others, the guidelines and policies are not sufficiently specific, resulting in a broad range of actual practices. The message of the volume thus becomes even more complex as we learn that articulation across segments must be accompanied by a move toward more consistency and communication within them as well.

On a more positive note, another recurring theme is that the most effective articulation comes from ESL practitioners working together. For example, in "Is Remediation an Articulation Issue?" Murray argues that "change only occurs when faculty from across segments collaborate as equal partners." It requires looking at the realities of student experiences and the forces motivating them or holding them back from moving from one level to the next (see, for example, Seymour, Scholnick, & Gibson; and Loken, this volume). Repeatedly, the authors document how a new kind of articulation emerges from the exchange of knowledge about each other, our students, and our institutions, and from the sense of trust that develops over time as we work together. As Flachman and Pluta report, "Building Bridges" is an appropriate metaphor for articulation because through it we begin "to build bridges of communication, understanding, and respect."

Collaboration on the part of ESL professionals is essential for articulation to be successful, but it is only half the picture. Institutional and intersegmental support is necessary for articulation to become intrinsic to ESL education in California. Yet another recurrent theme of this volume is the massive amount of time and effort required for articulation projects to take place. More often than not in the past, these projects have been volunteer efforts, carried out by participants with limited resources. Flachmann and Pluta's project included funding to pay for assigned time for the directors as well as paying presenters and participants; however, Murray's grant only paid for supplies, data analysis by a statistician, payment of essay readers, and a graduate student from SJSU to coordinate the project. Not surprisingly, the project came to a halt when funding ran out. Ediger's group had funding to pay the participants removed from its grant because articulation was regarded as part of their jobs. Other efforts had no funding at all. Without adequate and ongoing funding, articulation efforts will either be restricted to the occasional conference where a "higher" segment tells a "lower" segment what it expects, or to localized, short-term, collaborative projects that can be carried out by a few committed individuals but which leave untouched the vast majority of ESL programs and teachers in the state.

Organizational Rationale

The articles in this volume have been organized to bring intersegmental concerns into focus. Following Browning's important overview, which highlights the important articulation issues addressed in *California Pathways* (ESL Intersegmental Project, 1996), the first major section addresses issues faced by students as they move from one segment or institution to another throughout California. Hence, each of the major transitions (e.g., elementary to secondary, secondary to community college, community college to CSU or UC) is discussed and dealt with in a separate article. The second section of the volume focuses on a range of issues closely linked to articulation. These include remediation, legal and policy regulations, and second language acquisition. Collectively, these articles point to some of the factors which must be taken into account if future articulation efforts are to be more successful. The third major section provides models of articulation initiated through the efforts of practitioners and colleagues across segments and institutional contexts. A number of these models have resulted in highly successful (and institutionalized) outcomes with long-term consequences for student movement or transfer. Others have been less successful in terms of concrete results although the intangible benefits of gaining professional understanding of other levels have been highly valued by every author. The volume closes with a collection of student stories which depict the student perspective on moving through the segments of California's educational system. These pieces, collected and brought together by Margaret Loken, illustrate the student perspective on many of the points made elsewhere in the volume.

A Call for Action

This volume is a source of ideas and inspiration for articulation, but it is also a call for action. Those who determine educational policy for California must recognize that much is amiss with how our second language learners currently move through the educational system. They must make articulation a priority at all levels and in all locations and provide the support needed to make articulation meaningful. They must recognize that articulation, although it may ultimately result in formal agreements about courses and alignment of standards, begins with the collaborative efforts of individuals that result in increased knowledge and trust.

This volume is also a call for action on the part of ESL professionals. We must continue to work to develop models for articulation in our own communities, and at the same time continue to demand that articulation be expanded from the local to the regional and statewide levels. We must take this message to administrators and others who can put it into action. We must enlist the support of our professional organizations, especially CATESOL, which itself speaks for all segments of ESL education in California, to advocate for a recognition that articulation is central to our task and essential for our students.

We must not let this volume sit on our shelves. It is our responsibility to get it into the hands of our colleagues, our administrators, and our policymakers so that articulation can move beyond the mechanical process of certifying course equivalency and become a meaningful process of communication and collaboration that will result in real bridges among the various levels of ESL education in the state of California. ■

Endnotes

1. ICAS represents the three segments of higher education: the California Community Colleges, the California State University, and the University of California.

2. Copies of the TESOL ESL Standards document may be obtained by contacting Cynthia Daniels at the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), 118 22nd Street, NW, Washington, DC 10037. The cost is $10, prepaid by check, money order, or purchase order.

3. Copies of the "Canadian Language Benchmarks: ESL Benchmarks for Adults" and "ESL Benchmarks for Literacy Learners" may be obtained by writing or faxing: Information Centre, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Journal Tower South, 19th Floor, 365 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, ON, Canada K1A 1L1. Fax: (613) 954-2221.

4. Copies of *Standards in English and Mathematics for California High School Graduates* may be obtained by writing or faxing: Intersegmental Coordinating Committee (ICC), 560 J Street, Sacramento, CA 95814. Fax (916) 327-9172.

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The CATESOL Journal

GARI BROWNING
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Challenges Facing California ESL Students and Teachers

The missions of each segment in the California educational system—elementary school, high school, adult education, community college, CSU, and UC—are distinct. Elementary and high schools provide open access. That is, they must serve all children. Adult education is likewise committed to providing education for all interested individuals over the age of 18. Community colleges serve high school graduates and anyone over 18 who can demonstrate an ability to benefit from its services. Only at the CSU and UC are admissions requirements an issue, with the CSU accepting the top one third of high school graduates and the UC accepting the top 12% (Commission for the Review of the Master Plan, 1987).

As educators responsible for the crucial language instruction of second language students at all levels, ESL professionals are grappling with the multidimensional nature of the task: The population needing English is extremely large and heterogeneous; learning a second language is a process unlike any other; and there are different educational realities in each segment. The complexity of the task, however, is seldom well understood by those who are only indirectly involved in serving this population, and many times, those individuals are charged with making pivotal decisions affecting second language learners. ESL teachers have a clear picture of the second language issues and the circumstances of their students. However, they may not have an easy means by which to share that understanding with others who need the information to serve L2 students appropriately. For instance, those in contact with second language students need to know that these students cannot be viewed as a single group, that ESL classes are unlike courses designed to improve the English skills of native speakers, and that it takes ten years or more of high quality ESL instruction for second language learners to acquire a level of academic English that will enable them to compete with native English speakers (Collier, 1989). Enabling ESL professionals to represent and address these issues effectively is the purpose of this article.

Challenges Facing L2 Students

California's second language population is far larger than that of any other state, with 42% of the nation's second language students in its schools. Over a third of California's population speak a language other than English at home. In 1992, 76% of the second language population was Spanish-speaking, and about 16% spoke an Asian language. These two groups also account for three quarters of the state's population growth, and between the years 2005 and 2010, it is predicted that Latinos and Asians will outnumber Anglos in California for the first time (Walters, 1986).

To those observing the situation from a distance, the fact that second language students have cultures and languages different from traditional Americans makes them appear to fit into a single category. However, ESL teachers can testify that it is simplistic to refer to the second language population as a single group. It is not much more informative to divide that group into Spanish-speaking students and those who speak an Asian language. The diversity of the population is its only constant. California's students speak over 26 different languages at home (Department of Commerce, Economics, and Statistics Aministration, Bureau of the Census, 1990). Even within language groups, there are varieties of cultures and ethnicities. Students also come from the widest possible range of educational levels, from preliterate to postdoctoral, and they have a large assortment of educational goals. These learners also arrive in the U.S. through several means. Some emigrate through legal channels, some illegal. Some come as refugees. Others come for a short stay, just to study. And many have grown up here or were even born in this country. These diverse cultures, experiences, languages, and attitudes are manifested in a wide array of responses to the United States, and the diversity of their needs complicates their acquisition of English (see Murray, this volume).

Second language students bring with them distinct cultures and customs. For instance, following the tradition of a close extended family, these students often have greater family responsibilities than native English speakers do. At the other extreme, students on their own in the U.S. may be affected by the absence of the strong family support system to which they are accustomed. For some, responsibilities for spouses, parents, or younger siblings may take time away from studies. In some cultures, a strong work ethic combined with the custom of all contributing to the family income may discourage children from attending school in favor of starting work at a young age. Yet also among the second language population are those students from cultures that make education a top priority.

In many instances, financial demands force immigrant students to work more than native students do. These demands also encourage students to rush to complete their education and to maximize their educational dollar by enrolling in a large, sometimes overwhelming, number of courses. These students also often skip ESL courses in their hurry to complete their education, a practice that often backfires by costing them success in future courses or more time to back up and take the language courses they needed initially. Second language students often also sacrifice involvement in extracurricular activities and thus forfeit opportunities to interact with native speakers of English.

Because most second language learners have emigrated from their homeland, they have often had traumatic experiences associated with coming to this country. Some are political refugees or have come to the U.S. from war-torn nations. They may have endured horrors and lost everything including their families. Regardless of their background, they must make their way in a society that may be very different from what they are used to. Once here, some groups must cope in a postindustrial, information-age Western country for the first time. Additionally, they are often confronted with racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and discrimination against anyone who does not have nativelike English. All of these issues potentially impede the willingness of newly arrived second language learners to seek language instruction.

In an attempt to feel comfortable in an otherwise unwelcoming new society, second language learners often seek companionship in an ethnic community with others from their home country. These communities provide comfort with their familiar sights, food, and values and offer genuine opportunities for cognitive development through cultural interaction and intellectual growth in the first language (L1). However, life in such communities offers few opportunities to interact with English speakers, making school the place where most such interaction occurs. In school districts where single first language populations predominate, chances to interact in English or to acculturate are restricted to the classroom (see Scarcella, this volume).

Second language students, especially the younger ones, often wish to adopt American ways, particularly the ways of American youth. This acculturation process may create conflict between the traditional values and customs of parents and the new values and customs immigrant youth emulate. The conflict is further complicated by parents' desire for their children to succeed in the new culture. Successful acquisition of the second language culture and the English language takes time and is seldom achieved without a struggle. The desire to fit in with their native English-speaking (NS) peers may ironically slow their English development by dissuading students from enrolling in ESL courses. Although these students are very different from each other their identity as "foreigners" and need for English language skills provide common ground.

Learning English as a Second Language

As ESL professionals, we know that the ability to acquire language is inherent in human beings. In fact, every normal person acquires a highly complex linguistic system in his or her native language by the age of five. The remaining more subtle structures are acquired from ages six to 12 (Collier, 1995). The vocabulary needed to function in most survival situations is learned very early in life along with the function words and word forms that make the language understandable (Crystal, 1987). The basic sound system of the language, including most stress and intonation patterns, is also complete by an early age except for the sounds that are the most difficult to articulate (e.g., the *th* in English) (Dale, 1988). Features found almost exclusively in the written form of the language are typically learned at school.

When learners acquire a second language, they bring the same linguistic ability to the task, and the process is similar. They take in language they understand and use it to communicate. In this communication process, second language learners begin to decipher the structure of the language they are trying to learn. As more communication takes place, they refine their concept of the structure and generate rules that are applied in new communication situations. Because each learner's grasp of the structures in the second language is incomplete, gaps often are filled in by hypotheses based on the learner's native language. The result of this process is a representation of the target language that contains what may be perceived as errors, but which ESL professionals view as a developing linguistic system (called an *interlanguage*) that rests somewhere on a continuum between the speaker's first language and the target language (Selinker, 1972).

Learners acquire English at different rates depending upon linguistic, cognitive, and academic factors such as first language background, motivation, age, and quality of schooling. Students' linguistic systems develop unevenly. The development depends on the quality of exposure to the second language the learner receives in addition to the same factors that affect the general rate of acquisition (Collier, 1995). Therefore, students who have lived in the U.S. for a long time may have sophisticated listening and speaking skills, but their reading and writing skills may be much less developed. Students who have studied written English in other countries but may not have had the opportunity to hear the language spoken by native speakers may have the opposite pattern of skill development. Additionally, a student may demonstrate different proficiency levels in a given skill depending upon the task required. For example, a student may demonstrate advanced proficiency on a narrative writing assignment but only intermediate proficiency on an analytical one .

How close to a complete and accurate representation of the target language learners ultimately come is dependent on a host of factors. It typically requires five to seven years to reach parity with high school native English speakers if factors align to work in the learner's favor (Collier, 1989). If learners start the language acquisition process early in secondary school or sooner, if the language program provides feedback that expedites understanding of the target language structure, if there is sufficient opportunity for genuine interaction in the target language within a context that promotes language learning, the five-to-seven year acquisition period applies (Collier, 1989). The more education learners have in their first language, the closer they will be to achieving this goal within five years. Students with no schooling in their first language take an average of seven to ten years and sometimes longer to reach average native speaker norms (Collier, 1989). Other factors such as the learner's personality, learning style, first language, motivation, and attitude towards the new language and culture also either positively or negatively affect the length of time it takes to learn the second language.

For second language learners aspiring to a higher education, their goal is to attain a level of proficiency in English that will enable them to compete academically with native speakers. Acquiring this level and type of language is far more demanding than learning the language for conversational purposes and takes far longer (Cummins, 1983). The task is also more complicated because the learner is engaged in learning the academic subject matter and the language simultaneously. Because learners must start with language they can understand, they are at a further disadvantage in mastering the target language if the English they hear and read is at an incomprehensible level.

The most daunting task for schools serving this population is accommodating the length of time it takes students to acquire a second language. Very few educators and even fewer noneducators have a realistic appreciation for this time factor. Constant pressure from administrators, parents, and even the students themselves to mainstream learners quickly often undermines teacher efforts to create effective second language programs. Some productive teaching techniques have been developed to facilitate the second language acquisition process and at the same time help students keep pace academically with their native speaker counterparts—for example, specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) (see Fields & Fields, this volume). But even these efforts are often dismissed as restricting access to college prep courses or as lower level and thus unequal tracks for second language students.

ESL programs are sometimes criticized by individuals who themselves learned English as a second language very successfully in the California school system. However, these individuals fail to realize that their language environment was not what it is today: They made up a tiny minority of second language students at the time and were thus afforded constant opportunity for interaction and feedback in English.[1] In addition, other educational and motivational advantages they may have had are seldom taken into account by these critics.

Challenges Facing California Educators

Within the K–12 system, access to core curriculum is a concern for second language students. Students arrive in the U.S. at all ages and stages of English language acquisition. They may enter a U.S. high school in the 10th grade, for instance, and have only three years to learn whatever English they can before graduation time. The program may be designed to last for seven years, but students are often not around for the first four years of it. As a result students do not benefit from the program as it was designed. And yet the measure of success of a high school is its graduation rate for all students, not just those who have had the benefit of its full program. The expectation is that all students will graduate. The additional expectation is that all students will be able to take regular, college-preparatory coursework. For high schools in areas where the number of immigrant students is high, the challenge to provide access to the core curriculum for all students is formidable.

In many districts, students who arrive too late to graduate from regular high school are sent to adult education programs, most often administered within the same high school district. The goal of these programs is to help these students acquire enough English and basic skills to be able to receive a high school diploma and to get jobs. Students are offered vocational training and an opportunity to transition to higher education. Adult education ESL programs also serve the enormous population of newly arrived adult immigrants. Often these students are not literate in their first language, so their language acquisition process is combined with the acquisition of basic reading and writing skills. To these students adult education also provides life skills education.

Adult education programs are typically taxed with large class sizes, open-entry/open-exit policies, less than ideal facilities, and a disproportionate number of part-time teachers. Although some of these features, like the open-entry/open-exit policy, are in place to improve student access to programs, they also create problems. For instance, the open-entry/open-exit practice limits continuity and progression within the curriculum. Similarly, offering classes at sites in the community is convenient for students but does not encourage them to interact with students and faculty in regular college programs or to feel comfortable on a college campus (see Lieu; Manson; and Seymour, Scholnick, & Gibson, this volume). The main limitation for adult education programs, however, is the number of seats they can provide. Adult education ESL programs are extremely impacted, and funding for increased offerings is subject to the political climate surrounding this student population.

The primary mission of community colleges is to provide the first two years of general education for students to transfer to four-year institutions. Additionally this segment offers vocational programs and ESL and basic skills education to prepare students for college-level work. Although the mission and main service population for community colleges and adult education programs are different, the demand for ESL classes in both segments is enormous and growing. This demand has left the community colleges in many areas throughout the state unable to offer a sufficient number of ESL sections to prepare entering L2 students for other college and vocational courses.

The California State University and the University of California systems offer baccalaureate and graduate degrees. Given the length of time it takes to acquire academic English, second language students transferring from community colleges are typically still in need of ESL instruction in order to succeed in their courses and to complete their degrees. Although ESL instruction is offered at many of these institutions, not all campuses offer appropriate ESL instruction to students who transfer from community college.

Each segment has to contend with a set of unrealistic expectations. K–12 is expected to teach L2 students sufficient English to be ready for college, regardless of the circumstances students bring or the time they spend in the segment. Adult education programs are expected to provide completely open access to all adult students yet still offer high quality learning opportunities. Community colleges are likewise expected to accept all students, even those with no English language skills, on the one hand, and to prepare students to meet upper division writing demands on the other—all without creating a long ladder of courses. In spite of the sharp increase in L2 learners in the state population and the dilemmas facing feeder institutions, CSUs and UCs expect their students to have college-level writing proficiency when they arrive, and as a result of this expectation resist offering students the support they require (see Celce-Murcia & Schwabe and Murray, this volume).

Compounding the unreasonable demands placed on each segment, no vehicle for communication among the segments has been created. The dilemma of L2 students transitioning between segments, therefore, has yet to be meaningfully addressed. Because programs have been designed independently on each campus with little consideration of how the segments feed into one another, students face the same scenario at each segment: Their language abilities are assessed anew, and they are typically placed wherever they fit in that program without reference to their previous language-learning history. Difficulty achieving articulation for ESL offerings means students' previous coursework is seldom evaluated or considered from segment to segment. It is thus not surprising that students feel they are forced to start over with their ESL classes at each educational juncture (see Ediger, and Lane, Brinton, & Erickson, this volume).

Identification of L2 Learners and Assessing Language Needs

Identification and placement of L2 learners in language courses varies from segment to segment and from campus to campus. The inconsistency of practices causes part of the difficulty in providing appropriate language instruction across segments to those who need it.

California elementary and secondary schools identify students as potentially in need of second language instruction through a home language survey completed by parents. The survey asks four questions designed to determine if each student is a second language learner. Students so identified are later given a language assessment in both their native language and in English (see Sasser; Fields & Dunlap, this volume).

Students entering a school district for the first time have their listening and speaking skills evaluated using one of four state-approved instruments designed to elicit a brief language sample. Reading and writing are evaluated by a local instrument if students are old enough to be expected to have those skills. On the basis of their listening and speaking skills, students are judged as fully English proficient (FEP), or limited English proficient (LEP). This determination has enormous implications for students' future opportunities for language instruction. Those judged as FEP are not eligible for bilingual instruction, ESL instruction, or other language acquisition support for the length of time they remain students in that district. If, for example, on the basis of understanding and responding to a few spoken lines of English, a student is evaluated as FEP in kindergarten and later has second language problems in writing, the only avenue of assistance available is remedial instruction designed for native English speakers.

Community colleges must assess students' language skills upon entry using a combination of state-approved instruments and other types of measures. Students may be advised or placed in ESL courses according to the assessment results. Unlike the K–12 system of identifying potential L2 students for later language assessment and the practice by some CSU and UC campuses of basing placement on second language features found in a writing sample, the community college system allows students to choose to participate in either the assessment process designed for native speakers or the one designed for second language learners. Since assessment instruments designed and normed on native English speakers do not address issues of language structure (the prevailing instructional issue for L2 learners of academic English), the instruments fail to place students accurately. Often second language students who have elected to participate in the native speaker assessment process find themselves in developmental (formerly called *remedial*) English courses, where none of their second language features are addressed. After wasting a semester or more, they may be advised to take ESL.

At CSUs and UCs where ESL programs exist, efforts to identify and place L2 students differ widely. Although all CSUs evaluate entering freshmen on the English Placement Test (EPT), a test designed to measure native English skills, specific evaluation of L2 students is not required systemwide. Moreover, L2 students transferring from community colleges are usually exempt from any assessment process. These transfer students very often have difficulty passing the Graduate Writing Assessment Requirement (GWAR), a graduation requirement at all CSUs.[2] They may also have trouble with their other courses and may fail to graduate from the CSU campuses.

At the UC, practices differ from campus to campus as to whether and how students are identified as ESL. Along with other entering freshmen, freshmen ESL students take the UC systemwide Subject A Examination. When students are identified by this exam as potentially in need of ESL instruction, the individual campuses to which they have been accepted make decisions about their placement. On most campuses, they are screened further and placed in ESL courses if deemed necessary. On other campuses, students are immediately mainstreamed whether or not they have been identified by the UC systemwide exam as being potentially in need of ESL instruction. Transfer students entering the UC have already satisfied their freshman composition requirement. With the exception of one campus (UCLA), campuses do not identify transfer students as ESL or hold them to a requirement.

Identification and assessment of second language students in all segments is uneven and inconsistent (see Ching, Ford, & McKee; Fields & Dunlap; Sasser, this volume). In K–12, the home language survey works well to identify students who are likely to benefit from L2 instruction. However, basing eligibility for L2 support on only listening and speaking assessment at the early ages combined with locally devised evaluation of reading and writing later on has left some students without the second language programs they need to successfully acquire academic English. In community colleges, the recent requirement that all tests used must be approved as a valid match for the program's curriculum and students is a step forward. Nevertheless, permitting students to follow an assessment process designed for native speakers has done a grave disservice to L2 students who believe they can succeed in college without gaining the level of second language skill required for college-level coursework. Finally, the four-year universities have, in most cases, not recognized the need to identify and assess L2 transfer students and have failed to provide the consistent ESL support these students need to succeed on the GWAR, in the case of CSU, or in their other college courses.

Curricular Issues

ESL curriculum development in high schools, as with all high school subjects, is tied to a state framework that defines what will be taught. Yet, there is no framework for high school ESL separate from the one designed for native English students. However, for adult education a set of standards which assure consistency in content and level for adult ESL programs has been developed (California Department of Education, 1992).

Community colleges are free to set their curricula independently. Each college's faculty is charged with approving courses offered in accordance with a state curriculum model. In addition, courses are separately articulated for transfer purposes with each CSU and UC campus, and sets of transfer courses have been agreed upon by the four-year institutions. The state curriculum model and transfer agreements provide some common standards or general education courses across the community college system (see Garlow, this volume).

Typically, intersegmental articulation agreements do not govern ESL course work. Thus, students often do not receive credit for ESL courses when they transfer to another campus within a given segment or when they move from segment to segment. As a result, they may be retested for their English language skills when they enter the new institution.

Although over half of the community colleges have at least one ESL course designed to transfer to four-year universities, the overriding consideration in the development of community college ESL curricula is not articulation with universities but their fit with the needs of the college's local population. Designing ESL programs to fit local populations has resulted in a range of offerings—from the most beginning types of language instruction including preliteracy training to ESL courses comparable to freshman composition courses. Offerings also vary in terms of their focus on listening and speaking skills versus reading and writing and regarding how closely they are tied to vocational programs. The result is a wide range of levels and emphases, with little or no articulation of ESL courses between colleges, even those within a single district.

In several of the state's largest districts, the community college district performs the function of adult education described above. These college districts have entered into agreements with their K–12 districts to provide adult education for their communities. Where such programs exist in the community colleges, they usually do not bear college credit, but are offered alongside a college credit ESL program (see Seymour et al, this volume).

Four-year institutions have language programs designed to help students succeed in upper division courses. Since these courses typically require students to write proficiently, university ESL programs focus largely on writing skills. The purpose of university ESL courses is typically far narrower than those offered in any other segment because their purpose is so tightly defined. However, partly because feeder high school and community college ESL programs serve a number of purposes, only one of which is developing students' college-level writing skills, university faculty are frustrated by the lack of grammatical sophistication L2 students bring to their segment.

Because ESL programs are designed to match the needs of the local student population and the framework of each segment, they do not fit together from segment to segment. Nevertheless, ESL students must meet the same requirements for graduation, entry, or transfer as all other students in the state of California. Combined, these two factors mean that to progress from one segment to the next, ESL students require a longer time since they must acquire academic English and must complete ESL courses in addition to other courses specified.

Qualified ESL Faculty

ESL professionals recognize that in order to best serve the needs of L2 learners, they must be appropriately educated in the discipline of teaching ESL (TESL). Minimum qualifications for hiring ESL faculty have recently been established in most segments, ensuring that ESL teachers are knowledgeable in the areas of linguistics, second language acquisition, TESL methodologies, and cross-cultural issues. Implementation of minimum qualifications, however, remains somewhat problematic at all levels.

At the high school level, in addition to having a secondary teaching credential, ESL teachers must have a language development specialist certificate (LDS), a bilingual/bicultural certificate of competence (BCC), a cross-cultural, language, and academic development certificate (CLAD), a bilingual CLAD (BCLAD), or an ESL supplemental certificate. However, teachers may sometimes sign a teacher-in-training document while completing a certificate, or they may obtain an emergency waiver if they have a baccalaureate degree and have passed the California Basic Education Skills Test (CBEST), permitting them to teach while they are enrolled in a teacher credentialing program.

In the high school segment, there remains a scarcity of teachers who hold the appropriate credentials to teach ESL or sheltered (SDAIE) classes. As a result, many teachers are currently employed through the emergency credential process. These teachers, some of whom hold only BA degrees, are allowed to teach through the waiver process and typically have two years to complete the requirements for the secondary credential. Others sign a teacher-in-training document, agreeing to obtain the appropriate certificate (e.g., LDS) within a determined time period, typically two to three years.

Qualifications vary somewhat in the higher education segments, though an MA in TESL generally serves as a minimum qualification. In 1987, the California community college credential was replaced by the requirement that all instructors hold a master's degree in their teaching discipline. ESL instructors at the community college must hold an MA in TESL, or an MA in a related field and a TESL certificate. This requirement may also be met through a locally determined equivalency process.

There are no uniform requirements for teaching ESL at the CSU or UC. Generally, CSUs require a PhD degree in linguistics, TESL, or a closely related field to teach full time. Such full-time faculty typically teach in linguistics or TESL master's programs but may also teach some ESL classes. Part-time faculty usually have a master's degree in TESL, or a MA in English or a closely related field with a certificate in TESL. Both full-time and part-time faculty with no special qualifications may be assigned to ESL classes. Qualifications are established at the department level. Full-time and part-time UC faculty teaching matriculated students may be professors or lecturers. Professors (tenure-track, visiting, and temporary) must hold PhD degrees. Lecturers have either master's or doctoral degrees in TESL, applied linguistics, or a related field. These faculty may also teach in MATESL or PhD programs.

Overuse of Part-Time Instructors

In addition to teaching qualifications, another hiring issue affecting the quality of ESL instruction in higher education is the tendency of colleges and universities to rely heavily on part-time instructors and teaching assistants. In areas of rapid growth like ESL, part-time faculty are typically hired to fill the immediate need. They are less expensive than full-time faculty, and they do not acquire tenure. However, in times of budget cuts, the lack of institutional commitment to part-time faculty makes these ESL part-time faculty the first to be eliminated. The result is that programs of recent growth and those in the highest demand (i.e., usually those intended for ESL students) tend to be reduced before older, more established programs, despite the often greater demand for more ESL offerings.

Because full-time instructors are typically fully integrated staff members and do not suffer the marginalization part-time faculty often encounter, they are essential in assuring that institutions meet the L2 learners' needs. A strong core of full-time faculty plays a central role in developing programs that match the needs of second language learners and acts as advocates for them on the campus and in the community. ESL faculty also serve as sources of information about L2 learners and ESL course offerings to administration, staff, faculty from other disciplines, and the rest of the student population. They ensure that ESL courses prepare students for transition to mainstream English courses, provide academic support for other coursework, and foster the learning strategies ESL students will need to be successful. ESL faculty communicate the L2 learners' unique needs to the counseling staff and are themselves active advisors of L2 learners. ESL faculty also offer teachers in other disciplines help in adapting their instruction to the needs of L2 learners without watering down their standards or course content.

Faculty Development and Collaboration

K–12 teachers who teach subjects other than ESL, like their ESL counterparts, must complete a course on multiculturalism in order to qualify for a credential. In addition, any teachers assigned to a content course that is designated bilingual must have a BCC or a BCLAD credential; teachers assigned to a class designated as sheltered/SDAIE must have an LDS, BCC, CLAD, or BCLAD.

At other education levels, there are no special requirements for non-ESL faculty who have L2 learners in their classes. However, these faculty have been encouraged to learn how to better meet L2 learners' needs and more effectively communicate course content. In part, this effort has come about at the community colleges through the requirement that the success of under-represented students be evaluated. This need for faculty awareness of L2 students' learning needs and characteristics is equally important at the CSU and UC.

As important as ESL faculty are in serving ESL students, they cannot begin to do the job by themselves. In most programs, ESL students spend only a small part of their school day with ESL teachers, if they spend any time at all. Most of their time is spent with teachers in other disciplines. Therefore, developing academic language skills for ESL students must be viewed as the task of teachers in all disciplines and at all levels, since L2 learners remain engaged in the process of language development throughout their academic lives.

In order to serve L2 learners, content-area faculty need information about who second language students are, including the amount and kind of education they received in their home countries, their length of residence in the U.S., their educational experiences in the U.S., and the results of assessment. They also need background in second language acquisition and multicultural communication. Most importantly, they need help in designing instruction that will be accessible to the L2 learners in their classes and that will contribute to these students' language development and add to their repertoire of learning strategies. Teachers need to learn interactive teaching techniques that will make the second language students in their classes active users of English. Finally, they need to find ways to assess fairly the learning of second language students in their classes. This understanding of L2 learners is currently being addressed at the high school level by the qualification requirements for content teachers. For content teachers in the higher education segments, these objectives can best be accomplished through both formal faculty development and an ongoing informal dialogue among ESL faculty and faculty in other disciplines.

ESL Faculty's Key Roles

ESL faculty can be instrumental in educating content-area faculty to serve L2 learners in their classes. For example, one promising model offers adjunct classes to accompany content courses, thus giving L2 learners an opportunity to develop the study strategies they need to be successful in a content area course. In such a program, ESL faculty work closely with faculty teaching courses ranging from computer science to psychology to ensure that the ESL courses support the content courses. In the process, the content faculty learn new and more effective ways of reaching the L2 learners in their classes. The key to the success of these programs is the close cooperation between ESL core faculty and the faculty teaching the content courses. When language development becomes a team effort rather than the sole responsibility of the ESL faculty, students and faculty both benefit.

Increasing Internal Articulation

To ensure that students make reasonable progress in their language learning process, programs must offer an internally articulated sequence. The skills taught in the first level must be adequately mastered before the student progresses to the second level. Curricula need to reflect this progression; hence, the exit skills of level one must match the entrance skills of level two, and so forth. Additionally, expectations of the extent to which these skills must be mastered to ensure success in the next level need to be clearly spelled out to the students, ideally before they enter the course. This internal articulation is vital to program integrity. Course standards developed around internal level definitions form the basis for later intersegmental communication about student skill level and articulation of courses. One way to carry the message about L2 students to those outside the ESL field is to identify some key areas that every educator should know. Appendix A articulates some of the most important points concisely.

Addressing The L2 Challenge: Agreeing Upon Standards

ESL faculty readily agree on the long-standing need to describe the continuum of ESL proficiency levels, that is, to develop a common vocabulary that characterizes the stages of English second language acquisition. In 1985, the California Community Colleges Board of Governors ESL Task Force recommended defining ESL levels state wide. More recently, Amnesty legislation, California Community College Matriculation regulations, the Immigrant Education and Workforce Preparation Act, and the Intersegmental Committee of the Academic Senates (ICAS) discussions have all highlighted the specific need for such second language descriptors. One response came from community college ESL professionals who produced *Matriculating the ESL Student* (ESL Assessment Group, 1992) and the *Community College ESL Proficiency Level Descriptors* (ESL Assessment Group, 1993).[1] The community college descriptors served as models for a set of intersegmental descriptors contained in *California Pathways: The Second Language Student in Public High Schools, Colleges, and Universities* (ESL Intersegmental Project, 1996). *California Pathways* was written to describe the richly diverse and often difficult routes second language students must travel to reach their educational goals within California's K–12, community college, and four-year university systems.

The intersegmental descriptors (ESL Intersegmental Project, 1996) give ESL specialists and others who are in contact with this population a way to connect the language education paths of a significant portion of California's students. Although the descriptors have yet to be anchored to language samples or compared to existing assessment instruments, they serve as a starting point—the first step in a process to develop meaningful intersegmental communication, appropriate measures of language proficiency, and effective curricula to improve articulation between courses, campuses, and segments.

These descriptors characterize the second language continuum in the four skill areas: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. They have application both within and across the segments of California education from high schools through the California Community College, California State University, and University of California systems. The descriptors give those who work with second language (L2) learners a common language to approach the following:

- discussing the continuum of L2 proficiency levels
- developing or revising ESL curricula
- evaluating tests
- interpreting courses within and across segments.

The descriptors were developed by looking at a variety of existing scales, ultimately including features that seemed, in the opinion of project members, to describe the academic English language proficiency of students within all four segments. They function in these ways:

- describing learners' observable language performance
- representing at a given level in a particular skill area a composite view of a student's proficiency, with the caveat that every trait listed may not match a student's proficiency
- identifying the beginning point for a level with the assumption that the skills below it have been acquired.

The following issues are outside the scope of the descriptors. They do not:

- assume literacy in a student's first language (L1). Literacy in the L1 is an important factor affecting acquisition of reading and writing skills in English, but the degree of L1 literacy does not need to be measured to apply these descriptors
- correspond to program levels—a single course may have to serve students at several levels in some programs
- attempt to define whether a course merits credit or not

- replace institutional grading scales or rubrics.

Some underlying assumptions about L2 learners should inform those who use the descriptors:

1. Students in a particular program may reflect only a portion of the range.

2. The time it takes a student to move from level to level may vary. Acquisition of academic English can be an especially lengthy process. Although students may be able to carry on everyday, informal communication much earlier, they may require ten years or longer to be able to function in an academic setting. Progress tends to be much faster at the lower levels.

3. Students acquire English at different rates. Acquisition rate is influenced by various factors including first language background, motivation, age, and quality of schooling.

4. A student may have uneven language skills. For example, a student may demonstrate advanced speaking skills but only intermediate writing skills.

5. A student may demonstrate different proficiency levels in a given skill depending upon the task required. For example, a student may demonstrate advanced proficiency on a narrative writing assignment but only intermediate proficiency on an analytical writing assignment.

6. Even at the advanced and superior levels, L2 users of English may retain some "accent" both in speaking and writing that distinguishes them from educated native speakers.

Conclusion

Just as the cognitive demands on students increase as they move from high school to community college to university, so too do the linguistic demands. For example, L2 skills that are adequate to meet high school needs may be less than adequate to meet community college needs. Similarly, students possessing adequate linguistic skills to cope at the community college may experience difficulty in upper division university courses. It is therefore no surprise that the L2 level required to mainstream students in English courses designated for native English speakers increases as students move through the segments (Collier, 1995).

The existing articulation agreements between the high schools and the CSU or UC systems require that ESL students complete four years of high school English instruction before qualifying to apply for college or university admission. Since many ESL courses do not fulfill CSU or UC entrance requirements, high school ESL students who wish to pursue higher education are frequently mainstreamed into regular English classes before they are ready as part of an attempt to qualify them for college admission. Many students who follow this path later find themselves underprepared for coping with the language demands of the community college or university. As a result, they are often required to take ESL courses after they have entered a college or university, despite having completed ESL at the secondary level. The use of the Second Language Proficiency Descriptors to closely articulate ESL courses and skill levels among high schools, community colleges, and universities will address this issue.

Strengthening communication among the segments will lead to clearer articulation of ESL courses at each juncture. To provide a concrete basis for that communication, the Second Language Proficiency Descriptors should be promptly tied to language samples and assessment instruments in each segment. The development of critically needed ESL assessment instruments, especially those designed to be used intersegmentally, must also begin as soon as possible.

In addition, to further aid the process of intersegmental articulation, a segment by segment database on second language learners is needed. Although some student information is systematically collected by the K–12 and community college segments, it is typically extracted by ethnicity rather than by first language. Information on course enrollment is similarly difficult to interpret. However, in order to understand the dimensions and needs of this population within and across segments, carefully designed data collection by all segments is required. ■

Endnotes

1. With 90% to 100% of some of today's high school student populations consisting of second language students, the situation has changed. Students in such situations no longer interact with native speakers on school grounds, in their communities, or often even at work.

2. Some university campuses report a 70% to 80% failure rate on the GWAR and similar tests for L2 transfer students compared to a 25% to 40% failure rate for native English transfers. *(Report on the Test to Fulfill the Upper Division English Composition Requirement,* UC Davis, 1992).

3. Descriptors are available from CATESOL, 1146 N. Central Avenue, #195, Glendale, CA 91202.

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Appendix A

What Every California Educator Should Know About L2 Learners

Because the second language student population in California schools is increasing, every educator who comes in contact with these students must have a basic understanding of their needs in order to assure they are appropriately educated.

Not all L2 learners have the same educational needs.

Because second language students share the need to learn English, they are often seen as forming a homogeneous educational group. They are, however, not at all homogeneous. In fact, the interplay of variables characterizing L2 learners makes meeting the population's educational needs exceptionally challenging. It is therefore important that all segments of education give particular attention to an individual L2 learner's situation when evaluating his or her need for services.

Educationally useful distinctions among language learners can be made.

There are three groups of language learners that can make understanding students' needs easier. The term *native speakers of English* refers to students whose first language, the language acquired at home, was English. The term *L2 learners* (second language learners) refers to all students whose home language during early childhood was other than English. A subgroup of L2 learners, *ESL students*, are those who have need for ESL programs or classes designed to help them acquire the English language. It is important to understand the dynamics of these three groups because their language education needs are not the same. Such definitions should be integral to any assessment and advising process affecting L2 learners because they will help to distinguish, for example, the L2 learner from most basic skills students whose first language is English.

Learning a second language is a unique process.

Learners acquire English by developing their understanding of the linguistic system through communication. They gradually refine their concept of the system, and during that process fill gaps in their concept with hypotheses based on the their native language. The result of this process is a representation of the target language that contains what others may perceive as error, but in reality it is a developing linguistic system called an interlanguage that rests somewhere on a continuum between the speaker's first language and the target language. Educationally sound feedback leads learners to revise these hypotheses; over a long period of time these revisions help them approach mastery of the language. Unfortunately, if L2 learners function for long in a language without getting adequate feedback, they may not fully develop their control of the language. In fact, their language development may stop before they have acquired all the features of language.

Learning language is unlike learning most subjects where a body of information can be imparted and its comprehension easily measured.

Instead, students' success in acquiring English is measured by asking them to use the language in an infinite number of situations. Children enter school already able to do this in their first language, so there is no need to measure it in this way. The closest subject to ESL is foreign language education, but the level of application needed for ESL students to live and work using English, and to compete academically, far exceeds the need for foreign language skill in this country.

Measuring skill level in a second language is not the same as measuring native language skill.

Once L2 students are correctly identified, accurate assessment and subsequent placement into appropriate language courses are essential for L2 learners to succeed, to be retained, and to progress through the educational system in California. It is ineffective to use objectively scored instruments designed to assess the English of native speakers for assessing the English level of second language learners. Four-year institutions often blend the identification and assessment processes by distinguishing students in need of ESL courses when evaluating their writing.

The linguistic demands of courses increase as the student moves up through the segments.

Just as the cognitive demands on students increase as they move from high school to community college to university, so do the linguistic demands. For example, L2 skills that are adequate to meet high school needs may be less than adequate to meet community college needs. Similarly, students possessing adequate linguistic skills to cope at the community college may experience difficulty in upper division university courses. It is therefore no surprise that the L2 level required to mainstream students into English courses designated for native English speakers increases as students move through the segments.

It can easily take ten years to learn a second language well enough to succeed academically.

Perhaps the most crucial issue in designing effective ESL programs is understanding the length of time it takes to acquire proficiency in a second language and how proficiency is defined. Recent research shows that on average it takes five to seven years for young students to reach the norm on nationally standardized achievement tests. Education in the first language reduces the amount of time required and improves ultimate second language proficiency. So much time is required for fully acquiring a second language, in fact, that university level L2 learners who have been studying English in the United States for ten years sometimes still need ESL instruction. Understanding the length of time required to attain proficiency in a second language is important for all educational professionals because of a tendency within the educational system itself to rush L2 learners through a school's language continuum.

Acquiring academic English requires a great deal more time and study than learning to speak English, and is a far more challenging task. L2 learners are often at a disadvantage because they are faced with the task of acquiring and using academic English at the same time they are trying to learn other course subjects. Also because it takes so long to learn academic English, conversational fluency in English often masks a lack of competency in reading and writing English. L2 learners typically acquire listening and speaking skills prior to learning to read and write. Their fluency in English and sometimes their familiarity with U.S. customs and culture often cause the listener to assume a higher level of language skill than the student possesses.

To best assist L2 learners to reach their educational goals as quickly as possible, it is important to identify them right away.

The accurate and early identification of L2 learners is of utmost importance because their identification determines which set of services, which set of assessment measures, and which types of courses, ESL or native-English, will best meet such learners' needs. Consistently considering a student's first language experience will prevent misidentification of L2 learners on the basis of factors unrelated to their language skills. For example, a student's previous enrollment in courses or programs intended for native English speakers is not a dependable indication of a student's familiarity with or abilities in English. Similarly, because some students do not understand the term "ESL" or are reluctant to self-identify as L2 learners, advisors and others consistently need to consider first language experience as a primary indication of whether or not such individuals may be correctly identified as students best aided by second language services and assessment.

Source: ESL Intersegmental Project. (1996). *California Pathways: The second language student in public high schools, colleges, and universities.* Sacramento: Intersegmental Council of Academic Senates in conjunction with the California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office.

Appendix B

SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY DESCRIPTORS

LISTENING

NOVICE-LOW

- has little or no ability to understand spoken English
- sometimes recognizes isolated words and learned phrases

NOVICE-MID

- understands some words and common social phrases
- understands some short, previously learned words or phrases, particularly when the situation strongly supports understanding
- understands short phrases or sentences about topics that refer to basic personal information or the immediate physical setting
- can rarely keep pace with the ongoing message
- usually requires repetition or careful speech

NOVICE-HIGH

- understands words and phrases in familiar situations
- understands personal interactions when the situation is familiar and strongly supportive
- usually misunderstands the central message in extended speech
- can sometimes keep pace with the ongoing message
- often requires repetition or careful speech

INTERMEDIATE-LOW

- understands familiar information in interactions that fulfill immediate personal needs
- sometimes understands new information when the situation is strongly supportive
- often misunderstands when information is unfamiliar or when cultural knowledge is required
- can sometimes identify subjects and details when listening to extended speech, but often misunderstands the central message
- has uneven understanding of natural speech and often requires repetition or rephrasing

INTERMEDIATE-MID

- often understands new information in brief personal interactions
- has understanding that is uneven and generally affected by length, topic familiarity, and cultural knowledge
- can often identify subjects and details when listening to extended speech, but sometimes misunderstands the central message
- usually understands natural speech when the situation is familiar or fulfills immediate needs

INTERMEDIATE-HIGH

- often understands new information in sustained personal interactions
- sometimes understands speech on abstract or academic topics, especially if there is support
- has understanding that is often affected by length, topic familiarity, and cultural knowledge
- can usually identify subjects and details when listening to extended speech and rarely misunderstands the central message
- sometimes understands implications beyond the surface meaning

ADVANCED

- often understands the central idea of speech related to professional or academic topics
- often cannot sustain understanding of conceptually or linguistically complex speech
- has understanding that is sometimes affected by length, topic familiarity, and cultural knowledge
- often understands implications beyond the surface meaning

ADVANCED-HIGH

- usually understands the central idea and most details of speech related to professional and academic topics
- usually sustains understanding of conceptually or linguistically complex speech
- has understanding that is rarely affected by length, topic familiarity, and cultural knowledge
- usually understands implications beyond the surface meaning

SUPERIOR

- understands technical or professional presentations and discussions in a field of specialization
- sustains understanding of conceptually and linguistically complex speech
- usually understands rapid, accented, dialectal, or regional speech
- understands implications beyond the surface meaning
- recognizes but may not always understand idioms, colloquialisms, and language nuances

DISTINGUISHED

- understands highly technical or professional presentations and discussions in a field of specialization
- understands rapid, accented, dialectal, or regional speech
- understands idioms, colloquialisms, and language nuances
- has listening skills essentially indistinguishable from those of an educated native speaker of English

SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY DESCRIPTORS

SPEAKING

NOVICE-LOW

- can sometimes produce isolated words and a few frequently occurring phrases but may not use them accurately
- demonstrates little or no functional communicative ability
- is usually misunderstood even by attentive listeners

NOVICE-MID

- uses vocabulary and short learned phrases sufficient for meeting simple needs and for expressing basic courtesies
- frequently pauses and may repeat the listener's words
- speaks with some accuracy when relying on learned phrases
- speaks with limited accuracy when new vocabulary and structures are required
- is often misunderstood even by attentive listeners

NOVICE-HIGH

- uses concrete vocabulary that relates to familiar topics
- can ask and answer simple questions and initiate and respond to simple statements
- can participate in a brief face-to-face conversation on a familiar topic
- sometimes recombines learned material in original ways with limited grammatical accuracy

- often uses language that is not situationally or culturally appropriate
- is sometimes misunderstood even by attentive listeners

INTERMEDIATE-LOW

- uses basic concrete and abstract vocabulary
- uses a limited range of grammatical structures correctly
- can maintain a face-to-face conversation on a familiar topic
- occasionally expresses original ideas with limited grammatically accuracy
- sometimes uses language that is not situationally or culturally appropriate
- is occasionally misunderstood even by attentive listeners

INTERMEDIATE-MID

- can perform basic communication tasks in many social situations
- often demonstrates awareness of target culture by choosing language appropriate to context
- begins and participates in simple conversations on topics of interest
- can provide added detail or rephrase message to facilitate conversation
- over relies on familiar grammatical structures and vocabulary to communicate message
- has a basic functional vocabulary; attempts to use more academic vocabulary may result in inappropriate word choice and awkward phrasing
- can usually be understood by most attentive listeners

INTERMEDIATE-HIGH

- uses a variety of concrete and abstract vocabulary, sometimes inappropriately
- has control over many basic and complex grammatical structures
- can communicate in most social situations, though not always accurately
- can provide added detail or rephrase message to facilitate conversation
- usually uses language that is situationally and culturally appropriate
- can usually be understood by attentive listeners

ADVANCED

- uses a wide variety of concrete and abstract vocabulary
- often uses precise word choice to communicate shades of meaning
- has control over most basic and complex grammatical structures
- can communicate in many social, professional, and academic situations
- uses language that is situationally and culturally appropriate
- is usually easily understood

ADVANCED-HIGH

- uses a sophisticated range of vocabulary
- has control over almost all grammatical structures
- usually uses precise word choice to communicate shades of meaning
- can communicate in most social, professional, and academic situations
- communicates effectively in most social, professional, and academic situations
- is easily understood

SUPERIOR

- has control over virtually all grammatical structures
- can communicate in virtually all social, professional, and academic situations
- uses precise and sophisticated word choice to communicate shades of meaning
- is usually able to tailor language to a specific audience

DISTINGUISHED

- may be nearly or completely indistinguishable from an educated native speaker
- effectively tailors language to match the needs of a specific audience
- possesses nativelike linguistic and cultural knowledge

SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY DESCRIPTORS

READING

NOVICE-LOW

- is sometimes able to read isolated words and common phrases, especially when they are strongly supported by visual context

NOVICE-MID

- comprehends familiar words and/or phrases which may appear in lists, labels, signs, forms, and directions
- understands simple sentences which contain familiar words and phrases
- sometimes understands clearly related sentences when context, background knowledge, or visual information support meaning

NOVICE-HIGH

- usually reads slowly, word by word
- understands many common words and/or phrases
- sometimes understands new words and/or phrases when the context supports meaning
- sometimes understands common sentence connectors and transitional devices
- can sometimes locate facts in short, simple texts

- often understands clearly related sentences when context, background knowledge, or visual information support meaning

INTERMEDIATE-LOW

- reads word by word or in short phrases
- understands most common words and/or phrases
- can often locate facts in short, simple texts
- sometimes understands new information from texts with familiar language
- occasionally uses textual cues such as sentence connectors and transitional devices to comprehend the meaning and structure of a text
- occasionally understands the central meaning and/or details of a text when content and language are familiar
- occasionally understands common cultural references

INTERMEDIATE-MID

- can often read simple texts on familiar topics with some fluency and speed
- sometimes understands the meaning of new words from context
- sometimes distinguishes between main and supporting ideas which are accessible because of familiar content and/or language
- often understands new information from texts with familiar language
- sometimes uses textual cues such as sentence connectors and transitional devices to comprehend the meaning and structure of a text
- sometimes understands texts that are grammatically complex or on unfamiliar topics
- sometimes understands common cultural references

INTERMEDIATE-HIGH

- reads simple texts on familiar topics with some fluency and speed
- often understands the meaning of new words from context
- usually distinguishes between main and supporting ideas in texts which are accessible because of familiar content and/or language
- usually understands new information from texts with familiar language
- uses a variety of textual cues such as sentence connectors and pronoun reference to comprehend the meaning and structure of a text
- often understands texts that are grammatically complex or on unfamiliar topics
- often understands common cultural references

ADVANCED

- can usually adjust reading rate according to the text
- understands most new words given a clear context
- is able to use a wide range of complex textual cues to comprehend the meaning and structure of a text
- usually makes appropriate inferences
- usually understands the author's purpose, point of view, and tone
- sometimes understands figurative language
- can read a range of personal, professional, and academic texts
- usually understands texts that are either conceptually or linguistically complex
- usually understands common cultural references

ADVANCED-HIGH

- reads most texts fluently and rapidly, adjusting reading rate according to the text
- usually understands texts that are conceptually and/or linguistically complex
- makes appropriate inferences
- understands the author's purpose, point of view, and tone
- often understands figurative language
- understands most complex hypotheses, argumentation, and supported opinions
- can read a wide range of personal, professional, and academic texts
- understands common cultural references

SUPERIOR

- reads most texts fluently and rapidly, adjusting reading rate according to the text
- understands figurative language
- understands complex hypotheses, argumentation, and supported opinions
- understands most common and unusual cultural references

DISTINGUISHED

- reads virtually all texts fluently and rapidly, adjusting reading rate according to the text
- understands common and unusual cultural references
- reads at a level essentially indistinguishable from that of an educated native speaker

SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY DESCRIPTORS

WRITING

NOVICE-LOW

- has little or no practical writing skills in English
- is sometimes able to write isolated words and/or common phrases

NOVICE-MID

- has minimal practical writing skill in English
- demonstrates limited awareness of sound/letter correspondence and mechanics
- can write some familiar numbers, letters, and words
- can fill in a simple form with basic biographical information

NOVICE-HIGH

- has some practical writing skill in English
- has limited independent expression
- demonstrates some awareness of sound/letter correspondence and mechanics
- can produce sentences and short phrases which have been previously learned
- uses simple vocabulary and sentence structure, often characterized by errors

INTERMEDIATE-LOW

- can write on some concrete and familiar topics
- can write original short texts using familiar vocabulary and structures
- often exhibits a lack of control over grammar, vocabulary, punctuation, and spelling
- demonstrates some evidence of organizational ability

INTERMEDIATE-MID

- can write on a variety of concrete and familiar topics
- is able to organize and provide some support
- demonstrates limited control of sentence structure and punctuation to indicate sentence boundaries
- often uses inappropriate vocabulary or word forms

INTERMEDIATE-HIGH

- can write about topics relating to personal interests and special fields of competence
- shows some ability to write organized and developed text
- uses some cohesive devices appropriately
- displays some control of sentence structure and punctuation to indicate sentence boundaries, but often makes errors
- sometimes uses inappropriate vocabulary and word forms

ADVANCED

- can write effectively about a variety of topics, both concrete and abstract
- displays clear organization and development
- displays an awareness of audience and purpose
- uses cohesive devices effectively

- demonstrates an ability to integrate source material
- controls most kinds of sentence structure
- makes some errors in grammar, vocabulary, and punctuation, but they rarely interfere with communication

ADVANCED-HIGH

- can write about a variety of topics, both concrete and abstract, with precision and detail
- displays rhetorically effective organization and development
- demonstrates an ability to tailor writing to purpose and audience
- uses a range of cohesive devices effectively
- demonstrates some ability to integrate source material
- uses a variety of sentence structures for stylistic purposes
- makes some errors in grammar, vocabulary, and punctuation, but they do not interfere with effective communication

SUPERIOR

- writes effectively for formal and informal occasions, including writing on practical, social, academic, and professional topics
- displays strong organization and presents hypotheses, arguments, and points of view effectively
- consistently tailors writing to purpose and audience
- displays control of the conventions of a variety of writing types
- employs a variety of stylistic devices
- can incorporate a variety of source material effectively, using appropriate academic and linguistic conventions
- makes only minor or occasional errors, but they do not interfere with communication

DISTINGUISHED

- writes effectively on virtually any topic
- employs stylistic variation, sophisticated vocabulary, and a wide variety of sentence structure
- can tailor writing to match specific purpose and audience
- fully commands the nuances of the language
- has writing skills essentially indistinguishable from those of a sophisticated, educated native speaker

Source: ESL Intersegmental Project. (1996). *California Pathways: The second language student in public high schools, colleges, and universities.* Sacramento: Intersegmental Council of Academic Senates in conjunction with the California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office. (Available from CATESOL, 1146 N. Central Avenue #195, Glendale, CA 91202).

The CATESOL Journal

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Issues in Articulation: The Transition From Elementary to Secondary School

The population of English language learners in California has increased over 150% during the last decade. Currently, 24% of the K–12 population is limited English proficient (California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit, 1996). California's public schools face the challenge of providing an educationally sound program that meets the needs of these children. Instruction in English language development (ELD), also known as English as a second language (ESL), is an integral part of such a program. In order to serve English language learners, districts provide ELD instruction until students have attained sufficient fluency in English to succeed in a mainstream setting (Dolson & Prescott, 1995). This often means that students receive ELD instruction at both the elementary and secondary level. The articulation of ELD programs as English language learners transition from elementary to secondary school is a key component in providing a sound education for these children.

Elementary school programs include kindergarten through fifth or sixth grade. Students then enter the secondary level at a middle school (sixth through eighth grade) or a junior high school (seventh through eighth grade). In this transition, English language learners move from receiving ELD classes in a self-contained classroom or a pullout program at the elementary level to receiving ELD at the secondary level in classes that are sequential and tied to the stage of English language fluency which the student has achieved. The articulation between elementary and secondary levels is frequently minimal and the transition rocky.

Elementary teachers, while knowledgeable about their students, are unfamiliar with secondary programs and therefore unable to make informed recommendations about placement into the appropriate level of ELD. They are concerned that their students will not receive the appropriate instruction and will fall between the cracks when no single teacher is responsible for them.

Secondary teachers are equally unfamiliar with ELD at the elementary level. They do not know how the elementary curriculum corresponds to the secondary ELD curriculum. Secondary ELD teachers often move transitioning English learners to a different level of ELD several weeks after the opening of school, having determined that the student's placement was inappropriate.

Secondary counselors are responsible for writing a program for each entering student. They are rarely familiar with the process of second language acquisition. Their decisions are guided sometimes by elementary recommendations, sometimes by their own assessment based on a brief oral interview and a review of the student's records, sometimes by the results of the oral English assessment required by the state, which measures only a low level of language knowledge (Schwartz, 1994), and less frequently by the results of an instrument designed for placement in a secondary ELD program.

Issues in articulation revolve around knowledge and understanding between the two levels, assignment of responsibility for placement, placement criteria which include literacy and correlation to district ELD standards, and lack of formal agreements or policy about transition and placement. Problems facing school districts in addressing the issues involved in articulation include a lack of awareness of the need for clear goals and practices by policy-level administrators, lack of personnel in the district central office or at the elementary and secondary sites to facilitate the process, lack of funding to support articulation practices, and lack of training for personnel involved in the decision-making process for transition of English language learners from the elementary to the secondary level.

Initial Identification

California public K–12 schools are governed by state and federal requirements about the education of English language learners. These requirements cover issues such as identification and assessment of limited English proficient (LEP) students, redesignation of LEP students to fluent English proficient (FEP), and appropriate programs that meet the three state goals: to develop English language proficiency, to provide equal opportunity for academic success, and to promote cross-cultural understanding. There are also legal requirements for staffing, use of funds, and parent involvement.

All parents must complete a home language survey upon enrolling a child in a new district. This form consists of four questions about the pattern of language use by the child and his or her family. The responses determine if the child needs to be assessed in English language proficiency. The questions are:

- Which language did your son or daughter learn when he or she first began to talk?
- What language does your son/daughter most frequently use at home?
- What language do you use most frequently to speak to your son/daughter?
- Name the language most often spoken *by the adults* at home.

A response other than "English" to the first three questions triggers the assessment process which determines if the child is LEP or FEP. If the response to Question 4 is a language other than English, assessment is optional.

The school district must assess the child in English listening comprehension and speaking ability, using a state-designated instrument, within 30 school days of enrollment. For students in kindergarten through grade two, English reading and writing assessments are optional. Literacy assessment in English is also optional for students in grades three through 12 if the students are designated LEP on the basis of the assessment in English comprehension and speaking. For students in grades three through 12 scoring fluent in oral proficiency, further assessment of English reading and writing proficiency is required. These students must meet district-established standards in reading and writing for their grade level in order to be initially designated FEP. If they do not meet these standards they are designated LEP. After the assessment is completed, parents are notified of the results. The student is placed in an appropriate program to meet his/her linguistic needs.

There are no state requirements for school districts to review the achievement of students initially identified as FEP. Some young English language learners (K–2) may score as FEP because the assessment used for students at this age is based on a small oral language sample. However, these students may still have significant second language issues. Anecdotal evidence indicates that many of these students are subsequently enrolled in remedial programs in both elementary and secondary school. Because they have been identified FEP, teachers knowledgeable about second language acquisition are not involved in planning how to address their learning needs. Many become "permanent underachievers" and stop attending school. We believe that this is one of the factors contributing to the high dropout rate among linguistically diverse students in California.

As LEP students develop English language proficiency, the district monitors their progress. Students remain identified LEP until they meet the requirements for redesignation to FEP. These requirements include demonstrating English oral proficiency on a state-designated instrument; receiving a teacher evaluation of English proficiency; meeting the district's standards on an objective assessment of reading, language arts and mathematics; meeting the district's standards on an empirically established range of performance in basic skills for nonminority English proficient students of the same age and grade. In addition, parent consultation must occur. On meeting the requirements, LEP students are redesignated FEP. They are no longer served by a specialized program, as they should now be able to succeed in a mainstream program, that is, a program without additional support for linguistically diverse students. FEP students are monitored, according to district policy, in order to ensure that they are succeeding without additional support.

ELD programs are mandated for all LEP students until they are redesignated FEP. These programs provide LEP students with ELD instruction appropriate to their age, grade and English proficiency level, using appropriate materials and methods for English language acquisition. School districts must have an adopted curriculum designed to develop proficiency in English as effectively and efficiently as possible.

In practice, identification procedures are usually followed, but services are not necessarily provided. In March of each year, every school in California must complete the annual language census (R-30). This census includes the numbers of LEP and FEP students, staffing information, program information, and the number of students redesignated since the previous census. Table 1 summarizes the enrollment of LEP students in instructional programs as of March, 1995 (Dolson & Mayer, 1995).

Table 1
LEP Students in California by Program Category

Program	*Percentage LEP students*	*Number LEP Students*
ELD alone	13.5	178,978
ELD and SDAIE[a]	16	211,386
ELD, SDAIE and primary language support	19.7	260,828
ELD, academic subjects through primary language	30.2	399,340
No appropriate program	20.6	273,235

Note. From *Language Census Report for California Public Schools* (p. 16), by California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit, October, 1996, Sacramento: Author. Reprinted by permission.

[a] Specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) is an approach used to make content comprehensible to English language learners with intermediate fluency.

In drawing conclusions based on these data, it is important to remember that data are self-reported at the school site. Students may be listed as receiving a particular program because they are in a classroom where a teacher is certified to provide that program, but the teacher may not actually be providing it; or, an administrator may report students as enrolled in an appropriate program, even though there are not enough staff members certified to provide that program to all the students reported.

Also reported on the R-30 is the number of students redesignated at the school since the prior year's language census. At both the elementary and secondary levels, there may be a significant number of students who have met the criteria for redesignation and who are enrolled in a mainstream program but who have not been formally redesignated. This generally occurs because of a lack of emphasis on this function and a shortage of personnel and resources to gather the necessary data as reported above.

The 20.6% of LEP students who are listed as not being in an appropriate program and who do not receive ELD therefore includes three subgroups of students. The first subgroup consists of students who need the LEP services to which they are legally entitled, and who are not receiving these services. The second subgroup consists of students who have reached criteria for redesignation, but who have not yet been formally redesignated, as described in the preceding paragraph. The final subgroup consists of students who fall short of meeting the criteria in a single area, usually either writing skills or standardized test scores. Program emphasis given to identifying these students and providing course work to target their needs as second language learners would result in more students being redesignated. Appropriate resources should be devoted to all three subgroups.

Overview of Elementary Education

Most elementary schools are organized into self-contained classrooms, with a teacher responsible for all subject matter for around 30 students. Schools offer a variety of program models to serve the needs of their LEP students.

Some schools with significant numbers of LEP students from a single language group offer bilingual classes. In these classes, content areas are taught in the primary language while at a different time of the day, students receive ELD. In schools which use the "Eastman model", developed at Eastman Avenue School in Los Angeles Unified School District, students are assigned to homogeneous classes based on their level of development in ELD, but spend part of the day in mix time activities in which they interact with more advanced English speakers (Krashen & Biber, 1988). Besides daily ELD, beginning students receive core subjects (math, science, social studies, and language arts) in their primary language, while intermediate students receive core subjects in L2 through SDAIE—an approach used to make content comprehensible to English language learners with intermediate fluency. (For more information on this approach, also known as *sheltered content area instruction*, see CATESOL's 1993 position paper on specially designed academic instruction in English). Thus, LEP students who speak no English receive all core subjects in their primary language, while LEP students at the intermediate fluency stage of language development normally receive only social studies and language arts in their primary language, while science and math are delivered through a SDAIE approach (Dolson & Prescott, 1995).

Schools with students from a variety of language backgrounds may offer classes designed for LEP students, without primary language instruction. In these schools, LEP students also receive daily structured ELD. In some schools, several teachers may group and exchange students for a period of the day in order to offer ELD at different levels; however, classroom ELD generally encompasses a variety of levels. Other elementary schools enroll LEP students in a mainstream classroom but offer ELD, delivered by a certified resource teacher, on a pullout basis.[1]

Overview of Secondary Education

Secondary schools have a variety of program configurations that include ELD, SDAIE, and primary language instruction. The curricula are departmentalized with ELD as a separate department.

Classes offered in the ELD (or ESL) department are usually sequential, with students moving from a beginning to intermediate to advanced level. In many secondary programs, LEP students enroll in two ELD classes daily, particularly at the early stages of English language development. A recent large-scale study of high school students has shown that the most advantaged second language students in the best instructional programs require five to seven years to reach the 50th normal curve equivalent (NCE) on standardized tests; those with limited schooling in their primary language take seven to 10 years (Collier, 1989). In an effort to address this need for continuing ELD, an increasing number of secondary programs are offering a fourth level of ELD to provide LEP students with appropriate instruction as they near redesignation.

Besides their ELD classes, LEP students enroll in core curriculum classes taught with SDAIE. Depending upon their diagnosed need, they may also take some subjects in their primary language and/or some mainstream classes as well as electives. Secondary LEP students often take English classes in a mainstream setting before they have met all the requirements for redesignation.

Survey of K–12 Practitioners

In order to get a sense of current practice in the field, a short questionnaire was distributed to professionals involved with second language acquisition programs around the state. Nineteen respondents, representing 19 different districts, completed questionnaires. These respondents have a variety of titles. Some are district directors of bilingual education, directors of second language acquisition, or directors of categorical programs; others are program specialists or bilingual/ELD resource teachers. All are knowledgeable about legal requirements, well-trained in the field, and familiar with the practices in their respective districts. Many also train other educators to work with LEP students.

Elementary Education in the Field

According to the respondents, the actual programs in elementary schools range from a complete bilingual program to no special program. Elementary schools with a significant population of Spanish speakers are likely to offer bilingual classes, with core subjects taught in Spanish only in grades K through 2 or 3. A district may designate as *bilingual* a class taught by a teacher who is not bilingual but who is assisted by a paraprofessional who speaks the students' primary language. The upper grades, 4 through 6, tend to be taught in English using a SDAIE approach.

For classes with students from diverse languages some districts designate an *LEP cluster* teacher who has been trained in ELD and SDAIE at each grade level. Other districts offer pullout ELD with all other subjects in the regular classroom. One district provides multigrade newcomer classes for students in the beginning levels of ELD.

In any of these models, instructional aides may provide primary language support or extra assistance in English. Unfortunately, some schools provide no special support of any kind for LEP students. It is also unclear, when districts report primary language support, whether students are learning the content area concepts in their primary language, or whether these concepts are being delivered in English and then explained in the primary language.

These districts reported no standard curriculum for ELD. Some respondents said they use a particular publishers' ESL materials as their curriculum. The most frequently mentioned were *Addison-Wesley ESL* and Santillana's *Bridge to Communication*—two ELD series which are currently state-adopted for use in California.

Secondary Education in the Field

According to respondents, the actual practices in secondary education are somewhat less than ideal. Respondents usually identified the ELD component of the program as adequate; most districts offer at least three levels, based upon student proficiency. Respondents expressed more concern about the core curriculum component.

Few districts offer a complete range of content area classes taught with primary language instruction or SDAIE. One respondent stated that SDAIE classes are "scattered and infrequent." Some districts call these content classes "transition" classes. Another respondent mentioned the small number of teachers in the school with the language development specialist (LDS) certificate ; these teachers frequently have both native English speakers and LEP students in their classes.

Respondents mentioned their schools offer "limited" primary language courses or "a few" such courses. Some respondents mentioned the use of bilingual aides as an alternative to primary language teachers; again, it is unclear if these aides assist students with their work in English, or if a primary language curriculum and textbooks are offered.

Articulation Procedures

Specific procedures for articulation between elementary and secondary schools were described by the survey respondents. In the following section, each question is listed, followed by a summary of the responses.

- Who decides which students will be placed in ESL classes? Who decides what classes they will take?

Many respondents indicated that this decision is made by the secondary school counselor. Some respondents mentioned elementary ELD staff; bilingual office coordinator; secondary ELD/ESL staff; and principals. Some districts have specific criteria for the various levels of ESL courses offered. A few respondents said that parents and students have input in course selection.

- On what basis is this decision made? What, if any, assessment instrument is used?

Most respondents mentioned some kind of testing, using either district developed tests or standardized tests. Some districts review students' elementary school records, using the year-end tests given at the elementary school. A few respondents mentioned using the recommendations of the elementary school staff. However, it appears that many districts treat the entering student transferring from an elementary school just the same as any other entering student; they are given an informal interview or a battery of tests at the school site or at a Newcomer Center.

Tests mentioned by the respondents are described in Figure 1:

Figure 1
Tests Used for Placement in Secondary Schools

Oral English Proficiency Tests

Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM)[a]
Language Assessment Scales- Oral (LAS-O)[a]
Student Oral Language Observation Matrix (SOLOM)[b]
Idea Proficiency Test (IPT)
Woodcock-Muñoz[a]

Tests of Literacy

Language Assessment Scales–Reading & Writing (LAS-R/W)[a]
Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS)[c]
California Achievement Test (CAT)
Idea Proficiency Test (IPT) Reading & Writing
Woodcock-Muñoz[a]

Note. [a] also available in Spanish
[b] observational inventory which may be done in any language
[c] SABE is a Spanish language version

Four of the oral tests mentioned above, the BSM, LAS-O, IPT and Woodcock-Muñoz, are among the tests approved by the state of California for initial identification of LEP students. The other two approved tests, the Basic Inventory of Natural Language (BINL) and the Quick Start in English (QSE), were not mentioned by the respondents. The CTBS and CAT are achievement tests given to mainstream students. Some districts use one of the standardized tests; some use a district-developed test for reading and writing; some review student grades or obtain a writing sample. It is important to note that there are no state requirements or guidelines for assessment of students for purposes of articulation, nor are there guidelines for placement of students in leveled ELD courses at the secondary schools.

- What is your impression of your district's procedure for handling this transition (elementary to secondary)?

Only about a third of those surveyed were satisfied with their procedure and felt it worked well.

Another third of those surveyed were quite dissatisfied. Some answered this question by saying simply "It's terrible" or "It's a disaster." Another respondent felt responsible for monitoring the entire process; without this person's constant vigilance, students would be misplaced. Reference was made to students "falling through the cracks."

Most of the others indicated a need to improve the process. As one respondent stated, "Procedure is excellent–implementation a bit choppy." Elementary schools may misplace students because they do not understand the different levels of ELD offered at the secondary site or the nature of the secondary curriculum. Secondary counselors may not be trained to understand language assessment. Even when the ELD staff provides data, the counselor may not understand how to interpret it. In many instances, a student is placed solely based upon a brief oral interview with a counselor or site administrator.

Many respondents mentioned the need for elementary school staff and secondary school staff to meet together; some indicated they are already working on this issue. In these meetings, the elementary and secondary school staff try to learn about one another's programs.

Considering that our respondents are among the most knowledgeable and best trained in the state, and that they also represent districts with significant numbers of LEP students, one can only speculate on the situation in districts not included in our informal study.

Recommendations

In elementary school, the student is part of a self-contained classroom with 30 to 35 classmates and, primarily, one teacher. In secondary school, the student has five or six different classes, each with a different teacher and with the potential for 150 to 165 classmates. This transition is difficult for the adolescent student, particularly for the student who is still mastering English. LEP students may be placed in a program that is not appropriate for their level of proficiency in English. Secondary teachers, each with 150 to 165 students, may not be able to determine if an LEP student is misplaced in this respect.

Based upon our knowledge of legal requirements and second language acquisition research, combined with this overview of current practice in the schools, we have developed the following recommendations for articulation between elementary and secondary school, aimed at ensuring a successful transition from elementary ELD to secondary ELD:

- A standardized assessment instrument designed for secondary LEP students should be mandated in the placement process for LEP students entering secondary school.
- The assessment instrument must include reading and writing, to ensure that placement is not based solely on oral proficiency. Second language learners generally become conversationally fluent within three to four years but may not yet have acquired the literacy and academic language skills to succeed in a secondary program. Therefore, placement must be based on assessment in all of the skill areas, listening, speaking, reading and writing.
- Assessment for placement must be tied to the district's content standards for ELD courses.
- Assessment and placement must be done by certificated staff with expertise in the area of second language acquisition. Counselors involved in programming must receive training in the area of second language acquisition.
- Elementary teachers and secondary teachers should be knowledgeable about each other's ELD programs. Districts must establish professional development opportunities to facilitate this aspect of articulation.
- Districts must establish a coordinated procedure for this assessment, taking advantage of the elementary staff's knowledge and experience of the students but involving the secondary staff who will be assisting students to continue their education and language learning.

One of the survey respondents offered a procedure which appears both promising and workable. In February before programming for the next school year begins, district personnel test all the students who will be moving to the next level. They make tentative placements based upon district criteria. These results are then shared with the feeder school teachers, who have the opportunity to request changes based upon their knowledge of the students. The final lists of the ESL students and their recommended programs are forwarded to the secondary counselors prior to the spring scheduling of incoming students.

As more districts design and implement coordinated articulation procedures, the educational programs offered in our K–12 school system will better meet the needs of California's English language learners.

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Appendix
Survey of K–12 Practitioners

CATESOL (California Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) is gathering data on the transition of LEP students from elementary to secondary school. Your help in filling out this survey is greatly appreciated.

In your district, when LEP students leave elementary school and begin secondary school,

1. Who decides which students will be placed in ESL classes?
2. Who decides what classes they will take?
3. On what basis is this decision made?
4. What, if any, assessment instrument (test) is used?

Please describe your elementary school program for LEP students.

Please describe your secondary school program for LEP students.

What is your impression of your district's procedure for handling this transition (elementary to secondary school)?

Thank you for your participation.

The CATESOL Journal

LINDA SASSER
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Articulation Between Segments: Secondary to Postsecondary Programs

As a part-time instructor of English as a second language (ESL) at the community college level, I often hear complaints that high schools have not prepared ESL students for success in college-level programs. As a full-time program specialist for a midsize public school district, I hear high school teachers complain that middle schools have not prepared ESL students for the demands of high school programs. The purpose of this article is to clarify the status of ESL instruction in secondary programs so that California educators at different levels may begin the dialogue of articulation. In focusing on the problems, it is not my intent to paint a depressing portrait; reality suggests, however, that if our programs were better, there would be little need for this discussion.

In the state of California, rapidly shifting demographics have affected K–12 programs by creating both the need to augment traditional course offerings with ESL instruction, content instruction in primary languages (also called *bilingual instruction*), and specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE).[1] To add to the base provided by ESL classes, such special courses for English language learners have in turn created a need for teachers trained to deliver content in primary language or SDAIE (see Hawkins, in press). Much like the familiar nursery rhyme "The House That Jack Built," meeting the needs of second language learners has created a chain of events culminating in legislation establishing special certification with specialized credentials (cross-cultural, language and academic development—CLAD—and bilingual, cross-cultural, language and academic development—BCLAD) and then in additional legislation (SB 1969) authorizing local district certification for those who cannot or will not obtain state certification. Whichever path has been chosen, the state has been consistently clear on its objectives: To successfully teach English language learners, teachers require a working understanding of the language acquisition process and strategies which will help students understand what is being taught. Since between a quarter and a third of California's students are English language learners, certification is only the first step.

In contrast to the coherent philosophy presented by the credentialing options, program options have not been mandated by the state. Consequently, the state has not promoted a single model for educating English language learners. Although the accreditation process directed by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) suggests that the results of self-study be used to improve student learning and school programs—and although the coordinated compliance review (CCR) process requires that English language learners be provided with (a) daily instruction in ESL, (b) content concepts in their primary languages, and (c) SDAIE instruction when learners have attained sufficient English fluency to profit from all-English instruction—these configurations are based more upon federal case law than upon California state statute. Daily instruction in English is mandated, yet no specific amount of time is required. Consequently, some districts provide two hours of daily ESL; other districts provide less. And although all ESL teachers are required to have appropriate authorization for second language instruction, in many instances, in a clear violation of state education code, paraprofessionals still provide ESL instruction for English language learners.

Secondary Programs

To even the most casual observer, there is enormous diversity and variety in secondary (i.e., grades 6–12) programs for English language learners in the state of California. State program goals for English language learners are these:

> To develop fluency in English in each student as effectively and efficiently as possible; promote students' positive self-image; promote cross-cultural understanding; and provide equal opportunity for academic achievement, including, when necessary, academic instruction through the primary language (California Department of Education, 1995, p. 1).

Although these general program guidelines have been provided, and although some state money for supplemental services has been allocated for some school districts, resources have generally not been widely available or extended to offer assistance to districts in terms of capacity to deliver effective instruction. Despite credentialing statutes, bilingual teachers are in short supply and few districts are able to offer a stipend to attract them. Credentialed ESL and SDAIE teachers are available, but without mentoring or extensive staff development, many are unable to implement teaching strategies which will assist English language learners in attaining academic success, let alone prepare them for the intellectual rigors of the post secondary academic environment. So, although state code and case law have established parameters within which most programs function, in addition to teacher preparation, the contemporary issues at the heart of articulation remain those of student access and program quality.

At the elementary and secondary levels, all districts are required to identify and assess the English proficiency and primary language skills of all second language speakers. Based upon the assessment, students are placed in their secondary programs. It may be helpful at this point to describe a number of state-permitted secondary program options.

ESL-only

In districts in which students are able to demonstrate success on nationally normed assessment instruments like the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), English language learners are provided with ESL instruction only until they can be mainstreamed. ESL instruction may be provided by a regularly scheduled course or by means of a pullout program. In general, students in these programs may be relatively affluent and have come from situations in which English was studied in the home country—sometimes in school and sometimes with a private tutor. Such students generally also have strong academic backgrounds allowing them to succeed in content courses in which the content and concepts are familiar and only the language of delivery is unfamiliar.[2]

ESL Plus SDAIE

This option is frequently offered by districts with large mixed-language populations. In addition to ESL instruction, English language learners are enrolled in classes taught with SDAIE methodology.[3] In the middle grades, this may be a self-contained classroom in which the teacher is responsible for ESL and SDAIE in all the content areas. At the secondary level, students may be programmed into ESL and SDAIE math, science, and social science classes, for example.

ESL Plus Bilingual

This option is offered by districts with large groups of students who speak the same primary language (often Spanish). In addition to ESL, academic content is delivered by teachers fluent in the primary language who teach in the language spoken by the students. In addition to finding appropriately trained and credentialed bilingual teachers, secondary programs often have difficulty finding primary language high school textbooks to support this approach. Though textbooks are available outside the United States, locating, reviewing, and matching the content to California content frameworks is problematic.

ESL Plus Bilingual Plus SDAIE

This option combines the previous two approaches. In addition to ESL, students enrolled in such programs may have SDAIE with bilingual support or a combination of SDAIE and bilingual classes.

If we extrapolate from the several intensively studied schools described in a study commissioned by the California Legislature (Minicucci & Olsen, 1992), most California secondary programs do not provide broadly comprehensive course offerings for their English language learners. Though most districts offer some form of ESL classes, taught by an appropriately trained and credentialed teacher, offerings are not consistent. Some ESL students are served in programs separated from other language arts classes; some ESL students are served in self-contained middle school programs; some students who demonstrate ESL features are mainstreamed, that is, mixed in with native or fluent speakers of English. In such cases their needs are not served by an ESL specialist. Some ESL programs are pullout—that is, students are pulled out of a regularly scheduled class for intensive ESL lessons. Those students pulled out also differ from program to program: Some such programs serve only beginning students; others serve all those perceived by the classroom teacher as needing assistance. In pullout ESL programs, instruction should be delivered by an appropriately credentialed teacher, but it is common knowledge that some programs serve English language learners with paraprofessionals.

The lack of consistency also shows up in the SDAIE or bilingual programs as well. Due to low numbers of English language learners, some middle schools offer no SDAIE classes. And at the high school level, SDAIE courses have frequently been placed in the general track but not the college preparatory programs. This means that life or physical science may be available, but not biology or physics. Bilingual courses may offer college preparatory credit but be limited by teachers available so that a school with one bilingual social science teacher may offer U.S. history or government but not algebra or geometry. Class size also limits offerings: When courses are restricted to certain grade levels (for example, Biology for 10th grade, U. S. history for 11th and government for 12th), only a handful of students may be in need of SDAIE or bilingual courses. Staffing ratios and funding levels may not permit using one teacher for less than 22 or so students. This explains why some high-level courses like chemistry or calculus are almost never offered in either a SDAIE or bilingual delivery mode.

Diversity is the last factor to be considered in a portrayal of secondary programs for English language learners. Even relatively small districts may contain students with more than two dozen native languages. Large urban districts may serve students from more than 50 language backgrounds. Several additional variables compound this linguistic diversity: prior schooling experience, rural versus urban background, immigrant status in the United States (documented vs. undocumented), and socioeconomic status. It is not atypical for an ESL classroom of 30 or so to contain students who represent refugee-, immigrant-, and undocumented-status families, rural or migrant farming backgrounds as well as urban-technological or middle-management, and low primary language literacy as well as well-prepared academic backgrounds. No single program option could ever serve such diversity.

Factors Inhibiting Transfer Between Segments

Trying to describe statewide secondary programs is analogous to the folktale of the blind men and the elephant: We each see the program most familiar to us. However, from the information available, some general patterns emerge.

Insufficient Secondary Courses

Although most secondary educators understand that graduation from high school marks a transition between segments and although most English language learners express a desire to continue their education, these expectations often do not match reality. If students, for whatever reasons, have not participated in college preparatory programs, they often are only eligible for minimum wage entry-level positions or study at a community college. Clearly, limited secondary course offerings affect career and post-secondary pathways for English language learners.

Lack of Rigor/Low Expectations

Some students, who have been mainstreamed or given the opportunity for SDAIE or bilingual courses may be handicapped in another way. This is a much more subtle, and sensitive, situation for it involves issues of quality. Some SDAIE courses have been taught by teachers who lack knowledge of second language acquisition processes; such teachers and others who became credentialed by passing the LDS exam may also lack appropriate strategies for delivering grade-level content. Often, these teachers are aware that they lack strategies to make the content available, and make statements like, "I have my LDS but I still don't know how to teach my kids." For such teachers, expectations may be high—they want their students to meet the course objectives. Unfortunately, because they lack specific strategies to teach content reading, or lack understanding of how to create a cognitive scaffold for new information, they do not infuse their classes with academic rigor. Instead, they opt for time-worn patterns: Listen to the lecture, take notes, read the chapter, answer the questions, take the multiple choice or short-answer test. And, though some English language learners do succeed in such settings, many do not. More troubling, however, are those teachers who perceive their students as lacking ability. Then low expectations and lack of rigor have been translated into the "dumbing" or watering-down of course standards. Such teachers tend to blame either the victim ("Those kids can't learn"), or teachers at the previous level ("Those kids from middle school can't do the work here"). Even the use of *those* suggests a distancing. Students coming from backgrounds which had low expectations and/or lack of rigor are poorly prepared for success even at the community college level.

Lack of Teaching Strategies

As suggested previously, the lack of teaching strategies appropriate for second language speakers is a common problem at the secondary level. Like many of us, including our mainstream and SDAIE peers, some bilingual teachers were credentialed before preparation programs or staff development began to focus on strategies designed to build academic knowledge. These teachers may still favor a transmission mode of instruction. Students coming from this model may have little experience with collaborative projects, with classroom interactions (such as partner or small group discussions), or with presentations or exhibitions of learning. Teachers may be unfamiliar with the role of peer discussion in building academic understanding, with the use of visual organizers to reformulate textual knowledge, or with the *how* of making students responsible for their own learning (i.e., teaching them how to take notes, how to organize a class folder, how to keep track of assignments, or how to prepare for class sessions and examinations). It is not unusual for students to graduate from high school never having read a book independently all the way through. Though students may have the ability to do so, they have simply never been given the opportunity because their teachers lacked the strategies to make content accessible through avenues extending beyond the transmission mode.

Varied Exit Criteria

Background factors like those discussed are critical to the success of students who transfer between schools or between program segments—from middle to high school, from high school to community college, state college, or university. Since all public programs have an assessment process to assist in accurate placement of students, particularly in language and mathematics classes, it is common for a student to exit ESL classes in one segment and to reenter them at the next. In addition to damaging self-esteem, in the minds of students this forward/backward movement lends an arbitrary air to solid programmatic decisions. "I don't belong here/know why I'm in your class. I graduated from ESL at my other school" are familiar phrases to many teachers in high school, community college, and even university programs.[4] Though many districts have begun the process of internal articulation to define ESL program exit criteria, no uniform statewide standard exists.

Another problem, related to varied exit criteria, is the recognition that some students officially identified as fluent English speakers (FEP) are still English language learners in need of language development classes. It is not unusual for mainstream secondary classrooms to contain students who lack English literacy skills despite their "fluent" label. Background investigations often reveal one or more of several scenarios: redesignation in the primary grades (K–2) based on oral English fluency only; early mainstreaming in all-English programs before the child has learned to read and write in the primary language; early identification as "remedial" in English with subsequent placement in remedial programs designed for native speakers of English; no consistent program of English language development or ESL in the elementary grades. Elementary grade reports forwarded to the high school usually depict average students; teacher comments often note such characteristics as *hard worker, cooperative, friendly.* Students in this category become and remain orally fluent in their elementary programs but all too frequently have never developed the academic skills necessary for success in secondary programs. Consequently, this is an at-risk population.

Diverse Educational Backgrounds and Preparations

The difficulty of program uniformity is compounded within each segment by students who come to California with strong educational backgrounds in their home countries. Such students often have had opportunities to participate in challenging academic and college preparatory programs—their superior background knowledge often contributes to positive stereotyping—and a consequent negative labeling of their classmates who have been schooled in United States settings or arrived less well prepared.

Some students, particularly at the postsecondary level, may have arrived in late adolescence. Although public high schools can enroll students who have not passed their 18th birthday, many high schools turn 16- and 17-year-old students aside into adult or vocational programs. And although public schools by statute can continue to serve students past their 18th birthdays, some will force out even well-performing ESL students by telling them that they must go to adult programs after their 18th birthday.

Imagine for a moment a hypothetical classroom. Some students have moved into the class because they have succeeded at the previous level. Others have been placed by an assessment instrument which measured their oral production and syntax. When students complete the first writing assessment, they present a range of writing abilities—from words and phrases to organized paragraphs; when students speak, they exhibit a similar range of oral proficiency. As time progresses, some students demonstrate a great amount of world knowledge and others, very little; some students have been well-schooled in their own countries and some have been in California for four or five years. At the end of the course, which students are likely to be perceived as more successful and better prepared to move on? The issue of educational background and life experiences reverberates at every segment of public education.

Factors Which Improve Access and Movement Between Secondary and Postsecondary Programs

From all that has been said, several observations emerge. Access to postsecondary opportunities is improved when students have been well-prepared by their secondary programs. Three factors stand out: sufficient numbers of courses, well-developed curriculum offerings, and adequately trained teachers.

Sufficient Numbers of Courses

Course offerings must serve the needs of students in the school. Schools should reexamine prerequisites for courses. If a high school has only 30 limited-English Spanish speakers, why must grade level be the criterion which determines who is eligible for U. S. history or government? Why can only 10th grade students take biology? Why is the reading score on a nationally normed test like the CTBS used as the sole criterion for entrance into college preparatory classes? Pushed by changing demographics, some schools have responded by collapsing offerings rather than carefully examining existing courses and their prerequisites. Teachers and program administrators need to ask challenging questions: Why is only the general track offered in SDAIE? If we have three ESL classes, why is each one multilevel? If we have a significant population of newcomer Spanish speakers with low primary language literacy, why can't we have courses to develop their literacy skills in this language well?

Well-Developed Curriculum

Complementing the notion of a sufficient number is that of the right kind of courses. The foundation for school success is the ESL course: Good programs recognize a student's developmental needs in the language acquisition process and meet these needs at various levels. Most of us agree that those new to the language need a program which offers an opportunity to develop oral survival skills and a foundation for English literacy. Those whose oral English has emerged need a program which builds the vocabulary and skills necessary for academic success. The upper levels of such a program should concentrate on reading—both content and literature—and writing for different purposes and audiences. In most programs, English language development is narrowly perceived as the province of the ESL classroom. In reality, for English language learners, language development is the responsibility of the entire school program. This means that descriptions of SDAIE courses should not merely mirror the content objectives of the mainstream but instead prioritize the content objectives and reflect the academic skills which will be developed. This means that English teachers whose classes are filled with second language speakers who have exited the ESL program need to examine the textbook selections as well as the strategies they use. Language development does not end with ESL. An adequate secondary program recognizes that second language students need courses which will move them to advanced levels of English language proficiency in all the content areas.

Ability to Convey Concepts to L2 Learners

The final factor pertains to staff development and status. Though the state has determined appropriate credentialing for English language development and SDAIE teachers, the ability to convey concepts depends upon strategies. It is through strategy that theory becomes application. Once sufficient appropriate and rigorous ESL, ELD and SDAIE courses are offered, it becomes imperative that programs assume the responsibility of ensuring that teachers have the support and skills to deliver the concepts. Though support and skills are integral to the success of programs for second language learners, it would be misleading to limit support to staff development and appropriate textbooks or materials. Staff development brings teachers with similar needs together and provides the setting and opportunity to work out common instructional problems and solutions.

Appropriate textbooks are chosen by those who will use them as resources and are provided as part of the base program of the school. The needs of second language learners require audiovisual materials to supplement strategies and textbooks. These all contribute to the ability to convey subject matter to English language learners. But support also means acknowledging the knowledge and skills of bilingual, ESL, SDAIE and ELD teachers. Support also means providing equal access for teachers and their students to facilities like the computer lab and library. Support also means recognizing the contributions of English language learners to the school community—and including them as a part of the fabric of school life. When neither the courses, nor the teachers, nor the students are marginalized, all these complex factors work together to propel students toward academic success.

When students have been given access to a broad spectrum of courses and engaged in challenging work appropriate to their level of English proficiency, then access is improved and barriers to movement between levels are lowered or removed.

Efforts to Improve Access

Each individual school or program is capable of making efforts to improve access. To go forward, a school must know where it is and who it serves.

Data

Data are essential. Apocryphal stories and anecdotes are one form of data, but desegregated data, of the sort collected by every educational institution are much better. Data programs should have the ability to sort information by gender, ethnicity, nationality, first language, prior schooling, length of time in the United States, as well as grade-point average (GPA), attendance, and so forth—so schools could (for example) analyze the GPA of all students from Vietnam and compare recent arrivals with Vietnamese students here for more than four years; or examine the number of Spanish-speaking students programmed into remedial courses and analyze the factors which may be contributing to performance; or collect rates of absenteeism among Cantonese-speaking males from Hong Kong and compare the rate to general rates of absenteeism. Desegregated data provide a platform for asking questions, identifying problems, and brainstorming solutions.

Programming

Schools must pay attention to programming. In some schools the master calendar is constructed without regard to student needs. For instance, although projected fall enrollment for beginning ESL may consistently suggest a need for three classes, year after year only two are scheduled. Students who enroll in mid-September often sit in the cafeteria until an enrollment formula is met. (Because of state funding requirements, a sufficient number of students at each level must enroll/appear to permit the addition of a class or classes at the level in question.) Sometimes assessment information is disregarded by those who determine student programs. For example, a student who has low primary language literacy and whose assessment profile indicates a need for primary language support may not be programmed into the appropriate classes because of space limitations, scheduling conflicts, or misunderstanding of the purpose of bilingual support. Some counselors acquiesce to parental requests for "status" courses (and unwittingly foster the perceived low status of ESL and bilingual programs); in the process they also deviate from an assessment-based program sequence. Attention to programming assures that all students will obtain access to the classes which they need to meet graduation requirements and post-secondary goals.

Articulation

Articulation within and across segments can improve these situations. At the school level, those responsible for programs (teachers and administrators) need to examine the needs of second language learners, the course offerings, and the delivery of subject matter. This should be an ongoing process based on a commitment to academic success for all students. Based on the analysis of data, program changes can evolve. Program goals and standards should be clearly described to students and their parents in the language of the home so that parents will understand how academic success is developed in their children. For example, some secondary schools hold a separate parent night for incoming ninth grade English language learners and provide translators to answer questions about high school curriculum and policies. Some secondary schools also host a college night for parents of 11th and 12th grade English language learners, again providing translators to ensure the comprehensibility of this opportunity to understand both academic qualifications for entrance and support through financial aid.

Because counselors are responsible for programming students, it is crucial that they be included in any articulation program so that they will be aware of course standards and offerings. Too often, high school counselors assume that English language learners must attend community college before moving on to the university.

Efforts to improve articulation occur across the levels. Because secondary graduates who are English language learners are often ineligible for the state university systems, community colleges are often impacted with high school graduates who have no recent ESL background. When these students take placement examinations, some are referred to community college ESL programs, others to remedial classes. Some students perceive a loss of status in a movement "back" to ESL. Others are poorly served by remedial programs designed for native speakers. Secondary schools and some colleges have begun to dialogue, to learn about one another's programs and how they can collaborate for the benefit of students.

Some examples: In the fall of 1996, Pasadena City College (PCC) hosted a Saturday miniconference for teachers within its attendance area for the purpose of articulating its program and developing a dialogue between teachers in various high school districts.[5] For a first effort, attendance was broadly distributed through PCC's service region; both groups of educators learned from one another. PCC followed up by hosting the UCLA Teaching Analytical Writing Project on the PCC campus (see Peitzman, this volume).

Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) programs have been established throughout California. AVID programs, which identify underachieving students most underrepresented in California post-secondary institutions, have demonstrated a rise in both college preparation for under-represented students as well as college applications.[6]

Various other innovations also exist. An expanded Title VII program between Mission High School in San Francisco Unified School District and San Francisco State University continues to provide opportunities for underrepresented students to prepare for college enrollment through a focus on academic reading and study skills.[7] All of us can learn of articulation efforts and programs by attending national, statewide, and local conferences. Regional and state CATESOL conferences continue to provide critical opportunities to articulate between segments.

In the last 20 years, rapidly changing demographics have posed an amazing challenge to California high schools. In general, schools have met that challenge well, gradually adding ESL, bilingual, and SDAIE classes in response to the needs of their students. Many did this willingly, advocating for and empowering their students. The challenges for the next decade will of necessity involve more than merely providing courses: The challenges are to focus on a broad range of courses which meet the needs of English language learners and to develop quality within each program of instruction.

No one segment can successfully meet this challenge alone. It is through articulation and working together that we will improve our programs for the benefit of all. ■

Endnotes

1. SDAIE classes, sometimes called *sheltered*, are offered to second language speakers who have reached oral fluency in English. For a more complete description, see the CATESOL position paper on specially designed academic instruction in English.

2. Please note that recent policy changes in the California Department of Education permit the ESL-only option to be used more frequently than it may have been in the past.

3. SDAIE methodology consists of strategies to make content comprehensible through an emphasis on the use of visuals, collaborative strategies, graphic organizers, and cognitive scaffolding.

4. For a discussion of case histories of ESL students at UCLA, see Brinton, D., & Mano, S. (1994) in F. Peitzman & G. Gadda, (Eds.) *With different eyes: Insights into teaching language minority students across-the disciplines.* (pp. 1–21). White Plains, NY: Longman.

5. For information, contact Ginny Heringer, ESL coordinator at Pasadena City College.

6. For AVID information or to visit an AVID program, contact the AVID Center, San Diego County Office of Education at (619) 291-3559 or a local county office of education.

7. For information on this program, contact Kate Kinsella, STEP to College Program, San Francisco Unified School District.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Noncredit Students in California Community Colleges: A Community at Risk

The early 1980s saw a dramatic increase in the number of second language students entering community college noncredit ESL classes throughout California. In response to this need, many noncredit continuing education programs expanded offerings in the community and at the major noncredit sites. Because of the rapid expansion, many noncredit ESL programs were developed independently from the credit ESL programs, and little effort was given to articulation of curriculum. Even in those community colleges where attempts were made to articulate the two programs and create a continuum of language instruction, inherent student issues such as individual goals, financial need, and levels of educational preparation were not fully explored, and few noncredit students moved into college-credit ESL classes.

Although in many instances faculty and administrators continued to discuss the need to more closely articulate the two programs, few formal efforts were undertaken. Consequently, it was not unusual for the two ESL programs to develop independently of each other and for the separate faculty groups to have little contact beyond the efforts of a few individuals. However, when the amnesty program of the late 1980s brought an overwhelming number of students into California college districts via noncredit instruction, the resulting enrollment expansion made it necessary for districts to reexamine how noncredit ESL students could be matriculated to compensate for a declining credit student population.

It became apparent that with shrinking state dollars for education and a downward shift in credit enrollments, community colleges that fared best throughout the state were those which had large, growing noncredit programs that could offset financial losses on the credit side. The higher reimbursement for college-credit ADA, even with the state imposed enrollment limitations, made the movement of students into credit offerings highly desirable.

In developing effective matriculation models, community colleges faced several challenges. One of these was the reluctance on the part of noncredit and credit faculty groups to recognize the need to articulate courses to ensure a smooth instructional transition from noncredit instruction to credit. Students who completed the highest level of noncredit instruction often had to be tested for placement in credit ESL courses, and expectations for student success in these classes were not clearly defined for the noncredit faculty. One result of this was the sense on the part of the college-credit English/ESL faculty that matriculated students entering their classes were underprepared, especially in the area of writing. The internal college culture often perceived the problem as stemming from the differences in "casual" noncredit and "academic" instruction.

It also became very clear to college districts that many noncredit ESL students lacked knowledge of how to access college programs, and that proximity to classes was a key enrollment factor. While locating noncredit programs in the community was critical for students, it presented a major challenge when students had to leave local sites and move to one of the two college campuses. Second language students also found it extremely difficult to initially maneuver through the registration process, and because many colleges maintained separate student numbers and data bases for noncredit and credit students, re-registering was often required when students entered credit ESL classes.

In 1986, Rancho Santiago College, a large urban community college in Orange County, applied for and received a Title III grant that was renewable for three years at approximately $200,000 per year. One goal of this federal grant, designed to financially strengthen postsecondary institutions, was to transition noncredit ESL students into college-credit programs, including English as a second language. Developing such a model for Rancho Santiago College made it clear that the students enrolled in the two college ESL programs, credit and noncredit, had unique needs that had to be addressed and that merely establishing courses would not result in an effective or efficient student matriculation model.

The ACCESS Program developed from this federal Title III grant attempted to address these issues through a model with both instructional and student service components. The instructional component focused on two areas, reading and mathematics. Courses developed in these disciplines were designed to bridge the gap between the basic skills of noncredit instruction and the entry level courses in the college. These courses were offered on the Santa Ana college campus and scheduled so that matriculated students could take classes in multiple disciplines as indicated through individual student assessment. Because the college did not offer specific reading classes for second language learners, an ACCESS reading class was developed to meet the reading needs of transitioning students.

However, the transition class that proved to be most successful was Counseling N45: *Orientation to College*, offered at continuing education sites in the community and designed to provide students with knowledge about college and university systems as well as specific information about Rancho Santiago College programs. Students were assisted with registration, fees were collected, and a field trip to the college campus was scheduled. Through enrollment in this course, students "became" college students—they were offered early registration and were familiarized with services available to them on the campus. Although this approach required a major commitment of resources, students quickly learned how to handle the college system and required fewer student support services.

The student services component of the ACCESS Program emphasized outreach, orientation, assessment, and ongoing counseling support. Presentations were given in the noncredit basic skills classes and in the higher levels of ESL. In order to address faculty concerns about student enrollments and levels of readiness, faculty were recruited to assist with outreach activities and student assessment. Student placement became a joint effort with input from all faculty concerned. Students had a designated counseling location at the Santa Ana campus, where support was readily available. This was also where program staff were housed and student records maintained. Linking matriculating students with a specific program and clearly identifying services was critical for student success.

At the end of the three-year grant period, the program was incorporated into the college structure, and the student services component was integrated into the existing student support system. Although the counseling staff continued to be designated as ACCESS staff, the scope of their responsibility was expanded to include other district counseling activities. Student outreach activities recognized as crucial for student transition were maintained but also made part of overall college activities.

Although Rancho Santiago College made a commitment to have noncredit and credit ESL course offerings at all major sites, limited instructional space made this difficult to achieve. However, through the development of the ACCESS Program, it became clear that any successful matriculation model must include a structure that provided easily accessible instruction regardless of student level, and that dialogue between faculty in the two divisions was a key factor for any approach. In addition, issues surrounding student placement, effective assessment practices, course content, credit and noncredit designation, and enrollment in impacted disciplines must be clearly identified and resolved with student success as the focus.

Unfortunately, recent educational developments and trends at the state level continue to compound the issue of matriculation by excluding noncredit students from the many areas of reform that have shaped instructional practices at California community colleges. Matriculation dollars that focus only on students enrolled for credit have made it difficult for colleges to provide services for the growing number of second language students who enter the system through noncredit programs. The change in Title V2 regulations that provide for the development of nondegree-applicable courses, funded at the higher rate of state apportionment, has created a disincentive for many colleges to expand their noncredit offerings even though there is an increasing number of students, especially second language learners, for whom this mode of instruction is more appropriate.

In assessing current statewide practices, instructional models with sequential courses that fail to address the time needed to effectively acquire language skills if matriculation is to be even a possibility, have helped to create a group of students in local communities with limited access to higher levels of education. Adding to this problem is the tendency for colleges to provide libraries, financial aid offices, and specially designed outreach and support programs only on credit campuses, effectively excluding the noncredit students whose needs for these services are in many cases greater than those of other students. The main source of change, however, has to come from within the culture of the individual colleges. The administration, faculty, and staff have to recognize that the second language student population is a dynamic population and that to ignore the unique instructional needs of these students puts colleges, communities, and ultimately the state at risk. ■

The CATESOL Journal

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Passages Between the Community College and the California State University System

The framework for higher education in California, the Master Plan (Commission for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education, 1987), establishes three routes for students to pursue their lower division postsecondary coursework. Students can attend a California State University (CSU) if they rank in the upper one third of California high school graduates[1] and have completed a prescribed set of 15 college preparatory courses (the a-f requirements, see Appendix A in Lane, Brinton, & Erickson, this volume). Students in the upper one eighth can attend a University of California (UC) campus. All other students who are 18 years old and hold a high school diploma or can demonstrate "an ability to benefit" from instruction can attend a California community college (Commission for the Review of the Master Plan, 1987, pp. 14-15). According to the Master Plan, all three groups of students, after having completed their general education coursework, will be at the same point—ready to commence upper division general education courses and required courses in their majors at a four-year university.

This vision has never meshed well with reality. The disjunction between the community colleges and the CSU is especially crucial since so many CSU students—up to 80% on some CSU campuses—begin their education in a community college. The CSU, despite its relative selectivity, has always admitted fairly large numbers of underprepared students in order to ensure a student population that reflects the state's diversity. In addition to those students who do not meet regular admission criteria, substantial numbers of regularly admitted students cannot demonstrate college-level skills in the areas of either math or English and are placed in developmental programs.[2] For example, on one urban CSU campus, eight out of 10 students needed precollege-level English. Overall the CSU spends $10 million (or 0.6% of their total budget) to teach needed English and math skills to underprepared students (Richardson, 1995).

The community colleges, however, as open admission institutions, face a much more daunting task. Community colleges have multiple missions which are sometimes in conflict. Their primary task is to prepare students to transfer to the CSU or UC; however, they also have to prepare students for jobs through vocational programs and to serve students who are enrolled simply to improve themselves and who have neither job training nor transfer goals. They must serve all students, including those with minimal literacy skills in English. Finally, community college faculty work under more difficult conditions than their CSU colleagues—larger class sizes for basic skills classes, a higher proportion of part-time faculty, and fewer resources for the coordination of teachers and curriculum.

The differences in the population, mission, and conditions between the CSU and the community colleges result in community college ESL students who transfer to the CSU with widely differing skill levels. Some are indistinguishable from their peers who began as freshmen in the CSU, but many come underprepared for upper division university-level work. They discover that they lack the proficiency in English to meet upper division writing requirements and—although they may not see this—to truly benefit from the programs the university has to offer.

For these ESL students who are underprepared, the transition between community college and the CSU is often a rocky one. The Master Plan set up a system in which the CSU and community colleges function as separate entities and where most campuses, programs, and even teachers function autonomously, and yet in which student outcomes are somehow expected to be equivalent. This article will explore what happens in the community colleges and the CSU to account for the mismatch between two supposedly equivalent systems of higher education and suggest ways in which the vision of the Master Plan can be brought closer to reality. It will further consider the issue of inconsistency within segments—that is, students taking equivalent courses on different campuses do not necessarily receive comparable instruction or meet comparable standards.

L2 Assessment in the Community Colleges

At the community college level the many differences among ESL programs begin with the placement processes. Although individual community colleges may have worked out appropriate L2 placement and other assessment practices for their particular institutional context, assessment practices vary throughout the system. Moreover, no attempt is made to match community college assessment with that in the CSU. It is no wonder that students, who often move between several institutions during their college years, are bewildered, frustrated, and sometimes angry at the mixed messages they receive.

Students attending community colleges are required to be assessed for their English and math skills upon entry. The community college system has mandated that all instruments used in this endeavor be approved by the chancellor's office (State of California, 1993; see Garlow, this volume). Therefore, all tests are rigorously reviewed for their validity, reliability, fairness, and appropriateness to the students and curricula. ESL tests are no exception; they must demonstrate that they are valid, that they are a good match for the course content for which they are to be used, and that they are normed on a population of ESL students similar to that found in the college (California Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office, 1995).

However, only a single standardized test has received full approval status for ESL placement from the community college chancellor's office. The Combined English Language Skills Assessment (CELSA) is a multiple-choice cloze test which focuses on grammar. It does not include a measure of reading readiness, a writing sample, and as yet has no oral/aural component. Some faculty have identified the lack of a writing sample as an impediment to effectively placing students in the upper levels of their programs. The staff of the state chancellor's office in 1990 also regarded the inclusion of a writing sample in ESL placement tests as essential (California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office, 1990). Similarly, they stated that "an oral/aural test is an essential part of a placement battery. The omission of a speaking test may result in the misplacement of students" (p. 3). The CELSA by itself is not a good match for the diverse ESL offerings throughout the state. To compensate for these difficulties with the CELSA, many colleges have devised their own instruments or adapted other published tests and had those approved for their individual campus use, an endeavor that requires considerable work on the part of the college. However, this local testing results in a lack of standardization and means that the same student might be placed in courses at different levels on different campuses. Since neither placement nor programs are aligned across the state, it is not surprising that students finish their composition programs at very different levels also.

The greatest obstacle to the successful testing and placement of ESL students in the community college system, however, is that there is no mechanism for assuring that ESL students take the carefully scrutinized ESL tests. For a variety of reasons, many students opt to take the test designed for native speakers. Oral fluency, which usually develops much more quickly than academic reading and writing skills, may lead counselors to think students are more advanced that they really are. Some, not realizing the length of time needed to develop proficiency in a second language, may feel that ESL classes are actually a barrier to student success in the community college; they may also respond sympathetically to students' desires to move through their programs as quickly as possible because of financial and other pressures. The students themselves may be operating on the premise that they have finished ESL in high school or feel a stigma attached to ESL. These students are able to bypass ESL programs altogether and typically end up taking developmental courses designed for native speakers. The instructors of these classes, most of whom are not trained in teaching ESL, may find it difficult to deal with the many second language syntactic and semantic features encountered in students' writing and often do not understand the issues involved in second language acquisition. Later, these students may transfer to CSU or UC having met the English course requirements but without having had second language issues addressed in those courses.

Common exit standards have often been suggested as a solution to students taking inappropriate language classes. Setting those standards is possible, but deciding how to measure whether students have achieved them is not so easy. Unlike the CSU system which mandates the Graduate Writing Assessment Requirement (GWAR), the community colleges have no exit criteria or assessment. In fact, exit tests, unless they are part of the course grade, are expressly prohibited (State of California, 1993). Some campuses do give a common final examination as part of the final grade in certain courses, and at least one community college has a requirement that students have passing scores on a majority of inclass writing assignments in order to pass ESL writing courses (Sacramento City College, English Department, 1995). Most colleges, however, lack the resources needed to put such a testing process in place, leaving teachers to use their individual criteria in assigning grades. Lack of common exit standards from level to level means that students succeeding in a course taught by one teacher may not have attained skills comparable to students succeeding in what should be a similar course taught by another teacher. The community college system as a whole has not viewed making standards consistent between campuses as a priority (see California Community Colleges' Chancellor's Office, 1990, Appendix C.2).

One step to address the issue of common standards is inherent in the community college requirements for establishing prerequisites. In the same way that community college placement instruments must be proved valid, course prerequisites also have to be shown to be necessary for student success. To satisfy this mandate in ESL programs, ESL faculty must collaboratively list the entrance skills required to succeed in ESL 2, for example, and the exit skills expected from students succeeding in the prerequisite course, ESL 1 (State of California, 1993). Once the identification of these skills is established at a nucleus of colleges, standards from campus to campus should become more consistent.

L2 Assessment in the CSU

Lower Division

L2 students in the CSU are not identified as ESL during the admission process. Both L1 and L2 students entering the CSU, unless exempt, must take the English Placement Test (EPT). Although the test asks students to indicate if their first language is not English, most campuses do not use this information. Campuses that wish to place students into ESL courses cannot rely solely on EPT results and often must retest L2 students locally. Practices vary widely. Some campuses do not retest and offer the same developmental coursework to all students regardless of language background. Others offer special courses for international students only; yet others offer a series of courses for students who can benefit from specialized ESL instruction parallel to those for native speakers. As in the community colleges, some L2 students resist being classified as ESL, and some English teachers and counselors view ESL courses as unnecessary obstacles and therefore direct students to courses for native speakers.

After students are placed by the EPT, no further systemwide efforts are made to ensure that students complete their freshman composition program with equivalent skills. Some CSU programs achieve a fairly high level of programmatic coherence through "common examinations, common writing projects, structured course sequencing, regular meetings of faculty involved with the program, instructor handbooks keyed to exams, coordination of syllabi and materials and 'holistic' student evaluation by instructors" (California State University, Committee on Education Policy, 1992, p. 10). However, despite these efforts, individual precollege-level courses are not articulated with the corresponding courses among CSU campuses or in the community colleges.

Upper Division

The ultimate checkpoint for writing skills in the CSU is the Graduation Writing Assessment Requirement (GWAR). Instituted by the trustees to test writing proficiency at the junior level, it is called by different names on different campuses—for example, the Writing Proficiency Exam, the Graduate Writing Exam, and the Writing Skills Test. A survey conducted by the authors in fall 1995 documents the differences in the implementation of the GWAR among the 23 CSU campuses (see Appendix A). Because each CSU campus determines the means to meet the requirement, proficiency is demonstrated in different ways on different campuses (see Appendix B). On most campuses students satisfy the requirement by taking a test; at some they take a test to place into a course which they must pass; at others they may choose a test or a course. Although all CSU students are held to the GWAR, there is no systemwide consistency in how L2 students meet this requirement.

Different campuses accommodate L2 students in satisfying the GWAR in a variety of ways. Some allow extra time for nonnative speakers (30 minutes to 1-1/2 hours more). At one campus international students returning to their home country can pass with a lower score (10 instead of 14 out of a possible 24 points). At some campuses some accommodation occurs in the grading session; this may be done by informal means (as one coordinator said, ". . .there tends to be more leeway given for mechanical errors/mistakes in the writings of nonnative speakers" (personal communication, 1995). Often campuses ask ESL students to self-identify so that "readers are aware of this when evaluating and scoring the exam," as another coordinator noted (personal communication, 1995). At other readings ESL papers are read separately by ESL instructors.

Despite these accommodations, ESL students in institutions which keep statistics (about half the group) fail the GWAR in much larger numbers than native speakers (see Table 1).

Table 1
CSU GWAR Pass Rates

CSU 1	Overall	.70%	ESL	.40%
CSU 2	Non-ESL	.85%	ESL	.60%
CSU 3	Native Speakers	.75%	Nonnative speakers	.50%
CSU 4	Overall	.81%	ESL	.52%
CSU 5	Non-ESL	.70%	ESL	.50%

Although ESL students are clearly having a problem fulfilling the GWAR, the extent of the problem is difficult to document precisely because campuses do not identify L2 students or collect data about them in a consistent way.

Are students' problems compounded by the lack of coordination between courses they have taken (or avoided) along the way? Most coordinators say the perception among their faculty is that community college course articulation is a problem, but very few have any concrete data on the issue. In a survey conducted at one campus at each exam administration, however, students who report that they took their freshman composition class (English 1A) at a community college generally fail at a somewhat higher rate than students who reported taking that class at a CSU, UC, or private university (California State University, Sacramento, English Department, 1995).

Whatever their route, L2 students have difficulty meeting the GWAR at the CSU (Asian Pacific American Advisory Committee, 1994). Individual campus coordinators and faculty must struggle with ways to give L2 students the skills they need to satisfy this requirement at this late date in their academic life, but the entire ESL teaching community needs to look at long-term solutions that will enable students to be better prepared before they encounter this checkpoint just before graduation.

Issues of Reclassification

A complication that exists not only at the time students take the GWAR but throughout their educational career is that L2 students are not identified in any consistent way, resulting in students moving back and forth between ESL and native speaker classes as they progress through the high school, community college, and university systems. Often L2 students, who may have begun their K–12 education classified as limited English proficient (LEP), have been reclassified as fluent English proficient (FEP) by the time they graduate from high school. However, these students may still lack sufficient academic English to succeed at the college level and still have ESL features in their writing (see Scarcella, this volume). Therefore, they may be advised or required to enroll in ESL classes. After completing an ESL program and subsequent native speaker English classes through English 1A at the community college, a student may enroll in a CSU and again be advised to take ESL classes in preparation for the GWAR.

Another group of students who may undergo reclassification are the English-dominant bilingual students. These students have much in common with native speakers of English: They have lived in the U.S. for most of their lives, had most of their education in American schools, have oral fluency in English, and use English much of the time. Yet, like ESL students, these students often need instruction in academic literacy and have features in their writing such as dropped inflectional endings, preposition errors, and word choice problems. Although these students are often rightly placed in classes with native speakers, their needs may be best understood by teachers with training in L2 acquisition and linguistics. Often neither these students nor their advisors and instructors have a clear idea of where they will best be served. Most begin in classes for native speakers (NSs), since they usually do not regard themselves as ESL; but they may later move to ESL classes because teachers of native speakers are unsure how to deal with the residual ESL features in their writing or because they have problems with institutionally administered timed writing exams, where less accommodation may be made for them than in course-related writing.

Expectations for English Development in the CCC and CSU

Contributing to the problem of producing academically literate L2 students is the common misconception of how long it takes to acquire English. Immigrants may need only two or three years to become proficient in social uses of English, but academic proficiency takes much longer. A large-scale study of high school students has shown that the most advantaged L2 students require five to seven years to reach the 50th normal curve equivalent (NCE) on standardized tests such as the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) when they are in the best instructional programs; those with no schooling in their L1 on the average take 7 to 10 years to reach parity with their NS peers (Collier, 1989).

Collier's study has many implications for L2 students in community colleges and CSUs. Unlike the students in the study, many L2 students in California colleges and universities come from working class immigrant families and may not be literate in their first language. In addition, many schools have been overwhelmed by the recent influx of immigrant students—nearly one in four California students, more than 1.25 million, is designated LEP (Maganini, 1995)—and many others, though not officially LEP, still are strongly affected by their L1. These students are often surrounded by peers who are English learners themselves, so they acquire a nonstandard form of English, what has been called ESL as an L2 (Marshall, 1995; see Scarcella, this volume), rather than standard English. Finally, the standard used to measure parity in the Collier (1989) study is a high school standard; the standard for college or university level work is higher and, therefore, will likely take even longer to achieve. Academic proficiency is a moving target since the demands are progressively higher at each level (Marshall, personal communication, 1995). Thus, few L2 students in the California community colleges and CSUs will achieve anything close to educated native-speaker proficiency in reading and writing before finishing their lower division work or even before graduating from a four-year university.

Despite the research that confirms the lengthy process required for L2 students to acquire English, most faculty and others who work with L2 students assume that when students have finished ESL coursework, they will be virtually indistinguishable from their native-speaking peers. At the point at which they are mainstreamed into English courses for native speakers, however, their teachers are often perplexed about what to do with them since their ability to generate and organize ideas, to incorporate the text of others in their writing, and to control grammar and semantics all differ from their classmates' abilities in significant ways (Silva, 1993).

Teachers of content courses are also often puzzled by L2 students in their classes. L2 students in both the community colleges and CSU typically do not wait to finish ESL or developmental English courses before enrolling in general education courses; instead, the assumption is that they can and must take GE courses and even courses in their major while they are completing their ESL or developmental English coursework. Once students begin their studies, financial aid requirements pressure them to take courses for which they may not have the language skills; moreover, the instructors of these courses typically consider language instruction to be outside their responsibility and expertise.

L2 students are sometimes unsuccessful in courses for which they lack adequate English skills, but all too often they are successful when they should not be. Faculty, confronted with a large group of L2 students who cannot write at a college level, may eliminate writing and resort to multiple choice tests. If writing is required, they may encourage students, either overtly or more subtly, to get "help" by having someone else edit their writing or even do it for them. Counselors may contribute to the problem by underestimating the language demands of courses and encouraging students to take courses that should wait until their language skills are stronger.

Implications of the Lack of Consistency Between the CCC and the CSU

The current system of laissez-faire, whereby every institution determines its own standards, results, not surprisingly, in a lack of equivalence both within and across the community college and CSU systems. An L2 student graduating from one community college or CSU may have an entirely different level of English proficiency than a student graduating from another or even the same institution. It is not safe to make generalizations about students' proficiency levels based on the fact that they have satisfactorily completed the transfer composition course in a California community college; and it is only slightly safer to make this generalization for a student completing freshman composition in a CSU. Data collected at one

CSU campus where all incoming L2 students from freshman through graduate levels are tested suggests that upper division students, most of whom transfer from California community colleges, are better prepared than entering lower division students, most of whom come from California high schools. However, completion of freshman composition or the ESL equivalent at either a community college or CSU does not ensure that students will be prepared for university level work, according to that campus's definition (see Table 2). This lack of preparation is of more than theoretical interest since these underprepared upper division ESL students will need to demonstrate writing proficiency in order to satisfy the Graduation Writing Assessment Requirement (GWAR).

Table 2
ESL Student Placement, Fall 1995

Level	*Freshmen*	*n*	*Transfers*	*n*
College level (advanced ESL)	5%	6	9%	12
One semester below (high intermediate)	31%	36	43%	59
Two semesters below (intermediate)	58%	67	46%	63
Three semesters below (high beginning)	5%	6	2%	3

Note: The data in Table 2 are from the English Diagnostic Test Report, CSU, Sacramento, (fall, 1995). Freshmen students come primarily from California high schools; transfer students come mostly from California community colleges (see Appendix C for sample essays at each level).

Calls for Improved Articulation

At this time neither the community colleges nor the CSU has attempted to document success rates of L2 students. Most research has instead focused on success rates based on ethnicity, which often does not correspond to the L1. Administrators in the California community colleges chancellor's office and the California Department of Education, who were contacted for information about studies on ESL student success, agreed that such studies would be beneficial. One of the recommendations of the CSU Workgroup on Underprepared Students (endorsed by the CSU trustees' Committee on Educational Policy, 1996, in its final report on remediation entitled *Precollegiate Skills Instruction*) is that "CSU campuses should identify prior to placement in CSU English courses those students whose first language is not English and whose major skill needs are developmental in nature." (Attachment A.; see also Asian Pacific American Advisory Committee, 1994, p. 10; and California State University, Office of the Chancellor, 1988, p. 8) If this policy is implemented, it will mean that for the first time L2 students will be identified and data can be collected to document their progress through the university.

Ideally, community college standards for freshman composition or its ESL equivalent would be consistent and would mesh with the standards in the 23 CSUs. However, in the CSUs no attempts have been made to articulate those criteria with the community colleges except through a few localized efforts, which have been limited by lack of ongoing funding (see Ediger, Flachmann & Pluta, and Murray, this volume). It is not uncommon for students to place two semesters below freshman English on the English Placement Test yet be able to go directly into freshman English on a community college campus. The CSU trustees have recently indicated a greater commitment to resolving such differences. They state that their recommendations in *Precollegiate Skills Instruction* "represent a commitment to working with our partners in elementary and secondary education and with the California Community Colleges and other segments of higher education in an all-out effort to strengthen education by creating an interconnected framework of common and well understood goals, expectations, and standards" (California State University, Committee on Educational Policy, 1996, p. 5).

Recommendations for Achieving More Consistent Standards

Although the CSU trustees' original proposal in fall 1995 to end remediation in the CSU seemed to be closing the doors of the four-year university system to many second language students, the final policy (California State University, Committee on Educational Policy, 1996) is a strong call for better communication among the segments of California education. Communication and subsequent collaboration can remedy the situation that now exists wherein the community colleges and CSU, as systems, campuses, and programs, function independently of one another.

A variety of groups have addressed the lack of adequate articulation among segments and its effects on ESL students. A report to the Intersegmental Coordinating Council (Intersegmental Coordinating

Council, Curriculum and Assessment Cluster Committee, 1989)) noted a lack of intersegmental competency standards and recommended the development of a statement of language competencies and performance levels for NNSs of English and the articulation of ESL tests. Likewise, in October 1991 the ESL Conference on Building Better Bridges for ESL Students addressed curriculum standards, matriculation, and assessment of ESL students across the community college, CSU and University of California systems. The common outcome, however, has been a lack of ongoing funding to implement the generally sound recommendations which these groups have repeatedly made. Some local projects have been funded with short term grants while other efforts have been carried out without funding, simply through the goodwill of the instructors on the various campuses. The recognition that the preparation of second language students must be an intersegmental effort needs to be accompanied by ongoing intersegmental support. Without that support the needed communication between segments simply will not happen.

Improved communication will ensure that everyone involved with L2 instruction has a clear idea of the standards expected for college-level work. Outreach by college ESL instructors, perhaps in the form of joint in-service discussions between high school, community college, and CSU faculty, could lead to a clearer understanding of the need for student preparation and possibly to the establishment of more academic ESL courses in the high schools. Better articulation between the community colleges and the CSU is also needed. Possible ways to achieve this might include joint curriculum development, shared assignments leading to joint grading sessions, and the inclusion of community college instructors in EPT and GWAR assessment. Innovative programs modeled on the Bay Area Writing Project could help bring theory and practice together and result in substantive changes in curriculum at all levels. An intersegmental perspective could encourage counselors and other student service personnel to recognize the role of ESL instruction in their students' overall progression from the CCC to the CSU.

Adequate funding is also needed so that assessment can become an intersegmental effort. The development of a set of descriptors to describe the language proficiencies of L2 students across high school, community colleges, CSUs and UCs (see Browning, this volume) is an important beginning. However, funding must be found so that the descriptors can be validated, attached to language samples, and used to develop intersegmental assessment tools. Common measurements and common language to describe the outcome of the measurements will go a long way toward ensuring that students are prepared at one level to move on to the next and that expectations for language development at each level are realistic given what is known about second language acquisition. A final step is to provide funding to collect data and develop intersegmental tools so that the data are comparable.

The lack of coherence of curriculum and standards between the community colleges and the CSU that currently exists is misleading to students and results in wasteful duplication of effort. The task of educating our second language students is so important, long, and labor-intensive, that we can no longer afford that wastefulness. Articulation, in the sense of both communication and collaboration, is essential at this time in California's educational history. ■

Endnotes

1. Students' rank is based on a combination of their high school grade point average and their scores on either the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or the American College Test (ACT).

2. This article uses the term developmental to refer to precollege-level ESL courses even though the CSU system categorizes these courses as remedial. See the (1994) *CATESOL Position Statement on the Differences Between English as a Second Language and Basic Skills Instruction at Postsecondary Levels.*. (Available from CATESOL, 1146 N. Central Avenue, #195, Glendale, CA 91202.)

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Appendix A

Questionnaire
GWAR for ESL Students in the CSU

1. Name and address of school:

2. Person responding to questionnaire:

Position: E-mail:

Phone: Fax:

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1. How is the GWAR fulfilled on your campus?
   test: ________ test to place into course: ________
   course: ________ course followed by test: ________

2. Which of your requirements may be repeated? How many times?

3. What are the provisions for counseling?

4. What are the provisions for appeals?

5. Are ESL students identified on your campus? If so, how?

6. How do ESL students on your campus satisfy the GWAR? Is there any difference from requirements for native speakers? Please describe.

7. If students on your campus take courses to prepare for the GWAR, please answer the following questions:

   How many courses are required? How many units are they?

   What are the department and the hegis code of the courses?

8. If students on your campus take courses to satisfy the GWAR, please answer the following questions:

> How many courses are required? How many units are they?
>
> What are the department and the hegis code of the courses?

9. Is the GWAR a barrier to graduation for many of your ESL students? Do ESL students have to repeat the test or course (indicate which) more times than native speakers?

10. Do you keep statistics on the pass rate for ESL students vs. native speakers? If so, please include recent information.

11. Is there a difference in the success rates on the GWAR of ESL community college transfer students compared with ESL students who began as freshmen on your campus?

12. Are there problems with articulation of standards for ESL students between the community colleges and your campus?

Appendix B
ESL Student Graduation Writing Requirements at CSU Campuses

California State University Campus	*How GWAR Is Fulfilled*	*GWAR Accommodations for ESL Students*
Bakersfield	Exam and course	None
Chico	Exam and course	ESL tests read by trained ESL faculty
Dominguez Hills	Exam and course	Extra time
Fresno	Exam or course	None
Fullerton	Exam, course option after 2 failures	None
Hayward	Exam	None
Humboldt	Exam	Lower score for visa students returning to home country
Long Beach	Exam	None
Los Angeles	Exam, course option after 1 failure	Double time, read by selected readers
Maritime	Exam and course	None
Monterey	Data not available	
Northridge	Exam	Read separately by trained ESL readers
Pomona	Exam	None
Sacramento	Exam	Extra time, read by trained ESL readers
San Bernardino	Course	None
San Diego	Exam or course	Special course for L2
San Francisco	Exam	Special course for L2
San Jose	Exam	None
San Luis Obispo	Exam or course	Extra time, read by trained ESL readers
San Marcos	GWAR satisfied by upper division course	None
Sonoma	Exam	None
Stanislaus	Course	None

Appendix C
Sample Student Placement Essays

College Level (Advanced ESL)

There is no question about the fact that honesty and loyalty are good qualities to have. However, when trying to choose one over the other, people look to themselves and based on their culture, religion, traditions and moral beliefs, arrive at a conclusion that will sound fair and just to them. However their conclusions are a matter of their personal opinions that reflect their cultures and lives.

Honesty isn't always a good approach in particular situations. If we look at the hypothetical example of a three year old girl looking out the window waiting for her dad to come home on a rainy evening. If her dad died in a car accident, how would you be honest to a three year old who doesn't even know the meaning of death?

On the other hand, loyalty isn't always good either.-Just look at World War II and at Hitler's army that was loyal to the end only to commit one of the most gruesome acts of geniside in the history of man. The soldiers blind foldedly followed the commands of their leaders and didn't even realize the damage they were doing to themselves and others.

To arrive at my point, I want to say that my cultural and traditional background advocates loyalty in friendship. It is a widely accepted fact in my culture that loyalty in friendship is the most important jewel. In friendship, loyalty comes first, but honesty among friends is also a strong factor. But that doesn't entirely answer my question. The kind of problems and the kind of circumstances that might surround a situation must be the final factor to be taken into account when making a judgment.

One Semester Below College Level (High Intermediate ESL)

Honesty Vs. Loyalty

"Honesty is the best policy," when I am searching for a true friend, honesty would be the first characteric I look for. By this reason, I believe honesty is more important in a friendship, honesty can also serve as part of loyalty.

I am a person, who regard friendship highly, so therefore honesty had serve as an guiding light toward many of my decesions, when it came to choosing between the right and wrong doing of my friend. An example of my decesion between loyalty and honesty was demonstrated in my junior year. One of my close friend cheated on the midterm. At the beginning, I acted as nothing had happen, but as time goes by, I need to speak to someone in order to retrieve harmony. I spoke to another close friendship, but she doesn't see my point or concern. At the end, I spoke to the friend that had cheated on the midterm, she expressed regret. So we both went and told the teacher. By this experience, our friendship had reach a higher understanding. Upon a conversation, she had told me that she was glad, that I told her about how I felt about dishonest people. Honesty had not only serve as a steping stone to our friendship but also as a tool to loyalty. By being honest about how I felt, I had done my duty as a friend and that meant loyalty to me. Till today, I still believe that honesty is the best policy.

Two Semesters Below College Level (Intermediate ESL)

Being honesty and loyalty is very difficult when someone find out his or her best friend cheating in school. In the view of loyalty to friends, people should be in their friends' side and protect their friends from hurt. Also, the definition of friend is caring, sharing, and protecting each other. Moreover, the most important point for being friends is honesty. Honesty is the significant requirement for true friendship. When someone finds out his or her friend was cheating in school, he or she should not act like see no evil, hear no evil. If the person doing so, he or she is not a good friend for that cheating person. The person should tell his or her friend (cheating one) what he or she did in school is wrong. Also, the friend of the cheating person should be a honesty studend too. He or she should tell the true to their teacher after he or she gives a lesson to the cheating one.

Loyalty to friends should be wisely, honestly, and legally. They should not let their friend falling into unethic matters or actions. If a good friend do nothing when he or she knows his or her friend cheating in school, he or she act like an devil evil who pulls his or her friend out of the cliff. The cheating person will never find out the true friendship is and he or she never knows what his or her fault is.

Three Semesters Below College Level (High Beginning ESL)

I will be surprised because I know my friend very will, and we talk about all the time is school to have good knowldge and understanding very well what we take the class. Not only pass the class with out understanding the material what we learn. Because of this I know her. But if she is cheating I will be disoppaited. But I will take her that she is not wright what she is doing. Cheating is gambling and distroyed people life.

The CATESOL Journal

JANET LANE
University of California, Davis
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ESL Students Entering the University of California

The English as a second language (ESL) population attending the University of California (UC) comprises a wide variety of ethnicities and first language backgrounds. Undergraduate ESL students tend to be largely immigrants (permanent residents or citizens), with the majority having completed high school (and many middle school) in California.[1] ESL students who gain admission to UC immediately after high school are academically among the top one eighth of students graduating from high school. They are motivated, bright students who are generally determined to succeed academically. The same statements hold true for the majority of ESL transfer students, with the qualification that most of these students did not place among the upper one eighth of graduating high school students and therefore would not have gained acceptance to a UC campus at that stage of their educational career. Even more than their first-year counterparts, transfer students tend to be first-generation college students and may also come from slightly more disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds. The number of ESL students making their way to UC is increasing, thereby challenging the University to examine intersegmental agreements and practices affecting these students.

Identification of Students as ESL

Students are identified as ESL by their respective campuses. In general, the UC systemwide Subject A Examination serves as the primary means of identification. This exam is required of all entering freshmen who have not satisfied the University Subject A Requirement through coursework or test scores prior to admission. When students are identified by this exam as potentially in need of ESL instruction,[2] the individual campuses to which they have been accepted make decisions about their placement. On most campuses, they are screened further. This screening takes various forms—most often a reanalysis of the Subject A composition, a review of biographical information provided in the student's application for admission[3], and/or consideration of the results of further diagnostic instruments.[4]

In contrast, transfer students enter the UC system having already satisfied their freshman composition requirement. Thus, campuses do not identify students from this group as ESL or hold students to a requirement. The one notable exception is the UCLA campus, where transfer students can, in fact, be tested and held for ESL courses.

Articulation Agreements

Articulation agreements among the three postsecondary segments of education—California Community Colleges (CCC), California State University (CSU), and University of California (UC)—govern the courses which a student must have completed before being admitted to the next higher education segment. They also govern which courses taken at one institution are granted course equivalency at another. As outlined in Celce-Murcia and Schwabe (this volume), in the UC system the Board of Admissions and Relations with Schools (BOARS) establishes articulation policies between UC, high schools, and two- or four-year transfer institutions. ESL students are governed by the same articulation agreements as all other students.

High school students, including ESL students, must meet the *a-f* requirements of the existing articulation agreement between the high school and the UC system (see Appendix A) in order to be UC eligible. The *b* requirement (English) demands that students complete four years of college preparatory high school English instruction, one year of which may be an advanced ESL course.[5] An additional year of advanced ESL can be counted toward the *f* requirement (college preparatory electives).[6]

Transfer student admission is governed by a similar set of articulation requirements. To be UC eligible, transfer students must present a certain grade point average in CC courses which have been articulated as UC transferable. Students are encouraged to complete courses required for their intended major at UC and also to take courses to satisfy general education (GE) requirements. To satisfy the latter, students may complete the Intersegmental General Education Transfer Curriculum (IGETC) (see Appendix B). Unlike the *a-f* requirements, the IGETC is not an admission requirement, but rather a recommendation. However, students are wise to complete these requirements because doing so improves their chances for admission. Beginning with students entering UC in fall 1998, transfer students also will be required to complete a specified course pattern, including two transferable courses in English composition, in order to be eligible for admission. These new course requirements were instituted by BOARS to strengthen the level of overall preparation of transfer students, and in particular their academic literacy and mathematical skills. Thus, by 1998, virtually all transfer students entering the UC system will have already satisfied the freshman composition requirement.

One repercussion of the articulation agreements for ESL students, both incoming first-year students and transfer students, is that in order to complete the requisite courses for UC admission as well as any additional ESL coursework the student might be required to take by the high school or community college, ESL students may require slightly longer than their native English-speaking (NS) peers. For high school graduates, the provision that an advanced ESL course taken in high school can now count toward the *f* elective requirement is a very positive step toward assisting students in developing strong language skills. At present, there is no parallel provision for such an advanced-level ESL course at the CC to count toward a student's fulfilling transfer requirements.

Academic Preparedness: Expectations Versus Reality

Given that the UC system accepts as freshmen only the top one eighth of the state's high school graduates (see Ching, Ford, & McKee, this volume) and that as part of their *a-f* requirements these students have completed four college preparatory English courses, one would expect that students entering the system would have attained a high degree of academic literacy skills. Similarly, one would expect that transfer students who enter the system already having completed one course beyond freshman composition would have literacy skills allowing them to function at a high level of academic performance. This "best of all worlds" scenario, unfortunately, does not hold true.

As documented elsewhere in this volume, there are clear reasons for the discrepancy between the expectation of academic readiness and the reality of vast numbers of underprepared students (both first-year and transfer) entering the system. Not the least of these reasons is the increased cognitive and linguistic demands as students move from segment to segment in the educational system. The problem of underpreparedness is compounded by numerous other factors in the high school and CC systems, such as the lack of proper assessment measures to guide the placement of students into ESL classes, the inappropriate tracking and counseling of ESL students into developmental English courses taught by instructors who are not trained to work with ESL students, premature mainstreaming of ESL students, and the lack of consistent grading standards and criteria for passing students from one course to another. Finally, ESL students (even when identified by the institution as needing ESL instruction) may opt to circumvent ESL courses and enroll directly into transfer-credit English courses because of limitations on community colleges' ability to mandate prerequisites.

Entering First-Year Students

The linguistic preparedness and academic readiness of entering first-year undergraduates varies somewhat from campus to campus, with Berkeley and UCLA attracting a larger percentage of the most qualified applicants. For example, in 1987, the first year the Subject A Examination was administered statewide, the mean score on the verbal section of the SAT for students admitted to Berkeley and UCLA was 498. The mean score for students entering Riverside and Irvine was 451; not unexpectedly, these two campuses had the highest percentage of students who took the Subject A Exam and were designated *E* (for ESL) - 10.01% and 15.07% respectively (see Scarcella, this volume, for additional discussion of Irvine's ESL population).

ESL course offerings for entering first-year students vary depending on the UC campus students attend. On some campuses, students may be held for one or more ESL courses (credit-bearing on all but two campuses) prior to completing freshman composition. At UC Davis, for example, entering freshmen can be held for one, two, or three quarters in an ESL composition course series before taking the Subject A-level course and then freshman composition. On the other hand, two campuses (Berkeley and Santa Cruz) do not require ESL courses.

Transfer Students

Transfer students exhibit certain characteristics which differentiate them from the entering first-year ESL students and which can place them further at academic risk. This population of ESL students appears to be a growing one. Figure 1, drawn from statistics compiled at UCLA , compares the undergraduate student population in two academic years. In 1990-91, 37.8% of the undergraduate ESL population were transfer students. Only four years later, in 1994-95, this percentage had increased to 46.8%.

Figure 1
The Undergraduate ESL Student Population at UCLA
(1990-91 vs. 1994-95)

	1990-91	
Population	%	*n*
Freshmen entering from U.S. secondary schools	55.4	268
Transfer students	37.8	183
International (F-1 visa) students	6.8	33
TOTAL	**100**	**484**

	1994-95	
Population	%	*n*
Freshmen entering from U.S. secondary schools	38.5	129
Transfer students	46.8	157
International (F-1 visa) students	14.0	47
TOTAL	**99.3**	**335**

Note. Total percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

This trend toward a larger transfer population at UCLA (and UC in general) may be explained by economic factors, which can prevent many immigrant students from enrolling in a four-year institution initially. It may also be attributed to increased and improved articulation over the years between UC and the transfer institutions, which has greatly facilitated the transfer process. This increase in the percentage of transfer students highlights the importance of continuing and expanding effective articulation among the segments.

The language proficiency of these transfer students is an additional consideration. Figure 2, displaying data from the UCLA English as a

Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE), shows that, although some transfer students place out of ESL upon testing, many still place into an ESL course. In fact, a larger percentage of transfer students than of entering freshmen places into the three lowest levels of a four-course ESL sequence, and some even place into a preuniversity ESL course[1]. This fact is especially of concern because all these transfer students have satisfied freshman composition through the CC, and many have even taken one course beyond freshman composition in order to fulfill the IGETC guidelines. Thus, while these transfer students should be more prepared than the entering freshmen because they have satisfied freshman composition, this is clearly not the case for a significant number of students.

Figure 2
The ESL Placement Examination Results of Transfer Students vs. Freshmen Entering From a U.S. Secondary School From 1991 to 1995

ESL Course Placement	*Transfer Students*		*Entering Freshmen*	
	%	*n*	%	*n*
Preuniversity ESL (noncredit)	1.6	12	0.7	3
Low intermediate ESL	5.2	39	2.4	10
Intermediate ESL	15.2	115	10.0	41
AdvancedESL	22.3	168	36.2	148
ESL composition	17.1	129	34.7	142
Exempt	38.5	291	15.8	65
TOTAL	**99.9**	**754**	**99.8**	**409**

Note: Total percentages do not equal 100% due to the rounding off of decimals.

UCLA, which tests any entering nonnative-speaking (NNS) transfer students who did not receive a grade of *B* or better in the two transfer English courses, is currently finding that many ESL transfer students—even those who have completed two transfer-credit composition courses at the CC—still have a significant need for additional ESL instruction. Increasing numbers of these students are even placing into a pre-university level of ESL and demonstrate a critical need for additional ESL and developmental composition courses. Appendices C–E consist of writing samples from students representing this transfer population. Such lack of preparation in academic English skills significantly impedes students' ability to graduate in the expected two-year timeline; additionally, it places them at higher risk of being placed on subject-to-dismissal status or of being dismissed from the university.[8]

No other UC campus tests the English language skills of entering ESL transfer students.[9] However, there is growing concern about the language proficiency of these students who enter UC from community colleges. Clearly there is a need for ESL instruction for this growing number of ESL transfer students. In fact, some campuses are currently taking initial steps to develop courses to meet the linguistic needs of these students.

Additional Issues

There remain a number of additional issues which affect ESL students as they transition from other educational segments into UC. These include the early mainstreaming of ESL students, the use of SAT screening leading to conditional admission of ESL applicants, the underuse of bridge programs by ESL students, and the outsourcing of Subject A to other segments.

Early Mainstreaming of ESL Students

Many ESL students who come directly from high school to UC are surprised when they are identified at UC as ESL. These students have often received above-average grades in high school classes; they may have never been told that their writing exhibits ESL errors. Early mainstreaming of ESL students, that is, their enrollment in classes with native speakers, occurs in high schools for a number of reasons (see Sasser, this volume). At some high schools, ESL courses are not offered. But even when ESL instruction is available, nonnative speakers who have been in this country for more than three years are usually not eligible to take it even if they need it. For those who are eligible, it is not uncommon for the parents of college-bound ESL students to request that their children be excused from ESL, perhaps mistakenly thinking that an ESL course on their children's transcripts may make them less competitive for UC admission. In interviews conducted with ESL students at UC Irvine (Earle-Carlin & Scarcella, 1993) students reported that they desire to complete ESL courses as quickly as possible or even sometimes avoid them altogether in order to meet the college preparatory English requirement.

Early mainstreaming of ESL students also occurs within the UC system. ESL transfer students have already met English requirements that exempt them from ESL work. The result of this situation is that many transfer students never get ESL assistance even if they exhibit ESL features in their writing that would have placed them in an ESL class were they entering freshmen.

Recently, a similar problem has begun occurring at the freshman level. ESL students can fulfill the Subject A requirement at a community college during the summer before starting their UC studies. Many students have realized that by satisfying Subject A at a community college, they can bypass a number of ESL courses and Subject A at UC. In other words, by completing one CC course in the summer, an ESL student can arrive at UC in the fall eligible for or having satisfied freshman composition. Although taking a summer writing course can certainly be very helpful, these students are usually not able in such a short time to bring their writing skills up to the level expected for freshman composition and successful work at UC.

SAT Screening and Conditional UC Admission

With an increasing number of applicants and diminishing resources to serve them, the University is looking for ways to identify students who require substantial faculty resources and are at high risk not to graduate. Recently on some UC campuses, SAT scores of entering freshmen who qualify for UC admission are being looked at as a possible way of identifying high-risk students. Although this screening must be applied to all students, the result of this particular screening has affected ESL students almost exclusively. At least two campuses (San Diego[10] and Davis[11]) have attempted to offer students identified as high-risk a conditional or deferred admission with the requirement that they complete prescribed CC coursework before entering UC. The assumption here is that these students would return to UC with higher level skills.

The implementation of this new screening process is of concern for several reasons. First, it is not clear that this screening can, in fact, accurately predict which students will succeed and which will fail. Based on 1994-95 student data gathered by the ESL program at UC Davis, at least 50% of the ESL students who might have been identified as high risk based on the SAT screening scores were, in fact, making perfectly normal progress in their English composition courses. Furthermore, we cannot assume that students who have completed CC English courses, even with high grades, will necessarily have strong enough English skills for successful UC work. Thus, while we agree that some students may be better off at other educational institutions, it is exclusionary to apply an additional screening to students who meet UC's requirements for eligibility. Rather than try to predict a student's chance for academic success, UC should provide the needed linguistic instruction that its eligible students need.

Underuse of Bridge Programs by ESL Students

All the UC campuses offer special summer bridge programs. These programs are designed to help students prepare not only for campus life but also for academics and usually consist of academic coursework (often math and English), study skills development, and advising. Many of these programs offer special sections for ESL students in the language development/writing segment of the program. Although there is often only a small number of ESL students in these programs, those who do attend benefit greatly from the introduction to UC coursework in a small classroom situation, from individual feedback on their language skills, and from the advising services offered. Most importantly, ESL students who attend get an idea early on of UC expectations for English language use and, at the same time, receive some early feedback on their own English skills. Although invitations are extended to all students who qualify for these programs, more aggressive recruitment of ESL students would be worthwhile so that more could take advantage of the programs' benefits.

Outsourcing of Subject A to Other Segments

On two UC campuses (Davis and San Diego), courses which satisfy the Subject A Requirement and which were previously taught by UC faculty have been "outsourced" so that they are now being taught to UC students by a local community college. Students receive UC workload credit for this CC course while at the same time doing their other UC studies.

The outsourcing of Subject A presents a number of problems for ESL students. First, because ESL courses, when needed, are taken prior to Subject A, ESL students start their composition work on the UC campus. There they are working with UC faculty, UC writing tasks, and UC grading standards. Because of the outsourcing, they then have to shift to a CC class for Subject A before continuing on to freshman composition at UC. This jump to a CC Subject A equivalent class midstream in their composition sequence has proven difficult for ESL students not only because of the difference in grading standards[12] and curriculum but also because they are often moving to a class where there is little support for ESL writers. In the community college Subject A equivalent classes taught for UC Davis, for example, many instructors are part-time and are not required to hold office hours. This fact along with the larger class sizes means that ESL students get very little individualized attention. Also, instructor qualifications have proven to be inconsistent. Even sections specifically designated ESL/EOP sometimes have to be staffed by instructors with little or no ESL experience or training. One of the biggest problems at UC Davis with this arrangement is ESL students' inability to pass the Subject A exam despite having successfully passed the CC Subject A class. They must then repeat the CC course and retake the exam. If they fail the exam yet again, they go through a portfolio review process to determine if their writing exhibits readiness for freshman composition. The majority of students who submit portfolios, most of whom are ESL writers, pass this review and go on to freshman composition even though they have been unable to pass the Subject A Examination.

Outsourcing seems to work against ESL writers, causing them great anxiety and frustration as well as delays in the completion of their UC composition requirement. The consequences of these delays are compounded by the fact that students cannot take any of their GE (general education) requirements until they have completed the Subject A Requirement.

Conclusion

The increasing number of ESL students in California challenges UC to sharpen its approach to articulation issues. Admittedly, there is strong internal pressure within each segment of California's educational system to mainstream ESL students quickly in order to expedite their progress. In part, this pressure stems from state and local accountability models that view student completion rates as a measure of the system's success. Unfortunately, as a result of this pressure, many students exit a segment without sufficient linguistic proficiency to access the academic resources at the next higher segment effectively. Consequently, UC receives students who have not necessarily had the time or instruction needed to master academic language skills. UC must meet its obligation to these students by offering the language support they need to be successful students at the University.

Rather than viewing and treating ESL students as a liability, UC must see them as an asset bringing linguistic and cultural diversity to the state. In order to improve its practices, UC can look to its ESL faculty for guidance and support the involvement of ESL faculty in articulation efforts both within the UC system itself and among the segments of California's educational system. It can draw on its mandate as the state's research institution to support institutional research and develop sound approaches to identifying and educating ESL students, thereby contributing to a linguistically proficient student population. These students, after all, can form a multilingual, educated workforce, helping California function more effectively in the global marketplace, as long as they are proficient in English. ■

Endnotes

1. Some ESL students, especially at the graduate level, are international (F-1 or J-1 visa status) students who apply from overseas either to complete studies or to pursue a nondegree objective (e.g., in the university's Education Abroad program). Due to the focus of this volume on articulation between educational segments in the state of California, this group will not be dealt with in this article.

2. Trained ESL raters examine any Subject A essay which has been identified as "ESL" on its first read and reread the essay to confirm this identification. See Celce-Murcia and Schwabe, this volume, for further discussion.

3. This information includes factors such as home language, length of residence in the U.S., language of primary and secondary schooling, and so on.

4. On some campuses, even if a student is not identified by the Subject A Examination as ESL, admission factors such as citizenship status and SAT scores can be looked at to determine if the Subject A essay should be reread for possible ESL placement.

5. ESL courses may be acceptable for a maximum of one year (two semesters) of high school English provided they are advanced college preparatory ESL courses, with strong emphasis on reading and writing. Such courses must deal specifically with rhetorical, grammatical, and syntactic forms in English—especially those which show cross-linguistic influence—and must provide explicit work in vocabulary development (University of California, Office of the President, Student Academic Services, 1995, p. C-3).

6. An advanced-level English as a second language (ESL) course may be acceptable provided it meets the standards outlined under the *b* requirement (University of California, Office of the President, Student Academic Services, 1995, p. C-3).

7. When students place into this preuniversity ESL course, their admission is deferred until they are able to demonstrate that they can perform work at the low-intermediate level.

8. This statement is supported by data provided by UCLA's Letters and Science counseling division.

9. Some colleges at UC Davis require an upper division advanced composition course. If upper division students do not pass the English composition exam, they must take this course if their college requires it. Special ESL sections of this course are not offered.

10. In fall '95 and '96, any student applying for admission to UCSD with a GPA lower than 3.5 and an SAT verbal of less than 480 was provisionally admitted and required to take one CC English class during the summer and pass it with a grade of *C* or better before starting UC studies in the fall.

11. Beginning in fall '96, students applying to UC Davis with both an SAT verbal of less than 290 and math of less than 510 were screened for possible deferred admission. Twenty-six students, all nonnative English speakers, were deferred for a year and asked to attend a CC for one year. To be admitted to UC Davis, they must maintain a CC GPA of at least 2.40 and take at least two English courses and pass them with grades of *C* or better.

12. In the UC Davis Subject A equivalent course now taught by a local community college, there are no uniform grading standards for the course. As a result, grading varies widely from instructor to instructor.

References

Earle-Carlin, S., & Scarcella, R. (1993, March). *Immigrant Students at Risk in ESL Writing Classes.* Paper presented at the meeting of California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Monterey.

University of California, Office of the President, Student Academic Services. (1995, August). *The University of California 1996-97 quick reference for counselors.* Oakland, CA: Author.

Appendix A

a-f Requirements for Admission as a Freshman to the UC System

a) **History/Social Science**—2 years required.

Two years of history/social science, including one year of U.S. history or one-half year of U.S. history and one-half year of civics or American government, and one year of world history, cultures, and geography.

b) **English**—4 years required.

Four years of college preparatory English that include frequent and regular writing, and reading of classic and modern literature. Not more than two semesters of 9th grade English can be used to meet this requirement.

c) **Mathematics**—3 years required. 4 years recommended.

Three years of college preparatory mathematics that include the topics covered in elementary and advanced algebra and two and three dimensional geometry. Math courses taken in the 7th and 8th grades may be used to fulfill part of this requirement if your high school accepts them as equivalent to its own courses.

d) **Laboratory Science**—2 years required. 3 recommended.

Two years of laboratory science providing fundamental knowledge in at least two of these three areas: biology, chemistry, and physics. Laboratory courses in earth/space sciences are acceptable if they have as prerequisites or provide basic knowledge in biology, chemistry, or physics. Not more than one year of 9th grade laboratory science can be used to meet this requirement.

e) **Language Other than English**—2 years required, 3 years recommended.

Two years of the same language other than English. Courses should emphasize speaking and understanding, and include instruction in grammar, vocabulary, reading, and composition.

f) **College Preparatory Electives**—2 years required.

Two units (four semesters), in addition to those required in "a-e" above, chosen from the following areas: visual and performing arts, history, social science, English, advanced mathematics, laboratory science, and language other than English (a third year in the language used for the "e" requirement or two years of another language).

Note. From *The University of California 1997–97 Quick Reference for Counselors.* 1995, August. University of California, Office of the President, Student Academic Services. Reprinted by permission.

Appendix B

Intersegmental General Education Transfer Curriculum Subject and Unit Requirements

IGETC SUBJECT AND UNIT REQUIREMENTS

Subject Area	*Required Courses*	*Units Required*
1. **English Communication** One course in English Composition and one course in Critical Thinking/English Composition. Students transferring to CSU must take an additional course in Oral Communication.	2 courses*	6 semester units or 8–10 quarter units
2. **Mathematical Concepts and Quantitative Reasoning**	1 course	3 semester units or 4–5 quarter units
3. **Arts and Humanities** Three courses with at least one from the Arts and one from the Humanities.	3 courses	9 semester units or 12–15 quarter units
4. **Social and Behavioral Sciences** Three courses from at least two disciplines or an interdisplinary sequence.	3 courses	9 semester units or 12–15 quarter units
5. **Physical and Biological Sciences** One Physical Science course and one Biological Science course, at least one of which includes a laboratory.	2 courses	7–9 semester units or 9–12 quarter units
Language Other than English* Proficiency equivalent to two years of high school in the same language. Not required of students transferring to CSU.	Proficiency	Proficiency
Total	**11 courses***	**34 semester units**

* Students intending to transfer to CSU are required to take an additional course in Oral Communication and do not need to demonstrate proficiency in a Language Other than English.

Note. From *The University of California 1997–97 Quick Reference for Counselors.* 1995, August. University of California, Office of the President, Student Academic Services. Reprinted by permission.

Appendix C

UCLA Transfer Student #1

Background:

Native language:	Vietnamese
Native country:	Vietnam
Major :	Applied Mathematics
Current UCLA GPA:	3.070
Other:	Fall '94 transfer student from LA-area CC with freshman composition credit

Instructions: You will have 60 minutes to plan, write, and revise a formal academic composition on one of the two topics on the next page. Choose only one of the topics for your composition. Your composition will be graded on content, organization, and language use.

Writing prompt: Examinees were asked if they believed that a quotation from President Jimmy Carter (in which he warns that we are losing confidence in the future and unity of purpose) applied to any group they were familiar with.

Student writing sample:

Losing confidence in the future is very worse. It is threatening to destroy the social.

I'm still remember in 1987, after I finished high school at the age of seventeen. I lost my confidence in the future, because I lived under comunist control, they were discriminate, they did not let me get me in university or college; Eventhough I got very high in my G.P.A. At that time, I did a lot of bad things, I drank the a liter vine per day, I smoked and I was a gang member. I didn't care any one. In my mind, I always think, I have not thing in the future. I was losing confidenc in the future. So I did a lot of bad things.

Righ now, I lived in the United State I have change go to school and I know that if I do good in School, I will have a bright future.

Therefore, I think that if someone losing his/her confidence in the future is very worse for social.

Appendix D

UCLA Transfer Student #2

Background:

Native language:	Chinese
Native country:	Taiwan (ROC)
Major :	Economics
Current UCLA GPA:	2.236
Other:	Fall '94 transfer student from LA-area CC with freshman composition credit

Instructions: You will have 60 minutes to plan, write, and revise a formal academic composition on one of the two topics on the next page. Choose only one of the topics for your composition. Your composition will be graded on content, organization, and language use.

Writing prompt: Examinees were provided with two figures representing food production and industrial growth in developing countries and were asked to comment on the relationship between these two phenomena and the international movement to control pollution levels.

Student writing sample:

Develop or not, it always needs electric energy to provide the nation's development not only in food production but the famous problems how to solve it is art work.

Nowadays just in my country Taiwan ROC the inhabitants that a nuclear factory will be built in their small town disagree the police which the government has made Through the TV I can understand how badly this country need more electric energy and they always try to persuade these people to accept their idea and their garrentee of non-pollution. As everyone knows Taiwan is a good economic country now with its fast development in economic they surely have done many things compared to Mainland China. Taiwan has many factories many companies and a lot of heavy industrial factories. So with their fast development they need more electric energy in this small island, it is no doubted. Of course, they become a strong economic country but they just focused in economic development ignored pollution before when they planned to improve their nation economic construction. Nowadays everyone police the pollution, even the children. Because this pollution subconscious is planted in everyone's brain now instead of they have not known or later than other developed nations in this areas. So people take it seriously now in anywhere and anything. Nowadays even Taiwan government wants to have a new electric energy factory. It now takes them a big effort to explain this factory no pollution to their people.

Do the other side to see Europe Countries they do not have this argument in their country. Whatever their governments decide their people will follow but how about their economic or food production. Certainly not reached as Taiwan has fast grown. It is pollution controls compared to economics. To see the US, US always notice pollution so US's food production is very good but US has a big land country. It is hardly to say US does not need electric energy for providing the food production that is US has a well-done foreseeing plan for the country so nowadays they do not have their argument in their nation.

Hopely my country Taiwan can have enough electric energy to develop the nation and less pollution to their people. Anyway it need to take wisdom no matter now or later.

Appendix E
UCLA Transfer Student #3

Background:

Native language:	Armenian/Farsi
Native country:	Iran
Major:	Pre-biology
Current UCLA GPA:	2.454
Other:	Fall '95 transfer from LA-area CCs with 2 transfer-credit English courses

Instructions: You will have 60 minutes to plan, write, and revise a formal academic composition on one of the two topics on the next page. Choose only one of the topics for your composition. Your composition will be graded on content, organization, and language use.

Writing prompt: Examinees were asked to comment on a survey report regarding the responsibility of the government to provide its citizens with certain rights and privileges.

Student writing sample:

In any country each government tries to do best for his people in the communities. On the other hand each individual also needs a suitable and successful life. For doing this both government and people of that community have to work hard, and together find out the ways of having a good life. One of the major point is education and health, in which they both are important for a successful and happy life.

The children and teenagers who want to get education, in the first place they need to be healthy. So that they can study Better and get education and help others. Second, they need support for their academic years, in which they have to pay their tuition of the school and also to cover other experince in relate to the school.

Besides, the students themselves and their parent which can help them to get their education, with a mind free of any other problems, the government is the second source of students support that can help and supports, those student who realy want to educate and become a useful person in his or her country.

There are different kind of support and aide in which the parents and government can do to the children of the communities, specialy those families with low income; health and medical care is one of them in which they should be open to all the low income and homeless people, since illnesses can makes study hard and if someone does not have physical and health problem, his or her mind also can work and understands the problems better, and so he can find the solution for those problems easily and in this way he can help the community. for example, the U.S.A president's health care plan probably is a good way to help the people of the lower category of the life, and its help them to become more hopeful, so that the health problem would not be a main problem to the students and the children who want to become educated.

The second source of help that the government can do and acialy already is done in the schools, is the money support in which a student can get financial aid from the school and government, like myself, if the school couldn't help me with financial support I wouldn't be able to continue my education at UCLA, and thanks god and the government for this.

In addition having a good contry and community the people and the government have to help each other for having a healthy community with educated people who can have a successful and happy life. A healthy person, can understad better and also can find any solution to the problems faster and can helps people who need help.

The CATESOL Journal

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Articulation Agreements Between Intensive ESL Programs and Postsecondary Institutions

Articulation between intensive English programs (IEPs) and other institutions has taken the form of articulation agreements which can be of considerable benefit to intensive English programs, postsecondary institutions, and international students. Many university-level intensive ESL programs operate outside the formal structure of another institution, and it is advantageous for these programs to establish cooperative agreements with postsecondary institutions, and so make it easier for their students to gain admission upon completion of their English language studies. Many postsecondary institutions, especially private ones, are eager to increase and diversify their enrollments, and IEPs can provide an important resource for student recruitment. This article describes some of the practical issues relating to articulation agreements between intensive ESL programs and mainstream postsecondary institutions. In particular, the article addresses (a) background issues and terminology relating to articulation agreements between IEPs and postsecondary institutions, (b) advantages of such agreements, (c) challenges associated with these agreements, and (d) procedures for establishing articulation.

Background Issues and Terminology

Intensive English Programs

IEPs are English as a second language programs in which students enroll from approximately 18 to 25 hours per week. The students are usually of university age (18 to 25) but they also may be older. Although IEPs vary in many respects, I refer here to programs designed primarily for international students who have come to the U.S. for the purpose of studying English and who then plan to continue their studies or training in a postsecondary program. IEPs generally test their students upon arrival into the program and place them into levels of instruction based on their English language proficiency. Instruction is characterized as English for academic purposes and includes all language skills and academic preparation such as study skills, TOEFL and other types of test preparation, and practical computer applications.

Types of IEPs

The IEPs which are most relevant to this discussion are those whose students are not automatically enrolled in a postsecondary program by virtue of their enrollment in the IEP. It is worth noting that some postsecondary institutions admit international students directly into the institution; however, the students may be required to complete an intensive English program before they are mainstreamed or allowed to take regular postsecondary courses. Such IEPs are not the focus of this discussion.

Attention here is on proprietary IEPs (see, for example, Burns & Scofield, this volume) and on those which are operated by a parent postsecondary institution—for example, in an extension or auxiliary unit. In neither case are the students in these IEPs enrolled directly in a postsecondary program while they are enrolled in the intensive English program. Interestingly, both types of IEPs share much in common. Most of these IEPs are self-supporting; that is, they must cover all their expenses with the tuition they charge their students and most operate as small businesses, even if they belong within the organizational structure of a postsecondary institution.

Today, most IEPs are highly competitive, regardless of whether they are proprietary or somehow related to a postsecondary institution.

Some IEPs have increased their competitiveness based on the number and variety of postsecondary articulation agreements they have established. This is especially true of many proprietary IEPs which have made contracts with cooperating institutions, enabling their students to enjoy a campus location as well as make a smooth transition into the cooperating institution. An increasing number of IEPs which are operated through a postsecondary extension or auxiliary unit and which are not privately owned are also becoming more proactive in establishing articulation agreements, not only with their parent postsecondary institution but also with other institutions.

Articulation Agreements

For purposes of this discussion, an articulation agreement is an established, cooperative plan which facilitates the transfer of students from an IEP into a postsecondary program. Usually, some conditions or requirements are associated with this plan, and the IEP and the postsecondary institution monitor and negotiate these conditions in the course of their cooperation. In most cases, articulation agreements involve written policies and procedures, but they also may consist of verbal agreements between administrators in the two organizations. Although it is advisable to have written policies and procedures, successful articulation agreements usually involve ongoing communication between the parties involved in the process.

Despite the fact that articulation agreements can take a variety of forms and cover a wide range of issues, I will consider three different types of agreements: (a) those which involve conditional admission, (b) special application and transfer agreements, and (c) agreements regarding the level of English language proficiency required for admission. These different types are not mutually exclusive and, in many cases, they overlap.

Conditional admission

In order to assist prospective students in gaining admission to postsecondary institutions, a number of IEPs have established relationships and agreements with postsecondary institutions enabling them to become involved in the student placement process through conditional admission, also referred to as provisional admission, conditional acceptance, and provisional acceptance. On the basis of a prior agreement between the IEP and the postsecondary institution, the IEP assists the prospective student in applying to a postsecondary program. Such arrangements are often facilitated by an overseas, third-party agent or sponsor who is familiar with the conditional admission process.

Although there are many variations in conditional acceptance procedures, the process usually begins at the time students apply to the IEP, that is, before the students leave their home countries. In addition to submitting an application for admission to the IEP, students also send an application, application fee, and a complete set of materials for the designated postsecondary institution. These materials are sent to the IEP, and usually an IEP staff member checks the materials to see that all is in order and then sends the materials on to the postsecondary admissions office. This process is often easier when the admissions office is located on the same campus, but since many IEPs work with multiple postsecondary institutions, the application may be sent to a different campus, city, or state.

The postsecondary admissions office then reviews the admissions packet to see that all materials are in order and that the overseas applicant is qualified for admission. If anything is missing or if there are questions, the admissions officer contacts the IEP staff person in charge of conditional acceptance, who in turn contacts the student if additional information or materials are needed. Basically, the admissions officer verifies that grade point requirements and all other prerequisites have been met; however, at the time the application is reviewed, it is usually assumed that the student will not have sufficient proficiency in English to be admitted, and this is the most common condition to be met before the student can gain admission to the postsecondary program. To meet the condition for admission, the student will have to achieve a specific TOEFL score or another established level of English language proficiency. Additional conditions may involve other test scores, for example, the Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT), or specific courses that must be taken before the prospective applicant can be admitted to the postsecondary institution.

Once the postsecondary institution grants the conditional admission, a letter of conditional admission is usually sent to an IEP staff member, who then sends this letter along with an IEP acceptance letter, appropriate visa materials, and other orientation materials to the student or third-party agency. In cases in which the IEP is located on the parent postsecondary campus, it may be possible to send visa application materials (e.g., an I-20) indicating that the student has been admitted to the postsecondary institution pending completion of a designated period of intensive English language study.

Such conditional acceptance arrangements can be extremely helpful to students in countries where it is difficult to leave the country or to get a visa unless one has been admitted to a postsecondary institution. Although not a guarantee that students will be granted permission to leave their country or be given a visa to enter the U.S., written statements of conditional admission can improve their chances of being allowed to emigrate to pursue English and postsecondary studies. Conditional acceptance agreements can be especially helpful if the timing for English language study has been coordinated with the estimated date of admission to the postsecondary program. With careful planning, the students may be able to complete their language training just in time to gain admission.

Other transfer and applications agreements

Many IEPs also have articulation agreements applicable to students who are currently enrolled in intensive language study but who have not yet applied to a postsecondary program. In such cases, the IEP may have arrangements with certain postsecondary institutions which facilitate priority application processing and placement for qualified students. As with conditional acceptance, it is crucial to time applications to allow for adequate English language training and to meet appropriate entrance dates.

The role of English language proficiency in articulation agreements

Some IEPs can demonstrate convincingly that students who have satisfactorily completed a specific level of instruction in the IEP have a level of proficiency generally equivalent to an average TOEFL or other test score. This can be done relatively easily over time by correlating levels of instruction with end-of-level test scores; for example, many IEPs have access to student TOEFL scores, and many give the institutional TOEFL at the end of each term. In such cases, the articulation involves coming to agreement about which IEP level of instruction or other proficiency criterion is acceptable for admission to the cooperating institution in lieu of the TOEFL or some other test. In addition to requiring the completion of a specific level of instruction, some agreements call for recommendations by an IEP administrator or several of the student's instructors.

Advantages of Articulation Agreements

Advantages for Postsecondary Programs

The most obvious advantages for the postsecondary institution lie in the area of student recruitment, particularly for those with limited budgets and means of contacting international students. In such instances, the IEP assumes most of the marketing costs and can serve as a marketing and recruiting representative. Given that many postsecondary institutions charge out-of-state tuition, they can benefit from the increase in international student enrollments.

Articulation agreements with IEPs also result in diversification and internationalization of the student body and the educational program, objectives which often are mandated by law and by institutional policy.

Advantages for IEPs

IEPs have much to gain from articulation agreements with postsecondary programs. Through the establishment of linkages with one or more postsecondary institutions, the IEP enhances its student services as well as its ability to function in the highly competitive business of intensive English language training. The more options for continued study and training that the IEP can provide to its students, the more likely it will be able to attract them. This applies both to students who wish to apply to postsecondary programs before entering an IEP and to those who want to wait to decide on a course of postsecondary study until they are enrolled in a language program.

Aside from enhancing its competitive standing, the IEP can benefit in other ways from articulation agreements with postsecondary programs. Especially in cases in which a relatively large number of IEP students intend to pursue a specific academic program or a special training program, the IEP can tailor its curriculum to meet specific purposes—for example, English for business or engineering—thereby making the ESL program more relevant to student needs and, in turn, increasing the likelihood for enhanced student motivation.

Finally, many international students prefer IEPs which provide so-called "no TOEFL" options described above, that is, which allow them to transfer to a postsecondary institution on the basis of an IEP recommendation or the completion of a given level of instruction in the IEP. Thus, such language proficiency articulation agreements can be perceived both as a competitive advantage for IEPs as well as an advantage for students with high test anxiety.

Advantages for Students

From the previous discussion, the advantages of articulation agreements to students are fairly obvious: they facilitate the transition from one institution to another, and, in reference to conditional acceptance, they can make it easier for students to emigrate.

Challenges Associated with Articulation Agreements

Although there are distinct advantages to having articulation agreements between IEPs and postsecondary programs, there are also some difficulties and obstacles that can challenge and complicate the establishment and maintenance of such agreements.

The biggest obstacle for both the IEP and the postsecondary program is the time and cost of additional administrative work which is involved in the process. The IEP faces a considerable up-front investment of time and energy in establishing articulation agreements. Usually, this is an ongoing process since some relationships change and new agreements may be needed. Once a relationship has been established, it needs to be promoted in order to attract students who will be candidates both for the IEP and for the cooperating postsecondary program.

It is worth noting also that marketing and explaining articulation agreements is no easy task. Many students and third-party organizations overseas do not understand the U.S. educational system, and explaining the system and how one transfers from one program to another can be difficult considering language and cultural differences. This is further complicated by the fact that many international students do not understand the U.S. community or junior college system and the articulation agreements that these two-year colleges often have with four-year institutions.

Postsecondary programs also have to spend more time processing applications and communicating with IEP staff. Problems for both institutions are complicated by the fact that international applications are often incomplete and require additional correspondence to ensure the successful initiation of the process. Cost-cutting efforts in many postsecondary institutions can present a serious obstacle to the implementation and maintenance of articulation agreements. In this regard, many IEPs can demonstrate how their conditional admissions staff can facilitate the work of the cooperating institution by ensuring that no application packets are forwarded for review until all materials are present, by ordering materials in the manner prescribed by the admissions office, and by computing GPAs according to admissions office standards.

Students can also create problems, the most common of which involves conditional admission and student no shows. Although students may have completed all aspects of the application process and may have been admitted to a postsecondary program, they may change their minds and abandon the prescribed conditional admission option. Given the amount of work that goes into applications for conditional admission, a significant number of no-shows can challenge the viability of the articulation agreement. In some instances, a processing fee can help discourage such changes in or abandonment of plans.

Another obstacle to articulation agreements lies in the fact that institutions, because of their prestige, exclusivity, or large number of applicants and limited number of spaces, see no advantage to establishing articulation agreements with IEPs. Others prefer to have direct contact with their applicants, thereby eschewing the third-party involvement of an IEP. This can be a problem for students as well as IEPs because students who want to take advantage of conditional admission may feel that their choices of postsecondary programs are limited. There are often more options for community colleges and lesser known private schools than for well-known and highly competitive institutions.

Some IEPs make a case for themselves vis-à-vis postsecondary institutions by asserting that student performance in the IEP provides a good indication of day-to-day work and study habits. IEP course loads, homework assignments, and grading policies often approximate those of other institutions, and performance over an extended period of time in an IEP can serve as a predictor of academic success.

Although articulation agreements are generally advantageous to students, they can be expensive, especially in cases in which both the IEP and a third-party overseas agency may charge for the services.

Establishing Articulation Agreements

Selecting a Partner Institution

The first step in establishing an articulation agreement involves selecting an IEP or a postsecondary institution with which to cooperate. In some cases, the selection process may be straight forward because the IEP may be located on the premises of the postsecondary institution. However, even when they share the same location, the two organizations may have to engage in considerable negotiation to arrive at a viable agreement.

In other cases, the decision may involve some research and analysis. For example, if a postsecondary institution wants to increase its number of international students and there is no IEP on the premises, it may have to search for a reputable IEP with which to cooperate. By the same token, if an IEP wants to establish linkage(s) with other postsecondary programs, it may be necessary to survey current IEP students to determine what types of postsecondary programs the majority of students wish to enter. It also may be necessary and advisable to confer with overseas agents, representatives, and sponsors, in order to get ideas about the types of postsecondary programs which are most in demand.

From the standpoint of the IEP, there may be several obvious factors which influence the selection of the partner postsecondary institution, for example, the major field or type of program IEP students or applicants wish to pursue, the length of the program, student GPAs and degree or prior experience in the field, and the location of the program. For example, if the IEP has a relatively large number of students wishing to pursue degree programs in engineering, the IEP should select candidate postsecondary institutions which have well-established engineering programs. However, if the majority of these engineering students have low GPAs, it may be necessary to identify a postsecondary program with a flexible admissions policy.

Contacting the Institution

Once a candidate partner has been selected, the next step is to contact an administrator in the cooperating institution. In deciding whom to contact, a general rule of thumb is to aim high—contact the director of the IEP or the director of admissions or director of international admissions at the postsecondary institution. If one has access to higher ranking officials, so much the better. Another bit of advice is be patient. One rarely connects with the key party on the first call, and it will usually take persistence and several telephone calls before the appropriate contact is made. The reason for contacting the highest, relevant administrator is that subordinate employees may be less than enthusiastic and view the proposed articulation agreement only in terms of an increased workload.

It is wise to be well prepared before communicating with the appropriate administrative person—develop a list of reasons which will help sell your proposal for cooperation and be ready to point out the advantages to the prospective partner. For example, if you are an IEP administrator contacting a private school with strong programs in business and engineering, you may wish to emphasize that your program has been selected by several sponsoring agencies to provide preacademic training for government scholarship recipients and that your program has a strong reputation for monitoring student performance and progress. In addition, it may be relevant to cite other postsecondary institutions with which you have established cooperative agreements.

One of the first questions to ask is, Would you like to increase the number of international students on your campus? Given economic conditions in many postsecondary programs coupled with various mandates for social and cultural diversity, it may be difficult for the admissions person to decline the offer.

Although the postsecondary administrator who wishes to establish a cooperative agreement with an IEP generally will find the task to be an easy one, it is advisable to stress that contact with the IEP has been initiated with the goal of increasing the number of international students in the institution and that the institution is willing to be flexible in evaluating candidates for admission.

Following Up

Assuming that appropriate contacts have been made and that both parties express interest in exploring the possibility of cooperation, the next step is to exchange materials which provide background information about the programs in question, for example, descriptions of programs and courses, admission policies and requirements, and, if applicable, descriptions of existing cooperative agreements with other institutions. For example, the fact that an IEP has had a successful articulation agreement in place for a number of years with another well-known postsecondary institution can be persuasive in establishing a new relationship.

In cases in which the postsecondary institution or the IEP frequently pursues cooperative agreements with other institutions, it is valuable to have a follow-up letter along with a set of materials ready for mailing immediately after the initial discussion. The follow-up letter should restate the benefits of cooperation both for the prospective partner and for the student. It pays to refer to special services that your organization will provide which will serve to expedite the processing of applications. In the case of IEPs, it is also advisable to establish credibility by reporting correlations of student TOEFL scores with their level of instruction in the program as well as any other data and procedures which demonstrate the academic standards of the program.

Here again, considerable patience may be in order as it often takes several weeks before contact can be reestablished. For this reason, it is advisable, once it is clear that there is mutual interest and that program materials will be exchanged, to set a date for a follow-up discussion.

It should be noted that a number of potential agreements break down at this point for a variety of reasons: People are busy and do not follow up; parties decide that they are not interested; the cooperation does not seem feasible based on existing policies and standards, or staffing levels preclude cooperation.

Making the Agreement

Assuming that both parties are interested in pursuing an agreement, it is wise to establish basic policies and procedures and to identify staff members who will be involved in the articulation process. It is best if the administrators and staff can have a face-to-face meeting to set the tone for the cooperation and to spell out procedures in the event that problems or special circumstances arise. Although the day-to-day work of handling and processing applications will no doubt be done by support staff, administrators should monitor the cooperation and be consulted when difficulties arise. As with all human relationships and cooperation, the manner in which difficulties are resolved is as important as the initial agreement to cooperate.

The most common difficulty arises from what is perceived to be slow processing. Administrators should agree on a time frame for application processing and for ways to follow up when applications are not processed within that time. In the context of maintaining good relations between IEPs and postsecondary institutions, there is much to be said in favor of diplomacy and interpersonal skills in all areas and types of communication, especially telephone conversations.

Conclusion

Despite all the factors involved in articulation agreements between IEPs and postsecondary institutions, for those willing to make the commitment of time and energy, the rewards to the cooperating institutions and their students are great. Indeed, it is hard to fault any cooperative agreement between educational institutions which benefits all parties concerned. As the cooperating partners become better acquainted with each others' programs, the potential for greater understanding and appreciation of their respective roles increases. Those affiliated with mainstream institutions gain greater insight into the challenges of language learning and academic preparation, and they can exert influence on the kinds of training that are provided. Similarly, those associated with IEPs are afforded an opportunity to follow up on their students, monitor their successes and failures, and, with this informed perspective, adapt the IEP training to meet student needs more effectively. It is with such cooperation that we come to appreciate the bridges that result from articulation between IEPs and postsecondary institutions. ■

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Secondary Education in California and Second Language Research: Instructing ESL Students in the 1990s[1]

Many researchers, including myself, have claimed that second language (L2) research has direct implications for teaching ESL students in the state of California. Researchers have advised public school teachers to provide ESL students with large quantities of unstructured, comprehensible English input (Cummins, 1989; Krashen, 1985, 1993; Krashen & Terrell, 1983), to reduce the amount of form-focused language instruction that they give their ESL students (Krashen, 1985; Terrell, 1982), to avoid direct, corrective feedback (Cummins, 1989; Krashen, 1985), and to focus their students' attention solely on the gist of messages rather than on the linguistic forms these messages take. (See, for instance, Cummins, 1986, 1989 and Krashen, 1985.) This paper examines the wisdom of this advice. Here I question: (a) whether the research underlying the advice is dated, applied incorrectly, or misunderstood; and (b) whether California's diverse immigrant populations, populations that have changed dramatically over the past 20 years, have suffered as a result of such advice. By examining data from the University of California at Irvine (UCI), I make the case that L2 students are coming to UCI without sufficient academic English to undertake university coursework successfully, even when they have spent their entire childhoods in California schools and have been educated by teachers who have followed the advice of L2 researchers.

In the first section, I consider the changing demographics of California's schools. The second section reviews research on three factors thought to affect L2 proficiency: input, corrective feedback, and instruction. I conclude by arguing that the research pertaining to these factors, though relevant to the instruction of certain populations in certain locations and at certain times in California's history, cannot be generalized to the many diverse populations of immigrants living in California today. More specifically, I suggest that learners who have grown up in ethnic communities and who have been exposed to large quantities of comprehensible standard English input—through classes, television, radio, newspapers, magazines, pleasure reading books, and textbooks—are *not* acquiring standard English. Rather, it seems that they are acquiring the nonstandard varieties used by their peers. By *nonstandard varieties*, I refer to those dialects of English that are not used by middle-class, educated adult speakers of English (Romaine, 1984). Such varieties might include Korean-English, Spanish-English and, perhaps somewhat arguably, *English interlanguage*, the language used by nonnative English speakers in the process of acquiring English (Selinker, 1972, 1992).

Demographics

Continuous waves of immigrants have changed the educational, cultural, and linguistic makeup of California. Almost 40% of all immigrants to the United States in the 1980s ended up settling in California. Diverse groups of people—including rural and urban Mexicans, middle-class Taiwanese and Koreans, and Salvadoran refugees, as well as other groups such as the Vietnamese, Pacific Islanders, Iranians, Russians, and Afghans—have all come to California. From 1970 to 1980, the number of children who were classified as limited English proficient (LEP) in the state rose 254% (Crawford, 1995). By 1993, one out of every four California students was classified as LEP (Crawford, 1995). According to the 1995 California Language Census, the number of LEP students enrolled in the state's public schools continues to increase.[2] Over a million (1,282,982) public school children are considered LEP because their English is not sufficiently developed to participate on par with native English speakers in English-only classrooms (Macías, 1995). The children come from diverse non-English language backgrounds: About 78% are Spanish speakers, 4% are speakers of Vietnamese, 2% are speakers of Korean, 2% are speakers of Hmong, and 2% are speakers of Cantonese. There are also large numbers of students in California who speak Pilipino (Tagalog), Cambodian, and Farsi. The fastest growing language groups in California are Russian, Indonesian, Armenian, Urdu, and Mien (Yao). (See Macías, 1995, for detailed discussion.)

Because California's ESL students come from very diverse cultural backgrounds, they have varying values, beliefs, and traditions pertaining to education. Observations of their speech and writing reveal that they have acquired different levels of English proficiency in each of the four language skills areas—listening, speaking, reading and writing, and that they follow diverse patterns of acculturation. Some live in ethnically integrated areas where they hear a lot of English outside school, while others live in ethnic communities where they hear almost no English at all. Many others live in areas where they hear only nonstandard varieties of English.

The majority of immigrant students in California only attain the English needed for unskilled employment. Often those who do gain enough English proficiency to enter California's institutes of higher education have not acquired academic English language proficiency, even when they have completed their entire elementary and secondary educations in the United States. This is the case at the University of California, Irvine (UCI), where roughly 65% of the students are born outside of the United States and speak a first language other than English. In the academic year 1995-1996, approximately 300 students were required to take ESL courses. Despite the ESL students' many years in the United States (on average, about eight years), excellent high school grade point averages (above 3.5, in the upper 12% of their high school graduating classes), and high scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (above 1000), their English language problems prevented them from achieving success in freshman writing courses, and they were required to take ESL courses to address their language difficulties.

The English Language Difficulties of UCI ESL Students

The essay in Appendix A exemplifies the type of writing that UCI ESL students produce during an hour-long entrance proficiency writing exam.

Vocabulary Difficulties

The vocabulary problems of UCI ESL students are serious. Despite years of education in the United States, their vocabularies are often extremely limited. Their writing is sometimes dotted with words that they have memorized for the verbal portion of the SAT. Note that in the writing sample in Appendix A, the student used words such as *ubiquitous, perspicacious* and *tumultuous*. Unfortunately, as indicated by Examples 1 and 2, UCI ESL students often use these "SAT" words incorrectly.

Example 1
She ate the *torrid* food quickly.

Example 2
He reach the *pungent* train.

In addition, they also use what are referred to as *acoustic approximations*. These are words and expressions that are picked up inaccurately in conversations and used incorrectly. (See Examples 3 and 4.)

Example 3
Firstable, this essay talk about leaders.

Example 4
The book I read for my book report was *Catch Her in the Right.*

As indicated by Example 5 below, they sometimes use inappropriate words and expressions from conversational English in their academic writing.

Example 5
Mercy killing is a right way to decrease one's suffering if one is brain dead or could not covers from cancer. For example, *this guy* was on a machine like ten or thirteen years with no consciousness before he died.

In addition, they do not know the restrictions governing the use of words. (Refer to Example 6.)

Example 6
The clock *stood patiently* on the table.

Note that in Example 6, the student who produced the sentence seems to think that clocks, like people, are able to stand patiently. Students often have difficulty knowing when and how to use words metaphorically. They often know the most basic meaning of a word without understanding its alternate meanings. They are unable to use academically valued hypothesizing and synthesizing vocabulary such as doubt, infer, assert and conclude (Nippold, 1988) and instead use more general words such as think and say. They frequently confuse words that have similar sounds. One UCI student wrote an entire essay on *adversity*, which he confused with the word *diversity*, while another student wrote an entire essay on *perseverance*, which he confused with the word *preservation*. In addition, students have difficulty using word forms correctly. For instance, they sometimes turn nouns incorrectly into adjectives or adjectives incorrectly into verbs. Sentences such as *He afraided* instead of *He was afraid* occur repeatedly in their speech and writing.

None of this is surprising. A study by Zimmerman and Scarcella (1996) indicates that UCI ESL students know fewer than 50% of even such

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basic academic words as *magnitude, development*, and *summary*. In a test of academic words given to 192 UCI ESL students the students reported that they knew over 90% of the words tested. However, they were actually only able to use an average of 47% of the words in sentences. (See also Scarcella & Zimmerman, in press.)

Morphological and Sentence Structure Problems

In addition to vocabulary problems, UCI ESL students have serious difficulties with morphology and sentence structure. Articles are often used incorrectly (as in *The knowledge is good*). Noncount nouns are often used as count nouns (as in *The T.A. gave me many good advices*). Constructions with modal auxiliaries are often used incorrectly (as in *He can studies with me tonight*), and the students often rely on the verb *would* to indicate past tense to avoid having to use simple and irregular past tense forms that they do not know. Students frequently use the wrong verb tense (as in *Even today I still remembered when my mom died*), and sometimes only use one verb tense (usually present), because they do not know how to shift between tenses effectively. Causative structures are avoided or used incorrectly (as in *My mom got me make my bed*), and students have great difficulty using conditionals (*If I am you, I study engineering*), passive constructions (*The book written by Shakespeare*), and relative clauses (*Jay likes the girl who he married her*).

Other English Language Difficulties

The students also have rhetorical problems related to their inability to use English morphology; for instance, they have difficulty using pronouns to establish reference, using verb tense to frame events in narratives, and using language that is appropriate for the audiences for whom they are writing. Analyses of other aspects of their English language proficiency might well indicate other weaknesses.

Why do such bright, successful high school students enter UCI with such weak English language skills? To examine some of the reasons for the students' limited English proficiency, it will be useful to review the literature on L2 acquisition. Much of this research has been directly applied to teaching ESL children in public schools throughout the state of California. In the last 10 years, teachers seeking the language development specialist certificate were required to read it. More recently, students enrolled in teacher credential programs across California have been required to study this research in specially designed teacher credential programs.

Second Language Acquisition Research

The research advocates the following practices: (a) providing unstructured (i.e., not focused on form), comprehensible English input to learners in the context of meaningful, natural communication; (b) deemphasizing corrective feedback; and (c) limiting form-focused English language instruction. These principles are supported by theory-based research of the early 1980s.

Providing Unstructured, Comprehensible English Input

Research of the early 1980s—largely focusing on child first language learners, adult ESL international students, and foreign language learners—suggests that a sufficient quantity of unstructured, comprehensible English input tailored to the current English proficiency levels of ESL students aids their overall English language development. Krashen (1981, 1985) developed what he termed the comprehensible input hypothesis, suggesting that a level of English input appropriate for the students, one that is neither too difficult nor too easy, facilitates English language acquisition. In addition, he suggested that it is unnecessary to structure input for language development. His colleague, Terrell, explained:

> If the acquirer continues to receive sufficient comprehensible input and the affective conditions for acquisition are met, speech will continue to improve in fluency and correctness. Acquirers will slowly expand their lexicon and grammar, producing longer and longer phrases as they begin to acquire the rules of discourse and the broad range of skills we refer to as communicative competence. (1982, p. 121)

For Krashen, optimal classrooms for L2 development are places where rich input is provided. In his view, this input is, above all, comprehensible and focused on meaning rather than form. It is interesting and relevant to students and is not grammatically sequenced. It is sufficient in quantity and is not structured in such a way that it contains specific lexical items or grammatical structures. (For more recent discussions, refer to Krashen, 1989, 1993.)

While there have been many critiques of Krashen's comprehensible input hypothesis (see, for example, Faerch & Kasper, 1986; Gregg, 1984; McLaughlin, 1987; and White, 1987), most pedagogues and researchers concede that the hypothesis "has powerful descriptive powers and captures the features of the second language acquisition process that teachers intuitively recognize as important" (Johnson, 1995, p. 83). In California it has been widely applied to classrooms across the state. ESL textbooks that are approved by the Department of Education advocate the hypothesis. Through credential programs and in-services, California teachers are taught that if they provide their students with meaning-oriented, natural, unstructured comprehensible English input, then their students' English skills will improve.

Despite its intuitive appeal to researchers and practitioners alike, there exist numerous problems when the comprehensible input hypothesis is applied to the ESL classroom. A major problem with the hypothesis concerns Krashen's notion of *unstructured* input. Because of previous theory-based but locally untested research on comprehensible input, California teachers were advised repeatedly not to structure deliberately the input that they provide their students. However, unstructured English did not necessarily expose students to academic English.

It might be useful here to clarify what I mean by academic English. I use this term to refer to the words, expressions, and grammatical structures that are used in academic settings. Although not everyone agrees on the particular vocabulary used in university settings and the boundaries between categories are fuzzy and tend to overlap, many researchers suggest that the following types of words characterize academic English:

- general words such as *come* and *busy* that are used across academic disciplines (as well as in everyday situations outside of university settings),

- technical words such as *stethoscope* and *arachnid* that are used in specific academic fields, and

- nontechnical, academic words such as *research* and *interpretation* that are used across academic fields.

Words may have specialized meanings in more than one field; for instance, they may be technical in some fields and metaphorical in others. Academic English also includes specific grammatical features such as passive constructions, relative clauses, and conditionals. These features occur relatively infrequently in casual conversation in comparison to their use in academic discourse. (For a discussion of the features of academic English prose, see Biber, 1986, 1988.)

Recent research suggests that exposure to academic English input contributes to students' ability to acquire academic English; however, students are not regularly exposed to many of the features of this input through casual conversations or pleasure reading. Contrary to what researchers have suggested, teachers may need to structure special activities to expose learners to specific forms of academic English input. (See, for instance, Celce-Murcia, 1991; Lightbown & Spada, 1990; and Swain, 1985, 1989.) Perhaps UCI ESL students were not exposed to academic English in their high schools; this might partly explain their difficulty using academic English appropriately in their writing.

However, even when teachers carefully structure classroom input to expose students to academic English, students may not acquire it; this is because, *structured or unstructured, comprehensible input alone does not ensure L2 acquisition.* (See for instance, Doughty, 1991; Long, 1988; and White, 1987.) Comprehensible input helps acquisition—and it may be essential to language development—but it does not guarantee acquisition. More specifically, the comprehensible input hypothesis does not explain the failure of UCI's students to acquire standard English. Between 1981 and 1995, thousands of UCI ESL students spent their entire childhoods in the United States and were exposed to countless hours of naturally occurring English input—through exposure to the media, their English-medium classrooms, and their extended interactions with the English-medium environment that surrounded them. They studied textbooks, memorized poetry, watched hours of television each day, and read comics, magazines, and novels. Some participated on debate teams and even served as valedictorians at their senior class graduations. Although we cannot assume that students were exposed to all the features of academic English, we can assume that the students were exposed to enough samples of standard English features such as definite articles (like *the*) and *wh*-questions (*who, what, where*) to acquire these very basic and frequently occurring features of standard English. We can assume that much of the English input that UCI students received represented the standard variety of English spoken by middle-class native English speakers. We can also assume that most of it was comprehensible. UCI students typically report that they understood what they read in their high school textbooks or heard in class. Yet for these students, exposure to comprehensible standard English input did not lead to the development of even such basic features of standard English as prepositions, articles, and verb tense.[1] Like the native English-speaking students who did not acquire nativelike French in the French immersion program studied by Swain (1985), UCI L2 students who had spent the majority of their lives in the United States did not acquire nativelike English. Like the students studied by Swain, their language was dotted by forms speakers of the standard variety of language would consider deviant. As Swain (1985) points out, "simply getting one's message across can and does occur with grammatically deviant forms. . ." (p. 248).

Perhaps one reason UCI L2 students failed to acquire standard English is that they prefer to use the variety of nonstandard English that they have acquired from valued peers in their ethnic communities. In a three-year longitudinal study, Scarcella (1996) found that Korean-American children who lived in a Korean-American ethnic community were exposed to large quantities of nonstandard English in their schools and in their churches. These children acquired the linguistic features of the nonstandard varieties of English spoken by admired peers—not the variety of English to which they were exposed when they watched American television, read English-language books, and listened to their English-speaking teachers.

Although UCI ESL students were exposed to thousands of hours of standard English, they report that they acquired nonstandard varieties of English from their nonnative English-speaking friends, often in school settings. They describe a variety of experiences using English in their high school classes. In some classes, where they primarily did seat work and had few opportunities to engage in peer-directed learning activities, they used English interlanguage when talking to their friends during lunch periods and breaks. In other classes, where their high school teachers exercised little control over the classroom, they sometimes spent the better part of their classroom periods listening to students shouting over their teacher. In these raucous classes, the students used English interlanguage to communicate, even when they were exposed to standard English in their textbooks. In yet other classes, students participated in academically valued, student-led classroom activities where they were encouraged to use their critical thinking abilities. In cooperative learning groups, they worked together on various projects and tasks—for instance, in social studies California History Day projects and in math Problems of the Week assignments. In these collaborative group learning situations, they used English interlanguage when interacting with their nonnative English-speaking classmates. Thus, most high school classrooms were not ideal places for UCI ESL students to acquire English because they put them in close, continuous contact with classmates whose variety of English deviated (as did their own) from the standard. By observing their classmates use such forms as *could goes* and *homeworks*, they may have learned that the forms that they themselves employed were also used by valued peers.

The importance of peers in language development has long been established. Stewart (1964) argued persuasively that children as young as nine are influenced by the language of their peers rather than the language of the school. Most of this research indicates that peer influence is strongest in children ages nine to 18. Beebe (1985) summarized a complex hierarchy of input preferences and suggested that students "consciously or unconsciously choose to attend to some target language models rather than others" (Beebe, 1985, p. 404). Peer models and ethnic group models seem to be preferred by UCI students.

When Krashen first proposed the comprehensible input hypothesis in the early 1980s, the need to consider the varieties of English used in ethnic communities was simply not as great as it is today. Studies indicating that language classrooms could provide rich sources of comprehensible input for language development (such as those reported by Asher, 1972; Asher, Kusudo, & de la Torre, 1974; Edwards, Wesche, Krashen, Clement, & Krudeneier, 1984; Hammond, 1988; and Swaffer & Woodruff, 1978) did not examine California public schools in ethnic communities in the 1990s. These studies, widely cited by L2 pedagogues such as Richard-Amato (1996), Scarcella (1990) and others, mainly focused on input to adult language learners who were not surrounded by speakers of nonstandard varieties of English. In ethnic communities where children primarily interact with others who speak diverse varieties of English, teachers may need to specifically structure situations so that students are exposed to large quantities of standard English. They may also need to use this input in their own communication and attend to it. In brief, simply providing students with comprehensible English input, even when this input represents the standard variety, does not seem to guarantee standard English language development when students have already acquired a stabilized nonstandard variety of English.

Deemphasizing Corrective Feedback

Research of the early 1980s suggested that direct error correction did not lead to improved performance in an L2. Summarizing this research, Krashen (1981) suggested that students "improve in grammatical accuracy by obtaining more input, *not by error correction* [italics added]" (p. 64). He went on to suggest that error correction might be helpful to "some students" in some limited situations for some "easy-to-learn rules." Today's California teachers are taught to view errors as a necessary part of the developmental process of learning a second language. Additionally, they are often instructed that error correction should be kept to a minimum and be limited mainly to expansions of learner utterances. Writing teachers are frequently advised to focus on how effectively L2 learners convey their communicative intent rather than on mechanical and grammatical aspects of language such as subject-verb agreement or pronoun consistency. All this advice probably underestimates the linguistic ability of many secondary

ESL students as well as their strong cultural beliefs concerning the necessity of error correction (Celce-Murcia, 1991). For instance, in many Korean-American communities, teachers who do not correct student errors are considered inept. In these communities, there is a widespread belief that error correction helps students to improve their English language development (Chin & Scarcella, 1996). Errors are considered neither good nor bad but correctable. In a study of UCI student failure to acquire English, Earle-Carlin and Scarcella (1993) interviewed students about the corrective feedback they received prior to coming to UCI. Two students said:

- I want people correct me. Correcting show me my errors. But no teacher ever tell me what wrong with my English. They only tell me it very A+.
- No teacher correct my grammer. How can I learn? (p. 15)

UCI ESL students generally feel betrayed by their high school English teachers. "Why did my high school teachers give me all *A*s if my English is not good? I feel tricked," lamented one UCI student who was required to take ESL courses (Earle-Carlin and Scarcella, 1993, p. 13). Many UCI students report that their high school teachers allowed them to think that their English needed no improvement when it actually required a great deal. Perhaps teachers were tempted to raise the self-esteem of their ESL learners, leading students to believe that they had acquired perfect standard English— when, in fact, they had not.

Limiting Form-Focused English Language Instruction

Teachers are often admonished by researchers to limit the form-focused language instruction that they provide their students. In other words, they are typically told not to give "grammar lessons" and not to present rules about the English language. According to Krashen (1981), the best teachers put "grammar in its proper place." In his words,

> Some adults, and very few children, are able to use conscious grammar rules to increase the grammatical accuracy of their output; and even for these people, very strict conditions need to be met before the conscious knowledge of grammar can be applied … Children have very little capacity for conscious language learning and may also have little need for conscious learning, since they can come close to native speaker performance standards using acquisition alone." (p. 64)

There are several difficulties with this line of reasoning. First, without such instruction, many children in California fail to acquire even an informal variety of standard English, let alone academic English, and while it is probably true that children are not as adept at learning grammar rules as adolescents and adults, it probably is also the case that Krashen, who conducted research on this topic prior to the influx of immigrants in California's schools, underestimated the role of instruction in vocabulary, grammar, and rhetoric in language teaching.

A second objection to the notion that English should not be instructed in California schools concerns the effectiveness of English instruction. There is now considerable evidence that form-focused language instruction significantly improves the UCI ESL students' ability to use grammatically correct sentences in their writing. Prior to enrolling in freshmen English courses, UCI ESL students are given form-focused ESL instruction related to specific grammatical features—including verb tenses, passive structures, relative clauses, and modal auxiliaries. Studies of the students' progress in learning these structures and using them in their writing indicate that these very bright students are highly capable of learning grammatical structures through instruction. Applied linguistics research of the early 1980s does not confirm this prediction. More recent research, however, does. (See, for instance, Doughty, 1991; Ellis, 1990; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Long, 1988, 1990; Pienemann, 1988; and Pienemann & Johnson, 1987.)

Teaching Practices

While it is true that budgetary cutbacks throughout the state of California undoubtedly served to undermine the English language instruction UCI ESL students received in secondary schools, it is also plausible that teaching practices in this state have contributed to UCI ESL students' failure to acquire academic English. Public school teachers may have unwittingly prevented UCI ESL students from acquiring English when they did not push them to communicate beyond their current English proficiency levels, provide them with valued sources of academic English, teach them to use this English, correct their language mistakes, and inform them of their actual progress acquiring English.

The pedagogical approaches discussed below—advocated by researchers such as Cummins (1989), Kagan (1986), Krashen (1993), Richard-Amato (1996), and Scarcella & Oxford (1993)—and enthusiastically supported by the California Department of Education were primarily based upon research of the early 1980s that did not consider the myriad of complex, constantly changing factors affecting the English language development of California's immigrants of the 1990s. Such research was largely locally untested.

Cooperative Learning

One of the instructional approaches educators have adopted to stimulate English language development is cooperative learning. In cooperative learning,

> A teacher assigns small groups of students, often with different talents and needs, to work together on a project. Such an arrangement has benefits for a wide range of students, as documented by many studies. Students who need help on a task can often learn most easily from a peer who has mastered the task, and the 'masters' benefit cognitively and emotionally from organizing and explaining what they know. In discussing and defending their ideas with each other, students come to a more complex understanding than if they had worked on a problem alone. . . . Cooperative learning has particular benefits for students who are learning a second language. Accomplishing a cooperative task successfully requires students to engage in meaningful communication about the task at hand, which is the optimal context for language learning. (Kagan, 1986, p. 17)

Regrettably, I would argue that for many L2 students, cooperative learning is not the optimal context for learning academic English since engaging in meaningful communication about nonacademic tasks will not lead to the development of academic English. Further, it may not help students acquire standard English but may instead increase the amount of nonstandard English input valued peers give them, build their confidence in using nonstandard English, contribute to the stabilization of their own features of nonstandard English, and help them become fluent in nonstandard English.

Process Approaches

Even the highly praised process approaches to writing may fail students who are ready to acquire academic English. One difficulty with these approaches is that they are often misapplied in such a way that they give students the message that language forms are unimportant because the editing stage, in which language errors are corrected, is the last component of the writing process. However, it is this last component of the writing process which might be critically important to learners in ethnic communities, for this component may help them to notice the differences between standard English and their own English interlanguages. A second possible difficulty with process approaches to writing concerns the use of peer collaboration, when students brainstorm, revise and edit their writing in pairs and groups. Prewriting activities, including class discussions or brainstorming, may facilitate the writing process, but probably contribute little to the students' acquisition of standard English.[3] If L2 students are matched with other L2 students who have not acquired standard English, they may overlook such errors as *firstable* and *on another hand*. These error types may then become stabilized through consistent use and exposure during peer review and editing sessions. This happens because learners might regularly compare the language that they produce with perceived targets, in this case, their peers' interlanguages. Also, the students' peers might expose them to other nonstandard varieties of English, and when these varieties are in contact, stabilized group varieties sometimes emerge. (See, for instance, Trudgill, 1986.)

Sheltered English and Other Current Approaches

The simplified English often employed in sheltered English classes may also result in student failure to learn academic and standard English. Although these classes were not designed to teach advanced ESL learners, many school districts are offering advanced learners these sheltered English courses. If students are to develop proficiency in academic English, they must be exposed to reading materials that are authentic and academic; at some point, students must learn to read academic texts—essays, articles, and books—that have not been simplified for nonnative speakers.

Other approaches have been misapplied in ways that might also impair L2 development. For instance, misapplied whole language approaches might fail students who are trying to acquire academic English when teachers, misunderstanding these approaches, encourage their students to ignore language forms completely or promote an exclusive focus on the gist of texts. Once in academic settings, students need to know how to use language forms correctly. Understanding the gist of their texts is not enough.

In addition to these approaches, many of the activities presently encouraged in California schools may also undermine ESL students' acquisition of standard English. Journal writing and quickwrites (rapid writing activities in which students write about their own experiences and respond to prompts or source texts) are two such activities. When teachers encourage their students to keep daily, uncorrected personal journals and do not provide students with abundant opportunities to read, synthesize a large variety of standard English texts, and accurately express their opinions about these texts in standard English, teachers may unwillingly be contributing to the stabilization of nonstandard English forms.

The use of quickwrites, in which students synthesize their own and others' ideas and opinions, can similarly undermine L2 development. Although these popular classroom activities provide students with large quantities of comprehensible standard English input through the medium of reading and promote writing fluency, they may not help students acquire standard English if teachers do not correct the student writing produced or if the learners' attention is not focused on the various ways in which meaning is expressed in texts and on the specific linguistic forms used in texts.[5] Thus teachers who use these techniques without providing corrective feedback risk promoting the use of nonstandard English features.

Other commonly used activities that might fail to help ESL students acquire standard English include such student-directed activities as debates and discussions of school-related issues in which students engage in extended talk with their peers. When students are deprived of the opportunity to interact with admired and respected native English-speaking peers, they do not receive the input they need to acquire nativelike English. Even when these interactive activities do provide students with exposure to standard English, they do not guarantee the acquisition of this English if students have already acquired from more valued peers a highly functional nonstandard variety of English that serves them well.

Conclusion

Researchers of the early 1980s strongly argued against interfering with English language development and urged teachers instead to provide students with unstructured comprehensible English input. It is time to reconsider this advice. I am not suggesting a return to monotonous drill-and-kill grammar exercises or teacher-centered grammar lectures; what I am advocating is a careful consideration of the English language needs of California students. What is needed now is a thorough analysis of the instruction which best facilitates the English language development of students at different English proficiency levels and ages, of diverse cultures and backgrounds, and of diverse schools and communities.

Despite the absence of such an analysis, the English difficulties of UCI ESL students suggest the need for different instructional practices than those that are often advocated in California schools. Getting secondary students in ethnic communities to acquire standard English might entail such interventionist practices as actively encouraging the use of standard English in student speech and writing (Scarcella & Oxford, 1990; Swain, 1985) and providing students with form-focused instruction and feedback. A number of ESL methods and approaches presently being used to teach ESL students academic English—including content-based instruction, specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) , and cognitive academic language learning (CALLA)—might be promising. Specific teaching practices will need to be carefully developed to address local concerns for use with specific ESL and L2 populations (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). All groups of learners may not need the same type of input, feedback, and form-focused instruction.

The English difficulties of UCI ESL students have strong implications for today's secondary classroom teachers. Not only do they suggest that a reconsideration of instructional practices is necessary, but they also suggest that student assessment should be rethought. ESL students should not be given the message that their English is either completely native or near-native, when, in fact, most speakers of standard English would consider such English substandard. UCI ESL students, most of whom came from ethnic communities, had average grades of *A*s and *B*s in their high school advanced placement English courses. These students deserved a more accurate assessment of their English from their high school teachers—not to penalize them, but to help them gain the skills that they needed to communicate effectively in an English-speaking society that, like it or not, in the 1990s does not promote those who have not acquired standard English. As Wong-Fillmore (personal communication, 1995) points out, there are now ESL lifers, life-long learners of ESL, who have failed to acquire English despite spending their entire lives in the United States. To level the academic playing field, ESL students in California high schools need increased exposure to academic English, form-focused instruction on how to use this English, corrective feedback provided in appropriate ways, and opportunities to use academic English in supportive environments throughout their educational careers. ■

Endnotes

1. Some of the ideas for this paper came from discussions with Lily Wong-Fillmore who reviewed UCI's ESL program in 1992 and was surprised by the large numbers of students enrolled in UCI courses who had received straight *A*s in their high school honor English courses. I am very grateful for her input. Errors in content remain my own.

2. Between 1994 and 1995 the number increased by 3.9%.

3. While learning academic English causes difficulties for all university students, it may be especially critical to academic success. Knowledge of academic English is very important in reading. Because academic words occur frequently and tend to carry much of the meaning of academic textbooks (Coady, 1993; Na & Nation, 1985; Nation, 1990), these words help students to understand these books (Laufer, 1989, 1991; Na & Nation, 1985; Nation, 1990). A survey of 186 Midwestern ESL university students in credit English courses revealed that 70% perceived their "small vocabulary" to be their major weakness when reading English (Sheory & Mokhartari, 1993). Vocabulary problems prevent L2 readers from reading fluently and efficiently (Carrell, Devine, & Eskey, 1988; Jenkins & Dixon, 1983; Nagy & Anderson, 1984).

4. Krashen (1994) might argue that a socio-affective filter (consisting of affective variables) prevents English input from being processed by UCI ESL learners. If this is true, then thousands of UCI ESL learners have been prevented from acquiring academic English because of this filter.

5. Many UCI ESL students also tell their ESL instructors that they received no corrective feedback on their essays and that their grammar mistakes were always overlooked. This is not surprising given the large class sizes in California high schools, the difficulty teachers have correcting large numbers of student texts, and the many English teachers who have not been trained to teach L2 students and who may have little knowledge of English grammar themselves.

6. In addition, the learners' awareness of the ways in which they themselves might use these texts as examples for constructing their own meanings might need to be developed (Harklau, 1995).

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Appendix A

Sample Writing from ESL Proficiency Writing Exam

Is there someone in your life who is "just like family" to you, someone who you feel very close to or who you respect a lot? When I saw this topic question, all I could think of was my best friend christine. We haven't known each other so good, and became very close friends.

When I think of christine, I see her sweetest smile that no one else can ever have. She is the perspicacious person who know how I feel in almost any situations. Sometimes, it even scares me because of the fact that someone knows me too well. But when I am with her, I can be myself. I don't have to hide my feeling. Because she empathetic, she already knowing my feeling. Christine is like sister I've never have. She care too much and helps me in many ways.

I still remembered my first car accident in my heart. It was the tumultuous day when I told christine to come with me to one of my friends' house. Firstable she told me she was busy but we ended up going together. It was a remote house I've never went before. So I didn't want to go alone. When christine heared that, she mention about she'll be glad to come with me. Unfortunately, I ran through a red light, and I hitted car. I was so scared that christine got hurt bad. I seriously couldn't say anything because it was all my fault.

I was afraid that christine'll blame me for every thing. But she was different. I've never seen her so calmly in my life. Christine ask me how I was and started to talking to the police. And she basically took care of matter, while I was in state of shock. Even after that accident, she was the one to ask me how I was feeling and tried to take care of me. According to the author Karen Lindsay, she write, "And the truth hidden by the myth is that people have always created larger family . . ." I definitely agree with her. Christine is ubiquitous part of my life just like my biological family is to me. And I want to keep this relationships all through my life.

The CATESOL Journal

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The Challenge of Articulating ESL Courses in Postsecondary Education: Policy and Legislative Issues

Fariba I. arrives in the office of a community college ESL faculty member during spring registration with her transcript from Foothill College in northern Santa Clara County. She wants to find out which ESL or English courses she should take in view of the advanced ESL she took at Foothill. The instructor tells Fariba that only a placement test will determine the ESL or English courses that match her skills. Fariba is concerned that her registration will be delayed and that classes she needs will be closed. Time and money are significant issues for Fariba and other students trying to move from one community college to another community college, the California State University (CSU) or the University of California (UC). The faculty member's problem is whether Fariba has attained the linguistic proficiency which she needs to succeed in her courses because no matrix exists comparing equivalent California Community College (CCC) ESL courses to each other or to courses in the CSU or UC. Moreover, no statewide ESL curriculum exists in higher education. This lack of course comparability across institutions may be seen as a barrier to ESL students' ability to move easily from one institution to another. Indeed, in 1988, the CCC chancellor's office staff believed that ". . . there is a need within the ESL discipline to develop some commonality of course content, structure and standards" (Farland & Cepeda, p. 8).

In answering the following questions, the extent of the challenge involved in developing common course content, structure and standards may be seen.

- What are the state priorities and policies that affect articulation of courses and how do they affect ESL curricula?
- Do they facilitate the movement of students between schools?

- Is a common ESL curriculum a viable means to lower barriers to transfer or should more effective ways be pursued?

In addressing such issues, this article first reviews the state priorities for curricular functions and course standards and how they developed. Second, it summarizes formal intersegmental articulation policies, other statewide efforts to facilitate student transfer, and CSU and UC credit types for ESL courses and their effect on articulation. Third, it reports on a study which investigated issues of credit and remediation as they apply to ESL courses in the CCCs. The findings indicate how credit for ESL courses has been classified with respect to the state standards for community college courses. They also describe how intersegmental articulation policies have affected transferability and General Education-Breadth Agreements for ESL courses. Furthermore, the study highlights the challenge of articulating ESL courses in the context of the usual definition of articulation.

Community College Priorities and Course Standards

One way of articulating courses is by setting statewide policies which establish priorities for college curricula. These priorities are intended to emphasize the amount of attention and resources which particular curricular functions should receive.

Curriculum Priorities

The Joint Committee for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education reaffirmed curriculum priorities for CCCs in its final report: "The California Community Colleges shall offer academic and vocational instruction at the lower division level for both younger and older students, including those returning to school, as their primary mission" (1989, pp. 14–15). Courses and programs must be consistent with this mission as well as reflect other educational values in order to be approved by the chancellor's office. Remedial education, English as a second language, and state-funded noncredit adult education are essential and important functions, and community service courses and programs are authorized functions. These priorities had already been incorporated in the community college reform legislation, AB1725, passed in 1988.[1]

Standards and Procedures for Assigning Credit

Setting statewide policies for course standards is another way of articulating courses. These standards are meant to help ensure that the quality of education is the same within the California Community Colleges, California State University and University of California. According to the

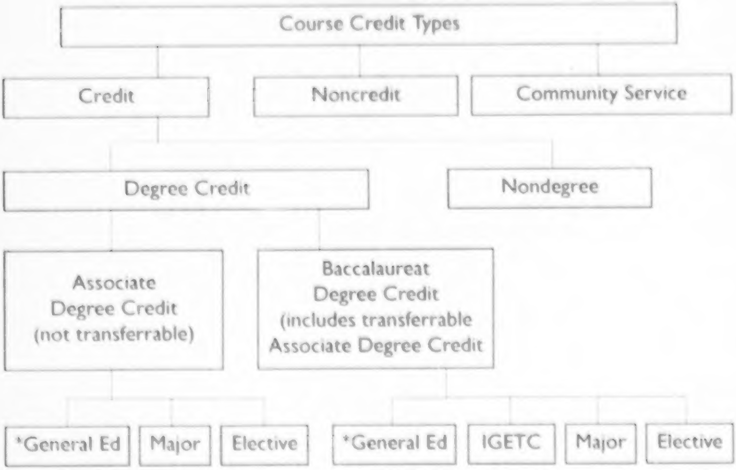
CCC *Curriculum Standards Handbook,*

> courses approved through the local curriculum review process as suitable for the fulfillment of associate degree and general education requirements must reflect an understanding by those reviewing the courses of both the expectations of the Board of Governors and those of 4-year colleges and universities. (California Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office , 1995a, p. 19)

Course Classification by Credit Type

The curriculum standards and procedures determine whether courses are considered to be at college level or not. These standards and procedures are outlined in Title 5 of the California Code of Regulations.[2] Community colleges must use them to determine the types of courses and programs which are appropriate to the associate degree and to determine which courses should constitute the general education program. Implementation of program and course standards and oversight by the chancellor's office are intended to ensure "not only that tax dollars are being expended for programs that are as well designed as possible but also that these programs fulfill purposes that best reflect the priorities of California taxpayers and other constituencies" (California Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office, 1995b, p. iii). These standards operationalize priorities by assigning different credit types to courses (see Figure 1), thus creating a hierarchy of status for courses. Courses which meet the standards for the associate degree receive college-degree credit while courses which do not meet these standards may receive nondegree credit. Standards are also outlined for noncredit and community service courses. "Credit is higher education's coin of the realm; it designates that both the student and the courses have met certain standards" (California Postsecondary Education Commission [CPEC], 1983, p. 118). College-level credit is the most valuable "coin."

Figure 1
Classification of Credit Types


Course Credit Types
Credit
Noncredit
Community Service
Degree Credit
Nondegree
Associate Degree Credit (not transferrable)
Baccalaureat Degree Credit (includes transferrable Associate Degree Credit
*General Ed
Major
Elective
*General Ed
IGETC
Major
Elective

Note: GE, IGETC, major, and elective credit may overlap.

Development of Course Standards

The standards now encoded in Title 5 have evolved over time, with impetus for their development derived from fiscal as well as academic considerations. A summary of the development process shows a long-standing focus on issues surrounding remediation and indicates how policymakers intended the standards to apply to ESL courses.

Earlier minimum standards

Stewart (1982) describes the development of the early minimum standards. These standards classified courses as credit, noncredit, and community service classes not eligible for state funding (including fee-based avocational and recreational classes, seminars, lecture and forum series, workshops and conferences as well as professional and occupational in-service classes). Stewart notes that, because of the educational and monetary value of credit,

> . . . it is subject to politics as individuals and organizations seek to acquire or to influence its allocation. Students covet—and need—the credit in order to gain credentials,

> student financial aid, and even athletic eligibility. Colleges, universities, and other public educational institutions may emphasize credit rather than noncredit programs because the former often receive a higher level of state support. Both individuals and institutions may also pursue credit for its real or perceived prestige. (1982, p. 48)

ESL and the CCC definition of remediation

According to Stewart, following the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, the community colleges experienced a decline in revenues of $418 million in 1978-79. While the legislature provided funds to compensate for the shortfall, it also began an intense scrutiny of community college programs to correct growth in every kind of program. "The state lawmakers seized upon the credit/noncredit dichotomy as a way to distinguish more clearly the nature of the state's financial commitments" (p. 48). In response to the legislature, Title 5 regulations were adopted in 1981 which differentiated credit from noncredit courses: "Quite deliberately, the new minimum state standards were intended to facilitate the fiscal accountability standards established earlier by the legislature" (p. 49). According to Stewart, the greatest amount of debate centered on whether to grant credit to those courses designated as developmental in the classification guidelines, that is courses emphasizing "basic skills in mathematics, reading, and English—including English as a second language at the most basic level. . ." (p. 50). The statewide Academic Senate argued that developmental courses should not be given college-degree credit because it viewed these developmental courses as remedial—designed to bring students up to college level skills, not to advance them within the postsecondary system.

Continually at the center of discussions about the development of community college course standards has been the issue of remediation (now called precollegiate basic skills), its cost to the state, its proper role in the community college curriculum, and in postsecondary education in general. With respect to ESL, policy makers have generally viewed all but the two levels carrying equivalency with freshman composition and the course immediately preceding them as sharing characteristics with other precollegiate basic skills courses—that is, as preparing students for college work. ESL faculty, on the other hand, have argued that the academic rigor of ESL courses is comparable to that of foreign language courses, and that just as native English speaking students receive foreign language credit for all foreign language courses they take, so too should English language learners receive college credit for all ESL courses they take—irrespective of any equivalency of these courses with prefreshman or freshman English

(California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages [CATESOL], 1994a; Martino, 1992; Petersen & Cepeda, 1985). A tension exists, then, between perceptions and goals of ESL professionals and those of the constituencies which developed the Title 5 regulations.

Concern over extent of remedial courses in higher education

The development of the course standards in Title 5 continued to center on granting credit for remedial courses. In 1981, many faculty members, including the statewide Academic Senate, expressed concern that students in many degree-related courses exhibited such a broad range of skills that it was impossible to teach courses at college level and that consequently the credibility of the associate degree was being eroded (Palomar College Curriculum Review Committee, 1987). This concern was furthered by the fact that the main source of growth of the colleges over the previous 10 years had occurred in the area of remedial, college preparatory, and recreational and avocational courses. In response, community college leaders wanted a clearer definition of the term college level and requested that only courses at that level be counted towards the associate degree and certificates. They also recommended, in order to ensure continued open access, that college preparatory courses be assigned workload credit—that is, credit that is not applicable toward a degree but which enables students to satisfy minimum courseload requirements and so qualifies them for financial aid. They also recommended that these courses be fully funded.

During this same time, because of its concern about the number of underprepared students entering colleges and universities and because of state fiscal constraints, the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) identified the improvement of student preparation and skills as a top priority. The Commission committed itself to providing information on the extent of remediation in California's postsecondary institutions and thus produced its 1983 report, *Promises to Keep*.

In *Promises to Keep* , CPEC decided to use the terms *remediation* and *remedial education* despite certain difficulties in defining the terms and despite the fact that the words were highly charged. It defined remedial education as ". . . courses and support services needed to overcome student deficiencies in reading, writing, and mathematics to a level at which students have a reasonable chance of succeeding in regular college courses including vocational, technical and professional courses" (p. 3). With respect to language skills, the Commission defined *remedial reading courses* as those provided to students who read below the 12th-grade level. *Remedial writing courses* were considered to be courses below the transfer-level freshman composition course. While the Commission did not use the word remedial in reference to ESL, it did define ESL courses ". . . as English courses taught to students whose primary language is not English in order to prepare them for regular college courses" (1983, p. 4). CPEC had also recommended that baccalaureate credit not be awarded to remedial courses but rather that they be offered for workload credit.

In 1985, the CCC Task Force on Academic Quality submitted proposals to the board of governors which resulted in the standards laid out in Title 5 (Farland, 1985a, 1985b). These standards operationalized a definition of remediation and differentiated among the credit modes for associate-degree-level courses, nondegree-credit courses, noncredit courses, and community service courses.[1] In addition to meeting the Title 5 standards of rigor, associate-degree-level courses had to fall into one of these specific categories:

> (a) all lower division courses accepted toward the baccalaureate degree by the CSU or UC or designed to be offered for transfer
>
> (b) courses that apply to the major in nonbaccalaureate occupational fields
>
> (c) English courses not more than one level below the first transfer-level composition course, typically known as English 1A. Each student may count only one such course as credit toward the associate degree
>
> (d) all mathematics courses above and including elementary algebra
>
> (e) credit courses in English and mathematics taught in or on behalf of other departments and which, as determined by the local governing board, require entrance skills at a level equivalent to those necessary for the courses specified in sections (c) and (d) above. (California Community Colleges, 1995a, pp. 21 & 22)

There is some ambiguity as to how categories (a) and (c) pertain to ESL. Some colleges consider their credit ESL courses to be English courses and a part of a sequence of English courses. Some ESL courses at these colleges might be considered equivalent to the first transfer-level composition course or one level below. Other ESL courses might be considered to be below the most basic English composition course for native speakers of English (which may be two or three levels below the first transfer-level course). These colleges assign credit to their ESL courses depending on whether they fit into category (c) or not. If the courses are not considered to be equivalent to the first transfer-level English course or one level below, they are assigned nondegree-applicable credit.

On the other hand, other colleges offer ESL courses designed to transfer to and be accepted by the CSU and/or UC—category (a). Whether they are equivalent to the first transfer-level composition course or one level below—category (c)—is not considered relevant. These colleges consider their ESL courses to have more in common with foreign language courses than with English. A course in Spanish or German is assigned associate-degree credit if it is designed for transfer or if it is accepted toward the baccalaureate degree by the CSU or UC. Since ESL is a foreign language for students in the courses, faculty members design rigorous college-level ESL courses which the CSU and UC in fact accept for transfer. Such course are assigned associate-degree credit because they can be categorized in category (a) just as Spanish or German can be.

ESL and the CCC definition of remediation

In developing its proposals for course standards, the Task Force on Academic Quality recommended that the board of governors adopt a definition of remediation appropriate for community colleges:

> Remediation is that process which is designed to assist students to attain those learning skills necessary to succeed in college transfer, certificate or degree courses and programs, and includes classroom instruction as well as other prescriptive interventions to assist students in the pursuit of their educational goals and objectives. (Farland, 1985c, p. 8)

The task force took the position that ESL should not be classified as remedial unless students were deficient in skills in their native languages or unless they had learning problems.

> ESL . . . may also be taught at the associate or baccalaureate level. For example, colleges in all segments offer an ESL course which receives credit as English 1A. Course content, criteria and evaluation are identical to the regular English 1A. The only significant differences are that this course is recommended for students whose primary language is other than English and instructors of these courses are trained to recognize special problems faced by these students, such as the use of idioms or misinterpretations brought about by literal translations. (Farland, 1985c, p. 8)

Chancellor's office staff recommended the following addition to the task force's definition of remediation:

> Remedial instruction includes courses designed to develop reading or writing skills at or below the level required for enrollment in English courses one level below English 1A, mathematics courses below Elementary Algebra and

> English as a Second Language courses consistent with the levels defined for English. (Farland, 1985d, p. 9)

This definition of remediation, minus the statement on ESL, was the basis for the standards and categories of courses which would define associate degree applicable courses in Title 5. The chancellor's office staff believed that one effect of this addition would be "to specify, in terms of curriculum content, the lower level courses that can be applied to the associate degree. As a corollary, therefore, it also defines credit courses below the specified levels as not applicable to the degree (i.e., remedial)" (Farland, 1985b, p. 8).

Chancellor's office staff also recommended that the board of governors "direct staff, in consultation with the Chancellor's Task Force on ESL and the colleges generally, to develop guidelines for determining what levels of ESL are equivalent to the standards applied in English for determining what is and is not remedial" (Farland, 1985d, p. 9).

The Chancellor's Task Force on ESL, appointed in 1983 to respond to *Promises to Keep*, responded that ESL as an academic area should not be categorized as remedial (Petersen & Cepeda, 1985). However, another issue the task force faced was whether ESL courses should be classified as credit-bearing given the stricter guidelines for credit being developed at the time.'

The task force report stated: "It is clear that ESL, like any other course offering in community colleges, must first meet the established criteria for credit and noncredit courses as mandated in Title 5, Section 55002 (Petersen & Cepeda, 1985, p. 10). The report further stated with respect to ESL courses that

> only some current offerings should apply toward fulfillment of the unit requirements for the Associate Degree. Credit courses which do not meet these stricter criteria should be offered either as noncredit or as credit courses which do not apply to the Associate Degree. (Petersen & Cepeda, 1985, p. 11 & 12)

Thus, the task force adopted the firm position that only courses equivalent to freshman composition or one level below should be accorded associate degree status.

A subsequent report, *English as a Second Language: A Progress Report on Existing Board Policy Directives*, reiterated these recommendations regarding the classification of ESL courses as to credit type. "Like any other instructional area, ESL is subject to the same criteria as specified in Title 5 of the Administrative Code" (Farland & Cepeda, 1988, p. C-1). This means that degree applicable ESL courses must fit into one of the course categories specified in Title 5.

Precollegiate basic skills

Remedial courses are now included among precollegiate basic skills courses. Title 5 defines these as the courses in reading, writing, computation, learning skills, study skills and ESL which a district designates as nondegree credit (California Community Colleges, 1995b). One of the standards for approval says that assignments in the nondegree credit courses must be rigorous enough to ensure that students who complete a required sequence of precollegiate basic skills courses will have acquired the skills needed to succeed in college-level courses (California Community Colleges, 1995a).

California Articulation Policies and Procedures

The standards in Title 5 aim to ensure that community college level courses are equal in quality to similar courses in the CSU and UC. Thus, these standards provide the basis on which articulation agreements between the segments can be made. The California Community Colleges, CSUs, and the UCs have developed policies and procedures to facilitate the transfer of students. In order to do this, colleges and universities develop and maintain documents called *course articulation agreements* which affect the articulation of ESL courses. The definition of articulation, which is the basis for articulation policies and procedures described in the *Handbook of California Articulation Policies and Procedures*, refers to

> the process of developing a formal, written agreement that identifies courses (or sequences of courses) of a "sending" institution that are comparable to, or acceptable in lieu of, specific course requirements at a "receiving" campus. (California Intersegmental Articulation Council [CIAC], 1995, p. 1)

Based on these agreements, students who successfully complete an articulated course are theoretically prepared for the next level of instruction at the receiving institution.

Course Articulation Agreements and Procedures

This section summarizes the kinds of course articulation agreements and the general articulation procedures which have been developed between the community colleges and UCs and the CSUs as set forth in the *Handbook of California Articulation Policies and Procedures.*

Articulation agreements are classified as follows: courses accepted for baccalaureate, general education-breadth, lower division major preparation, and course-to-course.

Courses Accepted for Baccalaureate Agreements

These agreements identify courses "that are baccalaureate level and therefore acceptable by a receiving institution (or system) to fulfill both admission and baccalaureate elective credit" (CIAC, 1995, p. 4).

CCC courses accepted by the UC system.

In the UC system, the UC Office of the President develops and annually updates the list of courses accepted for baccalaureate credit called the Transferable Course Agreement (TCA) with community colleges for all UC campuses. The TCAs are developed according to policies of the Board of Admissions and Relations with Schools (BOARS), a committee of the UC Academic Senate which is charged with developing undergraduate admissions requirements (see Celce-Murcia & Schwabe, this volume). The basic principle used to determine the transferability of community college courses is whether the course is comparable to a lower division course offered at any of the UC campuses in scope, level, and prerequisites. If the course is not comparable to any offered at UC, it must be baccalaureate level in terms of its purpose, scope and depth. "ESL transfer credit is awarded for courses . . . which emphasize writing. Courses which focus on listening, reading, or speaking skills are not considered appropriate. Also, it is expected that the writing required will be (at least) at the paragraph level" (CIAC, 1995, p. 52). Presently, the University of California accepts eight units of ESL courses in this category.

CCC courses accepted by the CSU system

In contrast to how lists of transferable courses are developed between community colleges and the University of California, the responsibility for developing agreements for courses accepted for baccalaureate credit between the CSU system and community colleges rests with the articulation officer at each community college. In consultation with the individual community college curriculum committee, the articulation officer at each campus identifies courses appropriate for the list of transferable courses, also called baccalaureate-level courses. Executive Order 167 issued by the Chancellor's Office of the California State University states the CSU system's general policies and procedures that govern articulation of transferable courses. It states that courses designated by the faculty of accredited institutions as baccalaureate credit shall be accepted by any campus of the CSU. The appropriate authorities at the CSU campus shall determine the extent to which the courses satisfy the particular requirements of a degree. Those courses not otherwise applied are acceptable as general electives to the extent that the particular degree objectives permit.

General Education-Breadth Agreements

These agreements indicate "those courses that a student can complete at a sending institution to satisfy the general education requirements at the receiving institution" (CIAC, 1995, p.5). These agreements include a list of courses which are taken from the transferable course agreements.

CCC courses accepted by the UC system

For the UC, responsibility for developing these agreements rests with each individual campus. Only ESL courses which are the equivalent of freshman composition meet the terms of these agreements.

CCC courses accepted by the CSU system

For the CSU, individual community college campuses have the responsibility for certifying the agreements between their campuses and those of the CSU. Executive Orders 595 and 405 issued by the CSU system establish policies and procedures which apply to the development of the agreements. Whether community college ESL courses meet general education requirements at CSU campuses depends on whether a particular community college has certified the courses as meeting the requirements. (See Table 1 to compare CCC articulation processes for CSU and UC.)

Table 1
Articulation Processes for CCC and CSU and UC

RECEIVING INSTITUTIONS		
Type of Agreements	California State University	University of California
Transferable Course Agreements	Developed by CCCs in compliance with the CSU Executive Order 167. (Baccalaureate List)	Developed by the UC office of the President for each CCC. (Transferable Course Agreement)
General Education Breadth Agreements	Developed by CCCs in compliance with CSU Executive Orders 405 and 595.	*Campus/College Specific* Developed between CCC and UC by each UC campus.

Note. From *Handbook of California Articulation Policies and Procedures* (p. 6). California Intersegmental Articulation Council, 1995, Sacramento: Author. Reprinted by permission.

Generally, ESL courses which meet general education requirements are either equivalent to freshman composition or satisfy credit requirements in Category C (usually called the Humanities category in community colleges), established in CSU Executive Order 595 (CIAC, 1995) which includes the arts, literature, philosophy and foreign languages. Two criteria in the executive order could affect the classification of ESL courses. Part IV, Entry Level Learning Skills, states

> Title 5 of the California Code of Regulations, Section 40402.1, provides that each student admitted to the California State University is expected to possess basic competence in the English language and mathematical computation to a degree that may reasonably be expected of entering college students. Students admitted who cannot demonstrate such basic competence should be identified as quickly as possible and be required to take steps to overcome their deficiencies. Any course completed primarily for this purpose shall not be applicable to the baccalaureate degree. (CIAC, 1995, p. 52)

Some community colleges classify their transferable general education ESL courses in the humanities category along with foreign languages. In respect to this category, Executive Order 595 states that

> foreign language courses may be included in this requirement because of their implications for cultures both in their linguistic structures and in their use of literature; but foreign languages courses which are approved to meet a portion of this requirement are to contain a cultural component and not be solely skills acquisition courses. (CIAC, 1995, p. 80)

Lower Division Major Preparation Agreements

These agreements specify the courses at the sending institution that fulfill lower-division major requirements at a receiving institution. The agreements may be initiated at either sending or receiving institutions. ESL courses are not articulated under these agreements because they are not part of a major.

Course-To-Course Agreements

These agreements include courses at a sending institution "which are 'acceptable in lieu of' a corresponding course at a receiving institution" (CIAC, 1995, p. 5). Few ESL courses have been articulated in this way except for ESL courses which are considered to be the equivalent of freshman composition. However, since most ESL courses transfer as electives, this means of articulation is seldom relevant.

Intersegmental Curriculum Agreements and Common Numbering System

Two other means of smoothing the transferring of courses from community colleges to the UC and CSU are the Intersegmental General Education Transfer Curriculum (IGETC) and the California Articulation Number (CAN) system.

Intersegmental General Education Transfer Curriculum

The IGETC is a series of courses that community college students can use to satisfy general education requirements at any CSU or UC. However, completion of the IGETC is not a requirement for transfer to CSU or UC. Under IGETC, only freshman English can be used to satisfy the general education writing requirement. English as a second language courses "cannot be used to fulfill the English composition requirement" (Academic Senate for California Community Colleges, 1995, p. 44). This means that even if transferable courses identified as ESL can meet the freshman composition requirement at a community college, they do not fulfill the IGETC English composition requirement.

California Articulation Number System

The statewide CAN system implemented in 1985 identifies community college courses that are transferable and are considered comparable in content and academic rigor. The system "streamlines the articulation process by eliminating the need for every [CCC] campus in the state to articulate their course with every other campus in order to provide needed transfer and articulation information to prospective transfer students" (CIAC 1995, p. 46). However, no community college ESL course which is not designated as freshman composition is identified with CAN numbers.

Types of Credit for ESL Courses at the CSU and UC

The kinds of credit awarded to ESL courses in the CSU are diverse, and this diversity affects attempts at articulating ESL courses with community college courses. The *Report of the English as a Second Language Workgroup* (California State University, Office of the Chancellor, 1988) indicates that ESL courses at the CSU are offered for baccalaureate credit, and workload credit and without credit. ESL courses at community colleges are not generally articulated with ESL courses at the CSU on a course by course basis. As a result, community college ESL courses below the level of freshman composition may transfer as electives or with general education credit in the humanities category to some CSU campuses. Ironically, many of those campuses only grant baccalaureate credit to their own ESL courses which are the equivalent to freshman composition. Also, these ESL courses are not officially called ESL courses.

English as a Second Language at the University of California (University of California, Office of the President, 1989) indicates that ESL courses at the University of California are offered for baccalaureate as well as workload credit. Again, community college ESL courses may transfer to a UC campus which may have similar courses that do not apply to the baccalaureate degree. The catalog of one community college indicates that some ESL courses which do not apply to the associate degree do, however, transfer to the CSU and UC.

The situation that emerges from the transfer agreements is a confusing one, at best. There are ESL composition courses which meet the CCC freshman writing requirement for the associate degree but do not fulfill IGETC freshman writing requirements at the CSU or UC (since no composition course with ESL in its title meets the IGETC writing requirement). Hence, a student who has taken an *ESL* freshman composition course at a CCC would have to take an English freshman composition course to meet IGETC requirements. In such a situation, what incentive do students have for taking a course designed to meet their linguistic needs but which does not advance them towards a baccalaureate degree?

It seems apparent that California's formal standards and mechanisms intended to facilitate articulation of courses between the community colleges and the CSU and UC do little to assist an ESL student in both satisfying English requirements and achieving academic proficiency in the L2. The ways that ESL courses develop at the community colleges, CSU, and UC do not facilitate comparison or equivalence. In addition, the role of ESL is seen, in many ways, to be outside the mainstream of courses that college students are expected to take. Thus, ESL courses fall outside the measures taken by the system to make transitions between institutions easier.

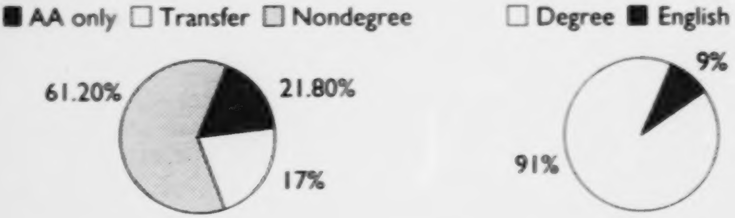
A Survey of Credit and Articulation in California Community Colleges

To illustrate how colleges are applying state standards to award credit to community college ESL courses and how intersegmental articulation policies on transferable course agreements are being applied, a census (Garlow, 1995) was taken of all of the credit courses in the 106 California community colleges as printed in current college catalogs (see Figure 2).

While 61.2% of the 1,378 credit ESL courses were offered for nondegree credit, 21.8% were offered for associate degree only, and 17% transferred and received baccalaureate credit. Only 9% of all degree-credit ESL courses were identified as English courses, either equivalent to freshman composition or one, two, or three levels below. Evidently, degree credit has been assigned to most ESL courses without defining them in relation to English courses.

Figure 2

Credit Type Assigned to Community College ESL Courses



Note. From "The Academic Worthiness of ESL Courses in the California Community Colleges as Indicated by Credit Status" by Katheryn Garlow, 1995. Unpublished manuscript.

Articulation agreements between community colleges and the CSU and UC generally consist of Baccalaureate Level Course Agreements and General Education-Breadth Agreements (see Table 1). Since articulation agreements between community colleges and the CSU and UC are made through different processes, courses that transfer to one institution do not necessarily transfer to the other. One hundred forty-eight baccalaureate degree-credit courses transferred only to the CSU, nine only to the UC and 76 to both.

ESL courses which apply to a degree can either meet General Education-Breadth requirements or are applied to a degree as elective credit. Relatively few ESL courses meet general education/breadth requirements at any level.

Of those 301 associate-degree courses which do not transfer, only 2% satisfy general education requirements while 98% can be used as CCC elective credit.

With respect to the 148 courses that can be applied to both the associate degree at the CCC and baccalaureate degrees at the CSU, one would expect that consistency would exist in the way that credit can be applied to the two degrees. That is not the case, however. More of these courses meet general education and English composition requirements for the associate degree than for the baccalaureate degree (see Table 2).

Table 2
A Comparison of How Tranferable Credits Are Applied to the Associate and Bachelor's Degrees by Segments

	Credit Types		
	Courses transferable to CSU[a]		
Segment	Elective	GE	English Comp
CCC	82.4%	14.2%	3.4%
CSU	98.6%	.7	.7
	Courses transferable to UC and CSU[b]		
	Elective	GE	English Comp
CCC	63.1%	15.8%	21.1%
CSU	84.2%	07.9	7.9
UC	97.4	0	2.6

Note. From *The Academic Worthiness of ESL Courses in the California Community Colleges as Indicated by Credit Status* by (Garlow, 1995).

[a] $n = 148$, [b] $n = 76$

More ESL courses satisfied English composition requirements for the associate degree because of two practices in community colleges. One practice is to allow an English course one level below freshman English to meet composition requirements for the associate degree. The other practice is that some colleges offer a nontransfer associate degree for students who want to earn a degree with an emphasis on major or occupational courses rather than general education courses and who have no plans to earn a baccalaureate degree. Such a degree might include both transferable and nontransferable courses.

Only nine courses were listed in college catalogs which transferred to the UC but not, apparently, to the CSU. These courses all transferred as electives.

Seventy-six courses met associate degree requirements and transferred both to the CSU and UC. Again there was inconsistency as to how credits could be applied at different institutions. All ESL courses, except those which were equivalent to freshman English, were applied to the baccalaureate degree as electives at the UC.

To summarize, then, approximately one third of community college credit ESL courses may be considered to meet the standards for college credit set forth in Title 5. However, fewer than half of these courses have been designated as transferable. Credit for most courses in all segments was applied to the degree as elective credit, but credit for writing courses was more likely than credit for other kinds of courses to be applied as general education-breadth credit. All courses which transferred to the CSU and UC received more general education credit at the community college level than they did at the CSU and UC. More courses transferred to the CSU than to the UC, perhaps, at least in part, because the community colleges prepare the lists of transferable courses to the CSU, whereas the president's office prepares the lists for the UC. Few courses were explicitly linked by notations in the catalogs to a hierarchy of English courses. More ESL courses satisfied composition requirements at community colleges than they did at the CSU or UC and more satisfied composition requirements at the CSU than at the UC.

Discussion and Implications

Where do California's course standards for community colleges and articulation policies and procedures leave Fariba and her fellow students in their quest to attain their educational goals efficiently? Their routes to achieving the linguistic proficiency and the skills in English needed to earn an associate degree or to transfer are very different, depending on the community college they enter. There is great inconsistency and diversity in the kinds of credit that may be awarded to the very wide variety of ESL courses. If ESL courses were uniformly viewed as English courses by all community colleges, then only those courses considered to be at the level of freshman composition or one level below would be granted degree credit. Since this is not the case and slightly more than one third of the courses can be applied toward an associate degree, baccalaureate degree, or both, institutions are not applying criteria in the Title 5 regulations in a consistent way. Thus, a variety of courses may be given college level credit in one community college district while similar courses in a neighboring district may not.

In addition, if ESL courses were defined as English courses, it would also make sense that only those ESL courses at the level of freshman composition would transfer. However, this is not the case. Courses identified by course prerequisites and graduation requirements as being one, two, or even three levels below freshman English transfer to the CSU, UC, or both. The fact that both the CSU and UC themselves have offerings of ESL courses makes it easier for the community college to argue that ESL courses should transfer.

What future course should ESL articulation efforts take? Nearly a decade ago, CCC and ESL professionals made recommendations to improve articulation which still make sense today. In 1988, the CSU ESL Workgroup made several recommendations concerning criteria and standards for granting baccalaureate and general education credit to ESL courses at the CSU and for accepting CCC ESL courses for transfer. The Workgroup also made this recommendation in its report:

> Efforts should continue to better articulate ESL course content and exit performance expectations among the postsecondary segments in order to facilitate coursework transfer. The California State University should play a lead role in regional and statewide conferences and projects designed to promote the more standard and efficient offering of competency-based ESL instruction in California. (California State University, Office of the Chancellor, 1988, p. 10)

In addition, the community college ESL task force recommended in 1985 that more uniform practices be facilitated "through the establishment of an ESL committee to review and correlate various language assessment instruments, recommend assessment and placement procedures and act as a clearinghouse for research on language testing conducted by local districts" (Petersen & Cepeda, p. 2). Toward this end, a group of ESL practitioners and assessment experts developed *ESL Placement Tests for Community Colleges: A User's Guide* (Farland & Cepeda, 1988). However, since that time, regulations to implement the California legislative mandate known as *matriculation* set out the policies and procedures for the evaluation of assessment instruments used in the colleges (California Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office 1995b). "Matriculation in the community colleges is a process that promotes and sustains credit students' efforts to achieve their educational goals" (California Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office, 1995b, p. 1). Now all placement tests must be approved by the chancellor's office, and those tests which were reviewed and correlated in 1986 can no longer be used. The only commercially developed ESL test which has received full approval by the chancellor's office is the Combined English Language Skills Assessment (CELSA). Although many colleges now have locally developed assessments which are in some stage of review, none of them have been compared to each other. In addition, correlations have never been established between the assessments used at community colleges and those used at the CSU or UC. What has become of all of the work on articulation which has already taken place?

Recommendations and actions taken in the past to promote articulation should provide at least a starting point for current efforts. In view of the diversity of content and credit designations at the various institutions in all segments, the only realistic way to articulate ESL courses seems to be through widely communicated, clearly stated expectations. These need to include concrete examples of student work that demonstrate the linguistic and academic proficiency required for a particular level. Ideally, assessments should be available which can be used at all institutional levels to measure both kinds of proficiency. These ideas were part of the recommendations made in previous reports on ESL mentioned above. Descriptions of levels of proficiency and examples of level-appropriate student work are available (see Browning, this volume); however, what is lacking is the means to disseminate information and to achieve uniform practices.

ESL practitioners at all levels have developed services for their students which they have tried to match to their students' needs and the requirements which are imposed by their institutions and systems. These services may do much to help students reach their educational, vocational, and personal goals. In addition, faculty in various parts of the state have made attempts to improve articulation across segments; however, up to now, the work of these groups has not widely affected articulation practices statewide. Without the cooperative financial and organizational support of the various segments, the chances of ESL professionals themselves being able to bring about a viable way of comparing or articulating courses within and across segments are slim. Meanwhile, students may continue to be served well by local programs but may be frustrated when moving or transferring to other institutions. ■

Endnotes

1. AB1725 was passed in 1988 and placed in law recommendations of the Commission for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education which were contained in its report *The Challenge of Change: A Reassessment of the Community Colleges.* Concerns about the educational needs of California's population and the

extent to which the CCC, CSU, and UC were meeting them had given rise to legislation (1984, SB1570–Neilson–ch. 1507) which established the Commission. At the same time SB2064 (1984–Stiern–ch.1506) mandated a special Community College Reassessment Study as the Commission's first priority.

2. Title 5 is the part of the California Code of Regulations which governs the administration of education in California. The California Code of Regulations emanates from over 200 agencies to implement California law.

3. The standards are set forth in §55002 (a) through (d), §55805.5 and §84711(a)(1-9) of Title 5.

4. This issue arose because 57 colleges offered ESL only under the credit program and might not have the option of offering them as noncredit classes since in some of these colleges' districts, noncredit offerings were the sole purview of the K-12 districts. The concern centered on the ability of colleges to meet the demand for ESL instruction throughout the state. Students might not continue to be served unless the courses at these colleges met, at a minimum, the standards in Title 5 for credit courses that would not apply to the associate degree.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Is Remediation an Articulation Issue?

Recent recommendations and proposals[1] at various levels of education throughout the state and country have been based on the assumption that students should be "prepared" before entering a particular segment of the educational system, that no level should provide remediation. These proposals claim that students are underprepared largely because their previous education did not prepare them; in other words, their teachers failed to give them the skills and knowledge necessary for education at the next level. Inherent in all these arguments is the belief that if we could just articulate what outcomes students need to enter each level, then we could hold educators (and their students) accountable through assessment. Those that do not measure up will not proceed. However, if we examine the assumptions about learners and the teaching/learning dialectic on which these proposals are based, we come to a different conclusion. The cause is not in the victims (students and teachers), but in the very process of acquiring academic literacy within the educational infrastructure. This paper will examine the assumptions underlying current proposals to reduce or eliminate remedial education and the directions for future articulation. I will confine the discussion to the teaching of reading and writing and mostly to articulation between K–12 and the California State University (CSU) and Community Colleges and the CSU since that is my own area of greatest knowledge. However, much of the argument is applicable to other segments and other fields (such as mathematics), and articulation between other segments of the educational system.

Assumptions Underlying Remediation

Myth 1: Remedial Needs Are New

If we examine remedial education in the United States, we find that it has a long history. In the early 19th century and before, U.S. university curricula focused on language, usually the classics. By the late 19th century, science, engineering and business were being incorporated into the undergraduate curriculum. At the same time, students entering the universities came from a wider range of high schools and possessed less intimate knowledge of the texts that were then considered necessary for an educated American. In other words, the universities considered the students unprepared for the reading and writing expected for university entrance. University educators responded by blaming the high schools:

> Attention has been directed of late to the lamentable condition of English instruction in the secondary schools. ... That English is difficult to teach follows from the ese [sic] with which both teacher and pupil may shirk the English lesson. The instructor has a smattering of the subject; the pupil thinks that he knows all about it. Each is prone to contemn [sic] what appears to be easy.
>
> But the community in general is awakening to the fact that the young do not speak, write, and read their mother-tongue correctly; that they neither know nor appreciate English literature: and the Universities are convinced that better training in secondary English studies is demanded by the interests of higher education. (Gayley & Bradley, 1894, p. 5)

In establishing college entrance examination standards, the universities further instructed schools about just what they should teach:

> At its conference in 1892, the Committee of Ten recommended that "a total of five periods a week for four years be devoted to the various aspects of English studies." ... The Committee reasserted what was becoming the popular view of educators, that the study of English could become "the equal of any other studies in disciplinary or developing power." In 1894, representatives to the National Conference on Uniform Entrance Requirements drafted a list of texts to be set for college entrance examinations in English ... The lists of books drafted by the conference not only gave definition to college English as a literary enterprise, but compelled the secondary schools to conform to that definition. The topics for the entrance examinations "were announced in advance and had a way of dictating the preparatory school curriculum for the year." (Graff, 1987, p. 99)

With an increase in entrance standards, universities quickly realized that they would need placement examinations and remedial courses. Francis J. Child, for whom Harvard created the first Professorship of English "...bitterly resented the time he had to spend correcting student compositions" (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1987, p. 2), despite the rigorous entrance requirement in English composition. The Harvard model of freshman composition was born—with its focus on literary examples as models for student texts. The University of California established the Examination in Subject A in 1898 and by 1902 a course in Subject A was established for those who failed the exam, initially for special students and then for engineering and commerce students, and ultimately, as it is today, for all undergraduates in 1907.

Within the CSU, the liberalization of the undergraduate curriculum in the 1970s, especially general education, resulted in concerns about students' preparedness in reading, writing and mathematics—both at entrance to the CSU and at graduation. Thus, after lengthy debate, the CSU trustees instituted the English Placement Test (EPT) in fall 1977 and the Graduation Writing Assessment Requirement (GWAR) in 1978. Since history showed that instituting a test did not guarantee that students met the entrance requirement, the legislature also provided a supplement to campus budgets to provide additional help to students who did not demonstrate mastery of basic writing skills. This special allocation, Basic Writing Skills, which is still provided to campuses, was designed to reduce class size and so provide greater personal attention to meet students' developmental writing needs.

In the early 1980s, once again the public and legislators were concerned about the "problems afflicting American Education" (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. iii). This concern resulted in the federal government's report "Nation at Risk" (1983), and, in California, in the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) 1984 report "Promises to Keep: Remedial Education in California's Public Colleges and Universities." The report made recommendations designed to reduce remedial instruction during the period of 1985 to 1990. The CSU's plan to reduce the need for remedial education included additional funding to provide intensive instruction for first-time freshmen with serious developmental needs in writing and mathematics, a program called the Intensive learning Experience (ILE).

Thus, we can see that the current claim that students are underprepared is one that educators and politicians have made for decades. The question is not so much one of whether students are less prepared than in previous generations but more what they are unprepared for and whether the segments they are entering are prepared for them.

Myth 2: Most Underprepared Students Need Remediation

Remediation is usually defined as "instruction below the level appropriate for the educational level of the student. It is distinguished from 'developmental' instruction, defined as classes for students who arrive at CSU without full exposure to instruction in preparatory college English and mathematics due to disadvantaged backgrounds and in need of first-time instruction in the necessary skills" (Community College League of California, 1995, p. 1). With the growing number of language minority students in California, both those for whom English is not a first language and those who speak a dialect other than standard academic English, more students are entering each segment with language proficiencies "below the appropriate level." However, these students are developmental, not remedial. They are still acquiring new knowledge and skills in a new variety of English—academic English. For example, English is not the native language of many students entering the CSU as freshmen and transfer students (conservatively 40–50%). The enteting freshmen have graduated in the top third of their high schools because they have mastery over the content areas, yet their English language skills are still developing. Research indicates it takes from seven to 10 years (Collier, 1989) for such ESL students to acquire the academic language to reach parity with their native English-speaking peers. Many of them have simply not had the time or exposure to learn academic English before they graduate from high school. Others arrive as young adults, without high school graduation in this country but with varying levels of education from their home countries, and take classes at community colleges, where they learn both content and the English language. But again, most have simply not been in an English-speaking environment for sufficient time to develop the academic English they need for a four-year degree (Murray, Nichols, & Heisch, 1992). Additionally, many have not become members of a literacy community that supports and extends their literacy (Murray & Nichols, 1992).

In addition to the ESL issue, other factors create a cohort of developmental students at various segments. Many students are the first in their family to attend college, for example, often coming from minority populations that are under-represented in higher education. While English is their primary language, they may speak a dialect different from that of the schools. Much as African-American English represents an automonous dialect of English, the nonstandard varieties of English used by many immigrant children and youth are characterized by their own linguistic rules and conventions. These students will also need assistance if they are to acquire academic English.

For both ESL and dialect students, because of different cultural assumptions and experiences, the university and its ways of thought are new. The university is unprepared for what these students bring with them. The difficulty of bridging this gap is addressed in Heath's (1983) seminal study of three Piedmont communities, which demonstrated how students whose home language practices differed from those of the middle-class school were excluded from the academic literacy community. This exclusion is particularly evident in the examinations we use as gatekeepers. Students who do well in their chosen field of study may fail to meet the standards we have set to measure their writing proficiency, standards that reflect only one set of values (Johns, 1991); we then label them as remedial. "We owe it to our culturally and linguistically diverse students to recognize the values that permeate our tests and to decide which of these values are basic—and which are not—to determining writing competency" (Johns, 1991, p. 396).

Thus, what many of these students need is not remediation but full access to the developmental process of learning to read and write for academic purposes.

Myth 3: In Previous Generations, Immigrants Learned English Quickly

One of the most frequently heard myths about the rate at which ESL students acquire English is that previous generations of immigrants learned English much more quickly that do current immigrants. Histories of immigration clearly show that previous immigrants also took many years to acquire English. But, in previous generations, jobs that did not require a high level of English skills were plentiful. (For example, Califorina fed and clothed miners and built railroads using Chinese immigrant labor.) So, then-recent immigrants could quickly fit into the workplace—albeit mostly in low paying, manual labor (TESOL, 1996), or, at a time when corner stores were the norm rather than discount warehouses, in their own businesses.

Immigrants today find themselves in considerably different circumstances. The United States now has more jobs in the service sector and in the information industry, in which high levels of English language skills are required. Low-paying manual jobs are becoming scarcer, and even recent immigrants require an education to develop the skills necessary for an independent life. Thus, we find large numbers of recent immigrants with still-developing English language skills entering our community college, adult school, and university classes seeking improved language and job-related skills.

The other aspect of this myth is the supposed reluctance of this generation of immigrants to learn English. This myth survives, despite the long waiting lists for ESL classes in almost every urban center in California. It persists largely because these immigrants are attending our classes rather than remaining invisible at their work sites in a cannery or foundry earning the minimum wage. As they seek to acquire the English they need for higher skilled jobs, they become visible.

Myth 4: Oral Fluency Reflects Literacy

Another assumption that has a powerful negative effect on the literacy development of both ESL and dialect learners is that oral fluency is an indicator of academic literacy. Extensive research (see Collier 1989 for a summary of this research) shows that ESL learners take from five to 10 years to achieve the same levels of proficiency in academic English as native speakers, but acquire competence in oral language for everyday use in two to three years. Yet, K–12 schools often move students from ESL or bilingual programs based solely on oral language assessments (see Dunlap & Fields, this volume). Thus students with still-developing English literacy skills find themselves submerged in academic language. Their difficulties are compounded because, once mainstreamed, they are instructed by teachers with no background in how to teach ESL literacy. These students then enter the community college system or a four-year college with limited proficiency in academic literacy.

Future Directions

It is clear from the above discussion that students—immigrants and dialect speakers—will continue to arrive at the schoolhouse door needing instruction in English, and especially academic English. In the last century, colleges adopted instructional solutions that sought to impose standards on entering college students and thereby on the high schools. Ironically, what ultimately happened was the development of university English departments as we know them today—no longer considered remedial, but essential elements of a liberal education. If we learn anything from the past, it should be that we promote instructional solutions that neither blame the victim (the students) nor their previous education. If we want an educated workforce and citizenry, if we want a nation of information workers, if we want to be competitive in the global marketplace, then literacy education must be given as high a priority as science and math were in response to the Russian launching of Sputnik. This means acknowledging the language skills that all students bring with them to the classroom—in English and other languages. It means providing an educational infrastructure that supports English literacy acquisition. This obviously requires better articulation among different segments. However, articulation which truly addresses the language needs of California's (and the United States') diverse population

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must be based on an understanding of how people acquire languages and literacy, not on myths. Such an understanding includes considering the flawed assumptions I have discussed above, but it also requires an understanding of the institutional factors that impact student learning.

Our educational infrastructure is so flawed that teachers in all segments are asked to do the impossible—be parents, counselors, role models, and, perhaps, in the time remaining, educators—and with an increasingly diverse student population. Class sizes do not allow teachers to respond to student writing in the ways we know facilitate student learning. Writing instruction requires intensive practice writing to a variety of audiences in a variety of genres with extensive opportunities for feedback from the instructor and opportunities to revise (see Reid 1995). Language education does not occur in isolation; yet often language learners are taught English separately from content instruction, and ESL educators are marginalized, having little interaction with faculty in other disciplines. The English language education of students is a lifelong exercise and is the responsibility of all educators. ESL professionals have expertise that needs to be shared with colleagues, but our institutions provide little, if any, opportunity for such dialogue. Instead, ESL and English faculty are expected to "fix" students' English through one or two courses.

Articulation between different segments is important, but that alone will not help our students develop the knowledge and skills they need for study in another segment—at least, not if we define articulation as the setting of outcome standards across segments. Such articulation ignores the educational backgrounds of our students and the educational infrastructure where teaching and learning takes place. What we need is collaboration among segments to change the assumptions of policy makers. We need to educate policy makers so they understand what it is like to arrive in California at the age of 15, not speaking or writing English, but with other talents and skills that will allow the person to become an engineer or computer professional. We need to work together to explode the myths about second language learning and teaching. Then, we can work on articulating pedagogical practices and structures that maximize the potential for teaching and learning—across and within segments. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

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University of California Responses to the Needs of ESL Students: 1983–1996

Articulation, or the movement of students across the segmental lines of high school and community college into the University of California (UC) system has been of major interest and concern, historically as well as currently, to faculty and administrators in all sectors of public education in California. As the segment of higher education designated by the state legislature (through the Master Plan) to work with the top one eighth of high school graduates in the state, UC is well aware that its entrance policies and requirements have enormous impact on both the types and content of courses offered in other sectors of the public education system in California. The level of preparation of the students who are preparing for UC admission, as well as the special needs of particular groups of students who enter either as freshmen or as transfers, in turn, affect programs offered on UC campuses once these students are accepted into the UC system. It is within these contexts that the following question is posed:

> *How has the University of California in recent years been dealing with the challenges posed by the increasing numbers of nonnative speakers (NNS) of English admitted to the system, especially those who are California residents?*

The answer: In a variety of ways—albeit somewhat differently on each of the eight general campuses offering both undergraduate and graduate-level work (i.e., Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, and San Diego).[1]

Despite local variations within the UC system, however, there are statewide set policies and procedures which all campuses follow. This update reports recent UC systemwide (i.e., statewide) activities and responses to meeting the needs of English as a second language (ESL) students, both after as well as before entrance to the university. These efforts are aimed at helping such students perform successfully on any general campus and have involved the following:

(a) work with all the UC campus ESL program directors to ensure that educationally sound ESL programs are provided for NNS on all general campuses;

(b) work with the UC statewide Subject A Examination Committee to ensure that the reading prompt used in this required two-hour essay examination, written after acceptance to UC but prior to initial enrollment on a campus as a freshman, is accessible to nonnative speakers of English (NNS) and, additionally, is graded consistently and appropriately within the scoring guide used to evaluate the writing of native speakers of English (see Appendix A);

(c) work with the UC statewide Board of Admissions and Relations with Schools (BOARS) in shaping entrance policies, especially for freshmen, which will help prepare NNS to handle the high level language demands of UC (which, as noted, is directed by the California Master Plan to admit only students from the top 12.5% of graduates from all high schools in the state).

Background

To understand the statewide activities and actions reported here and how they were generated, the governance system within the UC system must be explained briefly. The University of California has a somewhat unique system of "shared governance" whereby permanent faculty along with administrative officers jointly govern in academic matters, determining, for example, the credit-worthiness of courses, the approval of curricula and degree programs, the criteria for student admissions, the granting of faculty tenure, and so forth.

On each of the nine UC campuses, all local tenured and tenure-track (i.e., permanent) faculty are organized through a campus academic senate and share governance on academic issues with their local campus administration (i.e., the chancellor and staff). Such work is accomplished largely by academic senate committees, which are composed of and chaired by academic senate members who have been appointed to committee service by a campus Committee on Committees, elected annually by the tenure-track faculty at each campus (i.e., by the academic senate members).

In addition, there is a parallel statewide structure whereby tenured faculty, representing each of the nine campuses, are appointed to serve on a statewide Academic Council and its systemwide committees. These groups work with the statewide administration (i.e., the Office of the President) on issues involving systemwide academic criteria, educational policies, and so forth.

Working within these structures has been essential to propose action and, often, to promote understanding within the UC system (both on individual campuses and systemwide) regarding NNS/ESL issues. Unfortunately, there are very few ESL-oriented tenured faculty to look after these important, but nonteaching or research, responsibilities. This is critical in that all but two ESL program directors/coordinators and virtually all ESL instructors in the UC system are on nontenured, short-term appointments, so academic senate avenues are not open to their participation in the making or shaping of academic policies affecting ESL/NNS students. This situation, plus the need to go through the sometimes lengthy maneuvers UC institutional processes most typically involve, has often proven frustrating. Again, unfortunately, this has been especially so in dealing with many of the repercussions of the steady annual increase in the NNS/ESL population enrolling at UC in recent years.

Until the early 1980s, most NNS students who entered the UC system needing further English language development found that help in programs originally designed to meet the needs of "foreign" students (i.e., NNS of English who had been educated in their home countries, entering the US on student visas usually to do graduate work). However, as in all other segments of the public educational system in the state, there has been a rise in the numbers of NNS students who are immigrant California residents and educated in California public schools (often referred to as ESL students), now entering UC as undergraduates.

On particular campuses, the rise has been especially sharp. To cite the experience of only two campuses, for instance, in 1994–95, 32.1% of freshmen admissions at UC Davis came from non-English speaking homes (compared with only 20.3% in 1988). At UC Irvine in the past three years, over 60% of entering freshmen were born outside the U.S. and speak a language other than English at home; in 1996 this population had risen to 64%! Other UC campuses have also experienced increases that are quite similar.

The 1983 CPEC Report "Promises to Keep"

Institutional responses to the admission of increasing numbers of ESL students into the UC system, plus exploration of ways to meet their special needs once they are on a particular campus, have been slow and sporadic. In fact, "the ESL problem" was not acknowledged systemwide before the appearance in 1983 of the seminal California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) document, "Promises to Keep: Remedial Education in California's Public Colleges and Universities" (issued as Report 83.2). The report suggested future problems and options facing the three segments of higher education in the state (the CCC, CSU, and UC systems). To represent the CPEC report's perspective on ESL instruction in California higher education in general and at UC in particular, we cite the three following excerpts:

- One major research campus of the university [UC] has found that permanent residents who have resided in the United States on the average of four years now comprise about two-thirds of the students in its ESL program, having replaced foreign students as the majority. The failure rate in its ESL courses jumped dramatically during 1979–80 from 15% to 28% and remained almost as high for 1980–81...the topic deserves further study for all campuses and all three segments (p. 43).
- Both university administrators and respondents to the Commission survey on two university campuses noted that they do not consider ESL remedial, a viewpoint that is widely held across all segments. One campus coordinator urged a distinction between the varying levels of ESL offered on that campus as some are extremely basic and others equivalent to Subject A (p. 43).
- The questions arising from the infusion of English as a Second Language students into California's colleges and universities appear fundamentally different from those engendered by the other basic skill areas. Although only a portion of ESL may be considered remedial and thus have bearing on this study, the entire ESL issue carries import for all three segments (p. 108).

This 1983 CPEC report recommended that a careful study of ESL issues by all three segments of higher education in California be undertaken to develop a "coherent philosophy and practical strategy to meet both current and future needs" (p. 108).

The 1989 UCUPRE Report on ESL

In spring 1985, prompted by the CPEC report, but also in part by data gathering in the CCC and CSU systems as well as by the Intersegmental Coordinating Council, the chair of the standing UC systemwide Academic Senate Committee on Undergraduate Preparatory and Remedial Education (UCUPRE) appointed an ad hoc UC ESL subcommittee. The charge was to meet, gather data, and prepare a report addressing the following questions:

1. What should be the entrance and exit level competencies for ESL courses at UC?

2. How and when should students in need of such courses be identified?

3. What content of ESL courses should be eligible for baccalaureate credit and what content should not?

4. What provisions should be made for ESL students to assist them in preparing to satisfy the University's Subject A (i.e., English composition) requirement?[2]

In March, 1989, after meeting nine times over three academic years, the ad hoc ESL subcommittee submitted a report on the status of ESL students and ESL programs at UC to UCUPRE. The recommendations of the subcommittee's report were as follows:

(a) that UC academic senate and UC systemwide administration acknowledge that nonnative speakers of English constitute and will continue to constitute a significant segment of the students at UC by ensuring that educationally sound programs are provided on all general campuses for nonnative speakers of English;

(b) that UC systemwide administration provide the leadership to ensure that each campus meets its educational and legal responsibilities to the immigrant ESL students it admits as well as to oversee ESL-related matters dealing with admission, transfer, and articulation;

(c) that UCUPRE continue to appoint to the Subject A Examination Subcommittee as voting members one or more recognized ESL specialists and continue to include examples of strong and weak ESL compositions, which are described as such, in its Subject A Examination information booklets;

(d) that each general campus fulfill its responsibilities to the ESL students it admits by appointing a full-time qualified ESL specialist to be the ESL director/coordinator and by providing the necessary financial and administrative support for that specialist to carry out and/or advise on the following tasks:

> (a) develop a long-term ESL policy that articulates the recommendations of this report in a manner appropriate to the size and needs of the local ESL population;

(b) hire and support for the long-term a support staff of ESL professionals needed to assess and meet the requirements of the local ESL population;

(c) work cooperatively with those in charge of ongoing composition programs—or with any other instructional unit where cooperation or assistance is needed;

(d) monitor and track the progress of all ESL students, especially with regard to composition requirements;

(e) meet at least once a year (preferably twice) with ESL program directors from the other UC campuses to discuss common problems, issues, solutions, innovations, etc.;

(f) participate as appropriate in the assessment of the oral proficiency of ESL/EFL students serving as teaching assistants and in the offering of instruction in oral communication and pronunciation for such students as needed.

These recommendations were subsequently approved by the statewide UCUPRE and forwarded to the systemwide University of California Academic Council (the executive committee of the systemwide academic senate), where it was negatively evaluated and put aside: The recommendations were viewed as too costly to implement given that ESL was not judged a high priority. Little attention was given to the report other than copying it and sending it to local campuses nearly two years later.

Subsequent Outcomes of the ESL Report's Recommendations: Work With Campus ESL Programs and Statewide Subject A Testing

Despite the negative evaluation of the ESL report by the Academic Council, there have been some successful outcomes. First, since 1994 all UC ESL program directors now meet once a year under the sponsorship of UCOPE to: (a) discuss issues of mutual interest and concern; and (b) forward an annual report on ESL concerns to the University of California Committee on Preparatory Education(UCOPE), the current incarnation of UCUPRE.[3]

A second positive outcome of the ESL report involves work with the statewide Subject A Examination. ESL programs have official representation on the UC Subject A Examination Committee. Furthermore, ESL specialists from all campuses are annually appointed readers of this university-wide exam and make final pass/fail decisions on papers presenting second language errors or problems. Also, the annual published compilation of sample essays graded at each of the six levels described in detail on the UC

Subject A Scoring Guide (see Appendix A) includes papers with evidence that the writer is a nonnative speaker of English. This booklet is distributed annually to high schools across the state to guide English teachers in helping both NS and NNS to develop the writing skills needed to do successful UC-level work. Unfortunately, the results of the Subject A Examination over time indicate a steady increase in the proportion of NNS who are admitted to UC and who fail this test. In 1987, 6.7% of the newly admitted freshmen who took the first university-wide Subject A Examination failed and were designated as ESL; however, in 1994, 12.5% of the admitted test takers who failed the test were so designated, i.e., an increase of 89%. Such an increase underscores the need for adequate and informed ESL instruction for NNS students prior to entrance to UC.

Outcomes of Work with the UC Academic Senate Committee on Admissions (BOARS)

In the last three years BOARS, the UC systemwide academic senate committee on admissions, has responded in several ways to address the language-specific needs created by the influx of ESL students into the system. BOARS actions and activities have, by and large, been prompted by Tippy Schwabe from UC Davis. Because of her campus service as a member and/or cochair of the UC Davis Admissions Committee (1939 to the present), she was appointed to BOARS in 1991 and served into 1995.

Soon after appointment to BOARS, Schwabe asked for UC review of the English and foreign language admission requirements vis a vis preparing NNS high school students for UC-level work. During her service, she documented the needs of these students and prepared guidelines whenever requested (such as the possible specifications for an advanced-level high school ESL language/reading/writing course for which elective credit might be given—see Appendix B).

Almost all such policy proposals and guidelines are first reviewed by either the BOARS Subcommittee on Freshman Admissions or the Subcommittee on Transfer Admissions before being considered in a full BOARS session, a process which often takes two to three years. This was the case with the following BOARS policy decisions on criteria affecting immigrant ESL student admissions to UC (and attendant systemwide activities handled by the Office of the President)—all made since the presentation of the 1989 UC ESL report. Briefly, these actions are:

1. BOARS reaffirmed that in meeting the *a-f* subject requirements (See Appendix A in Brinton et al., in this volume for the *a-f* requirements), one of the four required English courses (the *b* requirement) can be an ESL course—usually, although not always, the ninth grade course—and suggest-

ed that high schools guide ESL students to take advantage of an ESL course at this level because of the particular content emphases addressing their language needs.

2. BOARS voted (June, 1993) to accept a second high school ESL course as one of the two required elective courses (the *f* requirement) provided it is an advanced-level ESL course and suggested that this would be an appropriate junior or senior year course for ESL learners to further develop language skills needed to handle UC academic demands successfully. Documents presented to BOARS to facilitate their consideration of this action included the following two items:

(a) a detailed course description of such an advanced-level high school ESL course was reviewed by BOARS and forwarded to appropriate admissions personnel in the UC Office of the President for use when evaluating whether a course from a school district meets the advanced-level standing of this *f* elective requirement. (See Specification 2 in Appendix B for this description).

(b) the descriptions of the English requirement(s) used in many UC documents (including pages C3, C4, and C5 of the widely used *Quick Reference for Counselors*) were rewritten to reflect these actions and approved by BOARS.

These actions and activities, it is hoped, will help to alter the perception, often held by both ESL students and their high school counselors, that ESL coursework is entrance- or low-level work and so to be avoided—especially by UC-bound ESL students—in favor of taking "higher level" mainstream English courses. These, unfortunately, do not always address the language needs of ESL students. There was hope, too, as noted, that the *f* elective course might serve as a bridge course in the last year or two in preparing students to meet the higher (even than high school senior year) standards and demands of UC. Further, it was felt that detailing course content might prompt high school English programs across the state to include such specified work for UC-bound ESL students when taking any English course intended to meet the *b* requirement.[4]

These suggestions need to be monitored within the UC system in the coming months (possibly years) to assure implementation. We must also ensure correct understanding of UC policies and practices in this area. This can be accomplished via professional discussions, the work of the ESL subcommittee, and through articles published in appropriate publications.

3. BOARS voted (May, 1993) to accept content courses taught in a language other than English which fulfill any of the *a-f* requirements (except *b* English) and which meet UC (and California) curricular content standards.

Since content courses taught in other languages are accepted for UC admission from students educated in non-English speaking countries as well as from those coming from schools in the US that teach all subject content in a foreign language (such as a French lycee), it was reasoned that content work taught in a high school in California by content-qualified, accredited bilingual teachers should be similarly acceptable. High schools offering such coursework are reporting a turnaround in attitudes and performance by L2 students who had believed they could never meet the academic requirements and qualifications for UC admission.

Issues for the Future

In addition to these recent actions and activities taken systemwide at UC (by BOARS and the Office of the President) to aid immigrant ESL students in entering the UC system and to help them perform successfully, there are other issues to examine in response to Recommendation 2 in the 1989 UC ESL Report, that is, "to provide leadership in overseeing matters dealing with admissions, transfer, and articulation."

1. One relevant question is how the newly developed English Language Proficiency Test offered by the College Board might (and/or should/should not) be used in the UC admissions process with respect to nonnative speakers who have resided in the U.S. for two or more years. (Currently nonnative speakers of English who have been in the U.S. fewer than two years must present a TOEFL score—the Educational Testing Service Test of English as a Foreign Language—as part of the admissions process). Before any decisions are made about the test, it needs to be investigated to see how it might be used to assess ESL students' skills.

2. A question specific to articulation, one needing immediate attention, involves current collaborative interactions between the UC system and California high schools on changes in high school curricula across the state. What effects are such changes having on UC-bound ESL students? How (and how well) are the language development needs of these NNS met in restructured, innovative cross-content curricula? A related question also needs to be explored: How well (or not) do NNS fare when their work is evaluated and graded in group projects and through portfolio assessments?

3. There are also important articulation issues involving the UC campuses and community college ESL transfer students. Very frequently, ESL students, especially those who were not UC-eligible when graduating from high school, arrive on UC campuses from community colleges and are inadequately prepared to handle UC coursework successfully because of English language deficiencies. When tested upon entrance to UC (current-

ly done only at UCLA and UC Davis), ESL transfer students often demonstrate a measurable need for further language development, despite having successfully completed the one English composition course required for transfer (See Brinton, et al., this volume).

The current minimum admissions requirements and the optional, but highly recommended Intersegmental General Education Transfer Curriculum (IGETC) listing (see Brinton et al., Appendix B, this volume), which govern transfer from community colleges to UC, require one transferable English composition course (to be raised to two courses beginning in fall, 1998). The admissions requirements additionally specify that as of fall, 1998 two English composition courses be required and that eight of a total of 56 units (to be increased to 60 units in 1998) can be ESL courses. In other words, eight units of ESL can be used as part of the general accumulation of the 56 general education units, but they do *not* substitute for the required English composition course(s). Importantly, as of fall 1998, not only must transfer students clear any deficiency in the *b* English four-unit requirement from high school; they must also complete two community college courses in English composition to be eligible for transfer to UC. ESL students at the community college level who continue to have problems using English grammar correctly and making appropriate lexical choices should ideally take the full number of permitted ESL courses before taking the two required transferable credit composition courses to strengthen their preparation for UC level work.[5]

Concluding Observations

UC should be certain that immigrant ESL students are receiving appropriate and adequate language instruction while developing the necessary academic skills prior to entering—and once admitted to—the UC system. In order for ESL students to be able to handle UC work successfully, issues such as those raised in this paper need to be thoughtfully and thoroughly explored. This is especially important given that the University of California, as noted, in many ways sets standards for the preparatory work done by students in the state, both in high schools and in community colleges. In addition, the University is concerned with upholding the nationally recognized high standards of UC undergraduate degrees. ■

Endnotes

1. The ninth UC campus in San Francisco offers only graduate work in the medical sciences.

2. The ESL subcommittee that prepared this document consisted of six members: George Gadda (Los Angeles), June McKay (Berkeley), William Megenney (Riverside), Robin Scarcella (Irvine), Tippy Schwabe (Davis), and Marianne Celce-Murcia (Los Angeles), who served as chair.

3. This name change, it should be noted, removed the word *remedial* from this statewide committee which monitors, advises, and facilitates matters relating to all preparatory education—a change in official UC stance, which could signal either (a) recognition of UC's responsibility in meeting the needs of the students it admits, including ESL students, or (b) reflection of the growing statewide consensus that no remedial coursework should be offered in any four-year segment of higher education.

4. While the description in Appendix B suggests the level and type of course content appropriate for UC-bound immigrant students in a second high school ESL course taken just prior to UC entrance, it was also hoped that it might guide course content and skill building when only one ESL course, whenever taken, is offered in the high school program for this type of ESL student.

5. Also, beginning in 1998 *all* general education coursework must be completed at a community college prior to a student's transfer to UC, which is not currently the case.

Appendix A

UC Subject A Scoring Guide

In holistic reading, raters assign each essay to a scoring category according to its dominant characteristics. The categories below describe the characteristics typical of papers at six different levels of competence. All the descriptions take into account that the papers they categorize represent two hours of reading and writing, not a more extended period of drafting and revision.

6 A *6* paper commands attention because of its insightful development and mature style. It presents a cogent response to the text, elaborating that response with well-chosen examples and persuasive reasoning. The *6* paper shows that its writer can usually choose words aptly, use sophisticated sentences effectively, and observe the conventions of written English.

5 A *5* paper is clearly competent. It presents a thoughtful response to the text, elaborating that response with appropriate examples and sensible reasoning. A *5* paper typically has a less fluent and complex style than a *6*, but does show that its writer can usually choose words accurately, vary sentences effectively, and observe the conventions of written English.

4 A *4* paper is satisfactory, sometimes marginally so. It presents an adequate response to the text, elaborating that response with sufficient examples and acceptable reasoning. Just as these examples and this reasoning will ordinarily be less developed than those in *5* papers, so will the *4* paper's style be less effective. Nevertheless, a *4* paper shows that its writer can usually choose words of sufficient precision, control sentences of reasonable variety, and observe the conventions of written English.

3 A *3* paper is unsatisfactory in one or more of the following ways. It may respond to the text illogically; it may lack coherent structure or elaboration with examples; it may reflect an incomplete understanding of the text or the topic. Its prose is usually characterized by at least one of the following: frequently imprecise word choice; little sentence variety; occasional major errors in grammar and usage, or frequent minor errors.

2 A *2* paper shows serious weaknesses, ordinarily of several kinds. It frequently presents a simplistic, inappropriate, or incoherent response to the text, one that may suggest some significant misunderstanding of the text or the topic. Its prose is usually characterized by at least one of the following:

simplistic or inaccurate word choice; monotonous or fragmented sentence structure; many repeated errors in grammar and usage.

1 A *1* paper suggests severe difficulties in reading and writing conventional English. It may disregard the topic's demands, or it may lack any appropriate pattern of structure or development. It may be inappropriately brief. It often has a pervasive pattern of errors in word choice, sentence structure, grammar, and usage.

The *E* Designation

The *E* designation indicates that a nonpassing essay includes significant linguistic or rhetorical features characteristic of the writing of nonnative speakers of English. Those features contribute to the essay's nonpassing score, usually by limiting its coherence or demonstrating inadequate command of English grammar and usage.

Any reader can assign the *E* designation in combination with a score of 3, 2, or 1. Papers designated *E* receive subsequent readings by ESL specialists, who either confirm or do not confirm the previous reader's judgment. *E* designations confirmed by ESL specialists are reported to campus Subject A and ESL offices along with the papers' combined holistic scores. Campuses look carefully at these essays and at other available information to determine whether the writers should be placed in ESL courses.

You should assign the *E* designation to all nonpassing essays that exhibit significant linguistic or rhetorical features characteristic of the writing of nonnative speakers of English.

Appendix B

Possible Specifications for an Advanced-level High School ESL Language/Reading/Writing Course for Which Elective Credit Might be Given re: UC Admission

(prepared for use by BOARS by G.T. Schwabe, April, 1993)

1. Provide constant interfacing of reading and writing on age/grade-level appropriate concepts and themes with:
    (a) frequent in-class and out-of-class writing assignments (majority to be unassisted writing).
    (b) a mixture of short and long writing assignments but at least nine essays of 500 words (i.e., 4,500 words) during the course.
2. Increase ability to distinguish fact from opinion plus ability to identify and evaluate various types of evidence in analyzing expository writing.
3. Increase ability to develop and use various kinds of evidence in writing.
4. Develop skills in using authorities/outside sources as supporting evidence.
5. Develop recognition and use of external and internal coherence devices/strategies to establish cohesion in writing.
6. Further develop outlining, paraphrasing, and summarizing skills.
7. Further develop personal revising and editing skills plus extend experience in doing peer editing.
8. Continue explicit and systematic work in vocabulary development with specific attention given to vocabulary used in academic discourse.
9. Continue explicit work in grammar, giving particular emphasis to:
    (a) controlling verb forms accurately and correctly sequencing verb tenses in written discourse;
    (b) better understanding aspect as a function of verbs in English;
    (c) generating simple, complex, and compound sentence structures using subordinate and coordinate connectors correctly;
    (d) developing oral and written control of idioms, phrasal verbs, articles, etc.

10. Increase reading comprehension and proficiency by reading/reporting on a set number of books (possibly 10–15 per semester).

Similar specifications could be incorporated into an ESL/sheltered English course following the state curricular frameworks for 10th-, 11th-, and 12th- grade English. In such sheltered content courses, a further specification would be:

(a) ability to critique the literary genre presented in the curriculum.

The CATESOL Journal

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Teaching Analytical Writing to ESL Students: A UCLA/High School Collaboration

How can high school students still in ESL classes stretch their abilities to prepare for the analytical reading and writing expected at the university level? For the past 10 years UCLA faculty and high school teachers in the greater Los Angeles area have collaborated on a curriculum and assessment project aimed at sharing teaching expertise and helping ESL high school students approach college-level reading and writing. The centerpiece of the program has been the UC Subject A exam, the writing placement exam that 12th-graders already accepted to a UC campus take in the late spring of their senior year. These 12th-graders have two hours to read a two-page passage and, on the spot, respond in writing to a question that taps their analytical abilities.

But while the purpose of the Subject A is to assess and place, our purpose in this university-schools collaboration is to make challenging materials and tasks accessible, to expand repertoires, to support and encourage. Through the years we've developed a process in which advanced- level ESL students, ninth- through 12th-graders, might take this same placement exam under nonexam conditions. As part of this process, ESL students work with their teachers for five to 10 days, engaging in reading and writing activities that make the passage fully accessible to them. Then they have two hours to write to the essay prompt. In one week's time students see their papers again—with comments crafted to help them revise. With the help of their teacher and peers, they work with the comments and produce a second and final draft. The goal is not only for the revisions to be improved versions, but for the students to have grown as writers in the process.

How This Program Came to Be

Back in 1980 when local high schools asked UCLA to provide a model for university writing standards, we responded by visiting several 11th-grade English classrooms and discussing sample essays written to the Subject A exam. Students were given a copy of the holistic scoring rubric and were quickly able to assign the samples the appropriate score. Shortly afterwards, they wrote to another Subject A prompt and received scores and written comments for their own essays.

By 1982 we developed a more collaborative model. Twenty-six high school teachers and eight UCLA writing programs lecturers met for two weeks in the summer to read their 11th-grade students' Subject A essays, score them, and devise a model for commenting. This time we determined that the comments would be written for the purpose of helping students revise. After reading the research on commenting available at the time and drawing on the collective wisdom of the group, we produced guidelines for commenting that we all would follow.

By 1986 the second language student population in Los Angeles schools was increasing dramatically. One of our team leaders, Beth Winningham, had planned to have her 11th-grade class participate—but the first week in February her teaching assignment was changed. Now with her class of advanced ESL students, she wondered about their ability to participate. With just a few days to make up her mind, she decided to give them the opportunity. So, along with the native English-speaking (NS) participants, they read the passage and wrote within the two-hour time frame. Their papers were scored according to the rubric, and they received written comments to help them revise.

Fortunately, the written comments prevented the experience from being discouraging. But it was clear to us all that while our program model might have been fine for NS 11th-graders, it was clearly lacking for ESL students. And given the changing demographics, shouldn't we begin to pay more attention to students in the process of acquiring English? If these students were to become our focus, in what ways should the program change?

Changes for Second Language Students

The following year our program invited both English and ESL teachers and their students to participate; and from 1988 to the present we've focused exclusively on second language students. Although the population we were serving changed, the ultimate goal remained the same: We hoped to give students a better sense of university expectations and strengthen their writing abilities. But while for NS 11th-graders our articulation model offered one push forward, for ESL students our program would

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inevitably offer frustration rather than appropriate challenge. We decided on two major changes: (a) extending the reading-writing process and (b) building in visits to schools by UCLA undergraduates who had formerly attended ESL/bilingual classes in elementary or secondary school.

Extending the Reading-Writing Process

We've learned that it's not unusual for advanced ESL students to be unfamiliar with up to 30 words in the two-page reading that makes up the Subject A passage. In addition, idioms and familiarity with U.S. culture and history may not yet be part of their background knowledge. While we could have easily rewritten the passage to control vocabulary and to provide explanations of historical references, we decided against such a rewriting. We wanted students to experience the style of the passage intact and to become familiar with new words and their particular connotations. So we posed this question to our group: How can we make this passage accessible to high school ESL students? Then, working in small groups, we designed into-through-and beyond activities that teachers could draw from as they presented the reading to their students (see Gadda, Peitzman, & Walsh, 1988; Peitzman & Gadda, 1994).

Into activities—preliminary ways of introducing the students to the themes of the passage—might range from writing journal entries, discussing photographs from a particular historical era, or reading poems or other short pieces of literature. *Through* activities—ways of helping students make meaning from the passage—might begin with the teacher reading the passage aloud to the class. They might also include student activities such as constructing star diagrams that cluster important vocabulary, paraphrasing, holding class discussions or debates, and engaging in a variety of types of notemaking and writing activities. In many ways the *beyond* activity—ways of extending or applying information or concepts from the passage—is the Subject A prompt itself. Teachers also construct other culminating activities that could include letter writing, pairing the passage with a short story, or writing a silent dialogue together with another student.

While we elected not to rephrase the Subject A passage itself, we did finally decide to rephrase the actual essay question, which had confused many students. For example, the Subject A prompt for the passage "The Poets in the Kitchen" by Paule Marshall, read:

> To what extent do Paule Marshall's ideas about the importance of conversation for her mother and her mother's friends shed light on the uses of language in groups that you know? In responding to the ideas in this passage,

> you may choose to discuss functions of group talk that Marshall does not mention. To develop your essay, be sure to discuss specific examples drawn from your own experience, your observation of teachers, or your reading—including "The Poets in the Kitchen" itself.

Not only was the initial question syntactically difficult for the students, many could not understand the expression *shed light*. We rephrased the first two sentences of the original and kept the last intact:

> In what ways does Paule Marshall think that conversation was important for her mother and her mother's friends? Are those ways similar to the purposes for which people use language in groups that you know? Why or why not?

While almost any rephrasing may modify the question—in this case we miss the notion of *to what extent*—we were nonetheless satisfied that our ESL students were answering essentially the same question.

While we've retained our eight guidelines for commenting, we've amplified them for teachers of second language students.

In Figure 1 the four inset sentences represent additions we made in the year that both 11th-graders and ESL students participated. While many of the ESL essays were perceptive and well organized, a large number had errors in every line. We decided, for our first reading, that we would read over—or ignore—errors, in order to focus on content. And we found that, once decided, this was indeed something all of us could do.

The second item had to do with plagiarism. We found papers that had phrases, sentences and sometimes full paragraphs lifted from the original passage. After discussing this amongst ourselves, we agreed that the issue was not attempted deception. After all, everyone had a copy of the passage. Rather, it turned out that the analytical writing task was still beyond the reach of some students. Some may have understood the passage but didn't yet have enough of a lexical and stylistic repertoire to put their ideas in their own words. And of course, in some cultures, it is perfectly permissible to copy without quoting; students and professors do it all the time. It is a way of emulating the text and showing respect for the author. While our goal was to teach students that in the United States it is not proper or permissible to plagiarize, we did not feel it appropriate to display moral outrage.

Figure 1

Guidelines for Commenting on ESL Students' Essays

- Skim the entire paper before writing comments.

On your first reading, try to read over sentence-level errors.

- Address the student by name.
- Begin by specifically stating a major strength of the paper and pinpointing the nature of major weaknesses.

Treat cases of plagiarism with sensitivity

- List text-specific questions/suggestions for change. Note paragraphs and sentences that work particularly well.

Select only the most salient/persistent sentence-level errors to comment on.

- Be supportive in tone.
- Phrase comments tentatively, where appropriate.

Be directive where appropriate, but not to the extent that the teacher-reader is doing all the problem solving.

Pinpoint cases in which misreadings of background texts have occurred and explain the misreading.

- Close with encouraging remarks.

The third guideline addition again focused on error. Most of our comments would be crafted to help students revise conceptually. Detailed written comments on correctness issues would not be the most effective way to help students. Nonetheless, we decided to point out errors if they recurred throughout the paper or if they were particularly important for students to note.

Finally, it became clear that students sometimes misread parts of the passage because they did not have sufficient knowledge of American culture. When this happened, we would explain the author's intended meaning in our comments.

Visits to Schools by UCLA Students

During our small- and full-group discussions, it became clear that a sizable number of the 500 or so students who participated in the project each year did not yet have firm plans to go to college. It was also apparent that many of them had potential and promise. But they needed someone they could really identify with—someone closer to their peer group—to encourage them and help them believe in their abilities. What if UCLA students who had been ESL/bilingual students in Los Angeles schools could visit each classroom and talk about student life at the university? As a backdrop, they could also talk about their experiences in public school as ESL/bilingual students and their decision to go to college. And of course they would leave plenty of time for questions and answers.

The UCLA ESL service course coordinator, who was a member of our team, volunteered to find and coach second language UCLA students interested in visiting participating high school classrooms. These students would visit with the overt purpose of sharing their own high school to college experience and explaining how as second language learners they found the confidence to pursue a higher education. A more covert agenda was for these students to convince their high school peers that this was an attainable goal for them as well and that having English as their second language need not be a barrier. For the past several years we've considered these visits a highlight of the Analytical Writing program.

Curriculum Packets

When collaboration works, all feel that they've accomplished more than they ever could have alone. We thought that if pooling all the classroom lessons designed for the Subject A passage was so satisfying, perhaps each small group could design into-through-and beyond activities around selected short stories and poems that pair well thematically and that would be appealing to the interests and abilities of advanced high school ESL students. Then everyone could return home at the end of the four-month collaboration with some stunning additions to the next year's curriculum. While time was short, motivation was high. With the help of an experienced table leader—and some guidelines for selecting appropriate literature—the groups chose their pieces, brainstormed, and assigned each member activities to plan. By the last meeting the end of May everyone could take home approximately six literature-writing units for consideration.

Nature of the Collaboration: Why It Works and Next Steps

The premise behind this UCLA-schools collaboration is that everyone brings expertise to the group. The leadership team itself is a combination of UCLA and high school teachers. UCLA group leaders are housed in three different departments: Center X within the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, UCLA's writing programs, and the department of TESL and applied linguistics. High school leaders are all California Writing Project fellows and include classroom ESL teachers and district ESL specialists. The rest of the group—the 20 to 30 teachers who sign up for the program each year—bring their own invaluable expertise. Dedicated professionals, they bring in-depth knowledge of their own students. They explain what these students already know and can do and search for ways to build on those abilities. They also share invaluable insights into the home cultures of their students.

Thus, no one has privileged knowledge. As director, I can bring insights from my years of directing the UCLA Writing Project. For years George Gadda, codirector of this collaboration, shared his knowledge of the UC Subject A Examination, for which he is chief reader. Lecturers in UCLA's department of TESL and Applied Linguistics' bring years of experience working with UCLA undergraduate and graduate students. Our school site leaders' bring intimate understandings of the high school ESL classroom plus an overview that comes with working for years with second language teachers in a variety of schools and districts.

As I look back on this multiyear program, it strikes me that what started as a one-way university-as-expert program has developed in exciting ways by becoming a true collaboration between university and high school teachers who share a common interest. The commenting model, the impetus to focus on ESL students, the realization that UCLA students might also have an important role to play, the addition of developing curriculum materials—these facets of the program were created because of ongoing conversations among the university and high school partners.

Our next steps are still unclear, but we know that we won't remain a static program. This year we met at Pasadena City College instead of the UCLA campus so that teachers in the San Gabriel Valley would have an easier time participating. We've discussed starting a parallel project that focuses on middle school ESL students. The Subject A exam wouldn't quite do for sixth- to eighth-graders, so we'd need to find a new centerpiece. We've also discussed finding the time to publish the wonderful reading-writing lessons that have been created over the past five years. What we do know is that we'll continue our efforts to enrich the professional lives of all teachers involved and also provide in several small ways the extra attention that can make a difference for our ESL students.

Endnotes

1. The UCLA lecturers from the department of TESL and applied linguistics were Donna Brinton, Janet Goodwin, and Linda Jensen.

2. The high school leaders were Beth Winningham, Linda Sasser, Laura Ranks, and, new to the group, Adriana Reyes.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Articulation or Collaboration?

In this paper, I want to demonstrate that change only occurs when faculty from across segments collaborate as equal partners. Articulation agreements, on the other hand, operate on the belief that if universities establish the standards they want their colleagues in community colleges or K–12 schools to meet, change will somehow occur. As an English as a second language (ESL) practitioner, I have found that collaborative work among different segments is more likely to result in equivalency of curricula and standards. Over several years, San José State University (SJSU) has worked with a number of regional community colleges on projects in which we examined similarities and differences among our language programs for language minority students with the goal of developing curriculum at participating institutions.

The first project,"Beyond Articulation: A Regional Approach to Course Planning and Content Mastery in Freshman Composition" (1987-8),[1] developed a fully elaborated syllabus for students unprepared for SJSU's upper division writing program (Graduate Writing Assessment Requirement [GWAR]), which consists of a writing screening test (Writing Skills Test [WST]) and an upper division writing workshop (100W) taught across the curriculum. The course developed is for students who fail the WST (primarily ESL students) and for any who know they are unprepared for upper division writing. The second project, "Common Assessment of Writing Skills in Second Level Composition Courses: A Model for Regional Planning" (1989-90)[2] examined the WST itself, assembling a team of faculty from SJSU and its service area. These faculty assessed the proposed American College Testing Computerized Assessment and Placement Programs (ACT CAPP) exam for possible use as SJSU's WST. Through this collaboration we were able to reach common agreement on the writing standards required of students entering upper division work at SJSU.

These two projects resulted in continuing dialogue between SJSU composition faculty and those in service area community colleges. From these dialogues we found that, while we had reached some agreement on common standards at the point of transfer, we had not looked at the other end of the curriculum—prefreshman composition (pre-1A), in particular courses for ESL students. Thus, in 1991 we engaged in another project, "ESL Curriculum Development for Prefreshman Composition,"[3] that focused on how best to prepare ESL students for college-level writing. There was and still is a pressing need to ensure adequate written communication skills among our foreign-born students because (a) they represent 33% of SJSU's student population (Murray, Nichols, & Heisch, 1992), and (b) they fail the WST at far higher rates than native English-speaking students. For example, 50% of Vietnamese fail compared with 5.7% of native English speakers (Murray & Nichols, 1992). Further, we saw a need to develop consistent entry-exit standards across community colleges and the CSU pre-freshman composition classes: Students transferring from a community college to SJSU and students who began as freshmen at SJSU should, we felt, have all reached the same proficiency level. We were especially concerned because many transfer students were failing the upper division writing test (WST) and being required to take additional classes at SJSU. At the same time, the Intersegmental Coordinating Council Curriculum and Assessment Cluster had recognized the variety among course offerings in the state's community colleges and begun to seek ways to articulate ESL standards across campuses.[4] Our project worked towards such articulation on a local level by addressing two issues—curriculum content and exit standards. In the limited space here, I will focus on this last project because it both builds on the previous two and represents the issue of the failure of articulation when it is defined as a question of developing standards that are accepted across segments rather than as a site for collaborative curriculum development.

Objectives

The objectives of this project were to:

1. ensure comparability and establish common exit standards for pre-1A ESL composition courses, standards that would prepare students for college writing;

2. ensure that students transferring from one college to another have comparable writing proficiency, that all students entering 1A on any campus would be equally and adequately prepared for that class;

3. identify students most at risk in composition classes. By identifying students whose previous literacy practices do not prepare them for academic writing, we can adjust course content and teaching methodology to provide classroom literacy communities for our students;

4. determine the relationship between course syllabi and what actually takes place in the writing class by comparing syllabi with portfolios;

5. compare students' writing proficiency with their class assignments by comparing essay scores with portfolios; and

6. begin cooperation and dialogue among the participating institutions and develop a cooperative model for use throughout the state.

Methods

A team of ESL instructors representing three of the community college districts in SJSU's service area (Mission, San José City, and Foothill) and faculty teaching in SJSU's Academic English Program (pre-1A for underprepared students) was assembled. Each campus collected data from two classes at each of the two levels of courses prior to 1A, a total of four classes from each campus. A sample of data from 1A classes was also collected for comparison. Five hundred and seventy-eight students participated, for most of whom standard academic English was an additional language.

We collected the following data:

1. *course syllabi.* We asked faculty to provide us with the syllabi that they handed out to students in class.

2. *entry/diagnostic/exit test instruments.* Each college provided copies of its test instruments, except those that are test secure (e.g., Michigan Test).

3. *student portfolios that included all student writing.* Since we wanted to discover exactly what happened in classrooms, we asked teachers to collect all writing—drafts, notes, final papers, and so on. We examined only a sample of the portfolios representing different abilities in writing as follows: two at each grade *A*, *B*, *C*, and *Fail*. The actual number submitted was 90 because not every class had two samples for each grade. The community colleges, for example, rarely had failing students because students who were failing mostly dropped out of class before the end of the semester. The project team examined the portfolios using an analytical scoring guide the team developed, a guide that reflected what we considered important attributes of university-level texts. We rated only the first and last out-of-class assignments using this analytical tool, as a contrast to the timed essay all students wrote.

4. *language use surveys.* This instrument had been used earlier at SJSU (Murray, Nichols, & Heisch, 1992) and gave us a profile of students at the different campuses, including demographic data, as well as students' uses of English and their L1 both at school and in the community.

5. *common essay exam, scored holistically by participating faculty using a six-point scale developed by the project team.*

We did not collect data on course grades since many variables contribute to this measure, ones that were not the focus of this project (e.g., attendance, number of assignments completed).

Findings

Student Profiles

The language use surveys showed that the students on the four campuses had very different profiles. The majority from the community colleges were high school graduates in their own countries, having arrived in the U.S. as young adults. In contrast, the majority from SJSU had been in the U.S. at least five years, having completed high school in the U.S. Community college students were older, on average, than SJSU students. Each community college in turn had its own profile. For example, more SJCC students spoke Vietnamese at age six than any other language, whereas at Foothill, the largest group spoke Spanish.

Curriculum

We examined curriculum from two perspectives—course syllabi and portfolios of student work. A comparison of portfolios and syllabi showed that syllabi are an inaccurate indicator of what goes on in actual classrooms. Many portfolios were far richer in writing genres, the writing process, and instructor feedback than the syllabus would lead one to expect. On the other hand, other portfolios indicated that some instructors barely met the minimum requirements (e.g., genres, length of assignments) detailed in the syllabus.

We also found that syllabi varied across the colleges and even within the same class level at the same institution. For example, in some courses students wrote only paragraphs, while in others at the same level they wrote fully developed essays. Tasks also varied considerably, some faculty focusing only on personal essays, others requiring students to write in a variety of genres. Some syllabi were based on the modes of writing (compare/contrast etc.); others on topic areas (e.g., censorship).

Student performance (as measured by their portfolio scores) was affected by the course design and the task. For example, many students who wrote only paragraphs wrote fully elaborated papers, but, because they were required to write only a paragraph, wrote several pages as one paragraph. Students writing paragraphs about a famous person often wrote with little knowledge of the person chosen, leading to short, undeveloped papers. In contrast, students in classes where instructors asked students to interview a class or community member and describe that person wrote richer, more detailed papers.

Student Progress

To measure student progress, we compared the scores on the first and last out-of-class assignments. Surprisingly, the numerical data indicated that students had made no progress. A closer examination showed that end-of-semester tasks were often more difficult than those assigned at the beginning of the semester. Typically, the first assignment was a personal essay, usually narrative genre. Since this task usually allowed students to draw on material they were both familiar with and interested in, they were able to write a well-developed paper. In contrast, the end-of-semester tasks were often argumentative essays on controversial topics with which students were less familiar, and students thus scored lower on these assignments.

Standards

We compared student proficiency using the timed essay. There was no correlation between course level and common essays scores. Students with high and low scores appeared at all levels, although students from two of the four colleges consistently outperformed the other two. The higher scores, we believe, are a result of the inclusion of native-speakers in both samples. Overall, the results indicate that entrance requirements for the various colleges are inconsistent. This is especially the case at community colleges where entrance tests have been advisory rather than mandatory. Similarly, exit standards varied across institutions. Those institutions that had a common final had developed common standards, at least for the language proficiency required for a timed essay. These institutions all agreed that this standard-setting exercise had a positive backwash effect on the curriculum, with faculty having a clearer and more common goal for their instruction.

Recommendations and Conclusions

We held a workshop for faculty from the four institutions to share our results. During the workshop, we asked faculty to read essays and analyze them using the portfolio assessment tool to determine whether faculty agreed with the team—they did. We also discussed our draft recommendations, with which faculty also agreed. The project team made the following recommendations, which they took back to their individual campuses for comment and possible implementation.

1. Institutions should develop clear goals and expectations for courses at each level.

2. At all levels, writing assignments should include academic genres in addition to personal/narrative assignments.

3. At all levels students should be encouraged to develop full-length essays, not just paragraphs.

4. Students should be exposed to many, varied, and complete models of academic English in order to write in that genre. Reading is an integral part of literacy. Excerpts do not provide such models.

5. Institutions should administer a common assessment (e.g., a final essay examination) to develop common standards for each institution and to foster communication among instructors. Such a direct writing sample should be a reading, followed be a writing prompt based on the reading.

6. Portfolio assessment should be considered carefully before being used systemwide. In our study, the content of portfolios was inconsistent because different institutions and different instructors within institutions assigned different genres (varying from a descriptive paragraph to a fully-developed argumentative essay). And, our single analytical scoring guide was not sufficiently robust to compare different genres. To ensure comparability across segments and instructors, we would need a standardized curriculum (yet, curricula must be responsive to student need), more finely tuned descriptions of genre, and a greater understanding of the range of difficulty among genre (the last two issues both involve further research). Until we can address these issues, portfolios as assessment tools are best used at the individual class or institutional level, where agreements can be reached collaboratively rather than being mandated. See Murray (1994) for a detailed discussion of the use of portfolios as assessment tools.

7. The participating institutions should develop a collective bank of exit essay prompts.

Conclusions

The five members of the project team learned much from this collaboration—about each other's programs and about articulation among colleges. For all of us, this was the first time we had looked in depth at each other's curricula, even though articulation agreements exist between the community colleges and SJSU. We were amazed at the similarities and differences across campuses. As we worked through the scoring guide for the timed essay and then the more complex guide for portfolio assessment, we learned what each valued in academic writing and were able to come to agreement. We engaged in debate and discussion about our pedagogical goals and our roles as educators. As we applied the instrument to student writing, we uncovered the different performances of students, differences often resulting from course syllabi and assignments. We also developed a richer understanding of the institutional complexities of our schools. While the SJSU classes one and two levels below freshman composition had 15 students, the equivalent at the community colleges had up to 38 students. As five colleagues working together, this newly acquired understanding was reward enough.

But, the project also had tangible benefits to our home institutions. One college gave reassigned time to a faculty member to develop coursewide holistically graded essay assessment. Another reworked the curriculum to incorporate reading and writing. Another made fully developed essays, rather than paragraphs, the major form of writing at all levels.

However, we also found (as we had done in the two previous projects) that comparability across segments is an impossible goal because of institutional demands. Articulating courses does not result in equal outcomes for students—or conditions for instructors. We began a conversation about our interdependent roles as educators within our local area, a conversation that was not to continue because funding for CCC/CSU Joint Projects has been discontinued. How can we continue this dialogue unfunded? Even the three grants we did receive gave no reassigned time—only funding for supplies, data analysis by a statistician, payment for faculty essay readers, and a graduate student from SJSU to coordinate the project. The numerous sessions to examine syllabi and to develop scoring guides and portfolio assessments we accomplished on our own time because we are reflective professionals who work to improve our own instruction and that at our institutions. Continuing the dialogue with no funding is not feasible, given faculty workloads.

I believe such dialogue is essential because the collaboration on these projects is articulation. Administrative agreements are not. Only the former can lead to educational change that ultimately affects our students' learning and lives. ■

Endnotes:

1. The project team was Carol Abate (West Valley College), Allison Heisch (SJSU), Alice Gosak (San José City College), Kurt Gravenhorst (Foothill College), and Nick Roberts (Cabrillo College).

2. Many faculty participated in this project, too many to cite here.

3. The project team was Gretchen Biswell (SJSU), Alice Gosak (San José City College), Patricia Nichols (SJSU), Carol Wilson (Mission College), and Karen Yoshihara (Foothill College). In addition, many faculty and students from each institution participated.

4. Since then, the Intersegmental Council of Academic Senates (ICAS) has convened a committee that has developed a draft framework for the language education of ESL students across segments, called *California Pathways*.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Establishing Partnerships: San Diego County ESL Articulation Group

A Simple Beginning

The San Diego County ESL Articulation Group traces its origins back to a San Diego regional CATESOL conference where its members first gathered in an informal get-together of ESL professionals working at the high school, adult education, community college, and university levels. It was a gathering for the discussion of common issues, a relatively unstructured meeting organized by two community college faculty. We met this way two years in a row at the regional conference, with a surprisingly large group of participants from all of these segments. Most of our discussion was informal, focusing on the problems our students had when they went on to the next level; we were trying to find out more about what other levels did in their ESL classes. Eventually, a small, dedicated, core group of ESL faculty from most of the area's seven community colleges (CCs) and one person each from the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) and San Diego State University (SDSU) began meeting regularly[1]. Since then, the San Diego County ESL Articulation Group, with representatives from nine area institutions of higher education, has gained a few visitors and lost a few members, but now, nearly five years later, it is still in action, meeting monthly, with a strong sense of purpose and a feeling that we have already accomplished important things.

The basic group came together informally at first, with such goals as to share information on how we ran our programs, to problem solve on various issues, to commiserate over ESL teachers' difficult lot in life, and to ask the advice of others teaching and working in programs similar to ours who might already have been through situations we were beginning to face. We also wanted to investigate issues such as the barriers preventing students from progressing through our sequences of required courses, the unacceptably large number of transfer students who were failing to pass competency exams at the four-year universities, the inconsistent course numbering systems that existed from college to college, and the gaps in curricula at our respective institutions.

Among the other issues that our mostly CC-level members were having to deal with at this time included:

- the recently instituted requirement that all CCs meet state-mandated placement standards in ESL, English, and math, as handed down by the state CC chancellor's office, and particularly the requirement that we validate our placement instruments within a certain allotted time period,
- the constant barrage (we felt) of problems from our institutions and our administrations, including the lack of funding, the extremely large ESL classes (often 30 to 40 in a composition course), and the undefined relationship between ESL and developmental English courses, and
- the lack of clear guidelines for establishing the credit status of ESL courses from among noncredit, nondegree-applicable credit, associate degree credit, and transfer credit (see Garlow, this volume, for further descriptions of the differences among these types of credit).

Needless to say, we felt that we faced many difficult problems, and we saw this articulation group as a place where we could meet with others like us to seek solutions.

Articulation Group Projects

A Chart of ESL Course Equivalency

One of the first projects of this group was to compile a chart showing equivalencies among levels of ESL writing courses offered at each of our institutions[2] (see Appendix A). While this did not initially seem like such a complex task, we soon realized that we didn't even have a system for comparing our different courses from institution to institution. Finally, after much confusion of terms and course numbers, we determined that the most useful way to do this was according to (a) the level of the course in relation to freshman composition, and (b) the type of credit each course offered. The wide variety of credit types assigned to various ESL courses at our schools is indicative of the lack of uniform treatment of ESL courses and content from institution to institution (see also Garlow, this volume). To our knowledge, the resulting comparison chart was the first attempt to determine approximate course equivalencies for our area's ESL programs.

A Survey of ESL Transfer Students

Our articulation group became more formally organized when we decided to conduct a pilot survey of ESL students at our local CSU (California State University; in this case, SDSU) and discovered that a very large number of the ESL CC transfer students were being placed back into developmental or prefreshman ESL writing courses, even though many had already taken freshman composition, and in some cases, had even taken the sophomore writing course at local CCs (see Ching, McKee, & Ford; Lane, Brinton, & Erickson; and Murray, this volume, for similar findings). In other words, many of these students had already taken transfer-level writing courses at the local CCs, but when tested after transferring to SDSU, they were judged as unable to meet the lower division writing competency requirement, and were put back into prefreshman writing courses.

The Establishing Partnerships Grant

In the fall of 1993, our articulation group applied for and received a small grant[1] to work on these issues. The proposed work included conducting a more complete survey of ESL transfer students in our region and obtaining a countywide writing sample for the purpose of determining whether the one-level-below-freshman courses at each of our institutions truly represented similar writing competency levels. Although we had been meeting for the previous two years on our own time and at our own expense, we had hoped that the grant would provide a small amount of compensation for the significant amount of effort we were making on top of full-time teaching loads. Ironically, when we were awarded the grant, the small amount we had requested as compensation for our time was deleted from the award amount because the grant committee felt that this was work we should be doing as a regular part of our jobs! We were chagrined to learn this because, as far as we were aware, we were the only such group meeting countywide at the time. Nevertheless, the grant spurred our efforts on significantly.

A Countywide Sample of ESL Student Writing

In an effort to make further comparisons of the course content, exit standards, and overall expectations in equivalent courses at our different schools, we decided to administer a writing sample to students across the county. Thus, we searched for a prompt which would:

(a) be culturally unbiased,

(b) allow either a personal or impersonal (general) response,

(c) offer some basic guidance to students on how they might develop an essay in response,

(d) elicit some analysis of ideas, not just an enumeration of facts or opinions,

(e) ask for information from the students which would not require speculation, and

(f) be a topic on which students could comfortably write an essay of significant length.

We initially wrote two prompts which fulfilled our criteria, field-tested them, and finally settled on the one that seemed best suited for our purposes (See Appendix B).

After pilot testing this prompt at several of our institutions, we administered it to ESL students in two one-level-below-freshman composition classes at each of the schools represented in our group. On some campuses, the prompt was also given to students at other levels for purposes of comparison. Then, a scoring rubric was designed and, with input from all of our articulation group's members, a selection of benchmark essays was identified from the essays collected. These benchmark essays represented the range of student competencies at this level.

A Revised Survey of Transfer Students at SDSU

Our articulation group also revised the survey instrument used for our initial pilot study at SDSU. We administered it again in a more comprehensive manner to all of the ESL writing courses at SDSU during the fall semester of 1994. These comprised a total of 13 classes, distributed across the developmental, lower division, and upper division levels in the following manner:

Type of Course	Classes	Classes
Developmental	RW 94 (3 sections)	RW 95 (4 sections)
Lower Division	Linguistics 100 (1 section)	Linguistics 200 (2 sections)
Upper Division	Linguistics 305W (3 sections)	

Students who transfer to SDSU must fulfill a lower division writing competency requirement. Typically, they take SDSU's Writing Competency Test (WCT). Students who do not pass the WCT are referred to a developmental writing class in the department of rhetoric and writing (RW) studies. ESL developmental students are asked to produce a brief writing sample to determine whether they would benefit from a writing course designed for second language learners. Such students are then advised to enroll in RW 94 or 95. Once the lower division competency requirement is fulfilled, students have the option of taking subsequent writing courses for ESL students (Linguistics 100, 200, & 305W) to fulfill the freshman composition or upper division writing requirements.

Results of the survey

Table 1 (below) indicates that an average of 61% of the students enrolled in the two developmental ESL classes (RW 94 and 95) had transferred from a CC.

Table 1
History of Community College (CC) Transfers to SDSU

	Developmental ESL RW 94/95	*Freshman composition Ling. 100*	*2nd semester composition Ling. 200*	*Upper division Ling. 305W*
Percentage of Transfers	61	4	25	68
Total no. responding	104	25	28	59

Of those transfer students, virtually all (98.4%) had already completed the first semester composition requirement, as shown in Table 2. Since the RW 94/95 sequence, however, is designed to precede the RW 100 or first semester (freshman) composition course, this indicates that these students were put back into developmental writing after arriving at SDSU. In addition, nearly half (46.8%) of the transfer students enrolled in this level had also fulfilled the critical thinking or second semester composition requirement (RW 200, also indicated in Table 2).

Table 2
Percentage of CC Transfer Students in Developmental Writing With Prior Freshman Composition Credit

Student history	*Percentage*
Had fulfilled RW 100 (freshman composition)	98.4
Had fulfilled RW 200 (2nd sem. writing and critical thinking)	46.8

In contrast to the developmental classes, a much lower proportion of students enrolled in the lower division ESL courses (Linguistics 100 and 200) were transfers.

The data collected in the upper division classes yielded similar results to those obtained for the lower division students. Of the students enrolled in upper division ESL composition, 68% had transferred from a community college (Table 3).

Table 3
Upper Division ESL Students

Student history	*Percentage*
Transfer	68
Had taken 1st sem. freshman comp. at CC	75
Had taken 2nd sem. freshman comp. at CC	69

Note. Total = 59

Among the transfer students, 62.5% had already fulfilled the freshman writing requirement before transferring, but then had to take a developmental writing course (Table 4). Even more surprising, 55% had fulfilled both the 100 and the 200 level requirements *before* transferring but still needed to take developmental writing because of their inability to pass the WCT.

Table 4
Upper Division Transfers

Student history	*Percentage*
Had taken 1st sem. comp. at CC and then took developmental writing	62.5
Had taken 2nd sem. comp. at CC and then took developmental writing	55

The information obtained from the survey indicated that a large proportion of ESL students who had transferred from a CC to SDSU had had to backtrack and take developmental writing even though they might have completed transfer-credit-bearing composition courses before entering SDSU.

Clearly these data indicate a problematic transition to the CSU for many ESL transfer students. They strongly suggest the need for continued articulation efforts between the CSU and the CC systems, particularly with respect to the competency levels required for students having completed lower division writing or GE requirements.

Academic Histories of ESL Students at SDSU

The broad academic histories of students in the various levels (Table 5) indicated that the transfer students who needed to backtrack when entering SDSU had had relatively less schooling in the US than those who did not. For example, of the RW 94/95 students, only 58.7% had attended a U.S. high school, compared to 84% of the Linguistics 100 students and 92.9% of the 200 students. Similarly, 32.7% of the RW 94/95 students had attended a U.S. junior high school in contrast to 68% of the Linguistics 100 students and 71.4% of the 200 students.

Table 5
Levels of Schooling in the U.S.[a]

	94/95	*100*	*200*	*305W*
Preschool	1	20	10.7	6.8
Elementary	17.3	56	46.4	30.5
Jr. High School	32.7	68	71.4	50.8
High School	58.7	84	92.9	62.7
Adult Education	5.8	4	0.0	5.1
Comm. College	63.5	24	71.4	94.9

[a] Percentage of total responding for each course.

Table 5 also shows that 94.5% of the upper division ESL students (i.e., those enrolled in Linguistics 305W) had fulfilled some requirements at a community college, even if they were not officially transfer students. The data in Table 5 indicate that ESL students rely heavily on CCs to fulfill language and other requirements. Moreover, CCs bear the particularly heavy burden of offering language instruction to students who arrive relatively late in their academic careers.

Individual Interviews of ESL Transfer Students at SDSU

The results of the SDSU survey indicated that, of the ESL students who had transferred to SDSU, many had taken their language courses at a CC before they transferred. In an attempt to follow up on these findings, the articulation group decided to conduct personal interviews with a number of the students in the ESL writing courses at SDSU. Ten of these interviews were conducted in December, 1995, and members of the group are now engaged in analyzing them to identify what factors contributed to the students' passing freshman- and sophomore-level writing courses at the CCs (often with grades of B and C), but later being required to take developmental writing upon transfer to SDSU.

Preliminary evaluation indicates that ESL students have been placed in developmental ESL writing courses via several avenues. Some reported that they took ESL placement tests and consistently followed their placement counselors' and instructors' advice in making their way through the ESL course sequence in a community college before transferring to SDSU but still ended up needing additional (developmental) ESL instruction. These students said they felt they had done everything right along the way and were never told by their instructors that their English skills were lacking. If they had been, they would have studied even harder or sought other remedies to make sure they were ready for university-level writing courses.

Other students reported that they were in a hurry to complete their ESL requirements and had bypassed several required courses on the way through the ESL and developmental sequence at the community college they had attended. (When further questioned, they reported that no one had checked to see if they had met the prerequisites for these courses.) Along the way, in order to pass their courses, students of both groups reported that they had obtained a significant amount of help from tutors and friends and that they had often had their papers "corrected" by tutors before handing them in. Thus, some of them believed that their instructors often had had no idea of their inadequate writing skills while they were in their courses. In this manner, they had managed to pass through sophomore-level English courses at the community college before being put "back" into developmental courses upon transfer to SDSU. While these reports are still preliminary, they offer us a glimpse into some of the problems that ESL and English faculty can begin to address.

An ESL Student Textbook List

The articulation group also put together a preliminary list of the ESL textbooks being used at each of our institutions. While no additional work has been done with this unedited list, the group hopes to make this the focus of future meetings.

Other Important Outcomes of the Articulation Group's Efforts

Many of the projects of the San Diego County ESL Articulation Group are still underway. We hope to complete the holistic evaluation of the ESL student writing samples that we gathered from each of our institutions and from which we have developed our benchmark essays. It is our hope that they will ultimately lead to a system for comparing standards and expectations for the prefreshman level. We are also in the process of analyzing the oral interviews conducted at SDSU, and we hope to make our preliminary textbook list into a reference for choosing and evaluating future texts in our programs. However, we have already seen many important accomplishments, including:

(a) an increased understanding of issues in the teaching of ESL at levels other than our own,

(b) more confidence in the way we are each developing our programs, including less reinventing of the wheel in terms of program administration and new course ideas,

(c) increased respect for our plans for future ESL program development from many of our colleagues in our respective departments (e.g., from having seen the results of our survey),

(d) personal support from other members of the group for job-related problems, and

(e) increased awareness of statewide (legislative and other) ESL issues affecting the CC/College/University levels.

Future Plans for the Articulation Group

Our hope is that the continued collaboration of our articulation group will lead to more sharing of techniques, policies, and standards which will contribute to more coordination and better sequencing of ESL course outlines, better conformity to the state-mandated validation of ESL assessment and placement instruments, better standardization of placement procedures for ESL students, improved ESL curricula, more consistency and standardization of supplementary ESL textbook and multimedia selections, and the linking of our courses to statewide ESL proficiency level descriptors (See Browning, this volume).

It is also our hope to generate a document which will compare what students need for (a) placement into our different CC ESL courses, (b) the successful completion of writing requirements, so that accurate information can be given to students while they are in the CC ESL course sequences, and even before they transfer, and (c) a description of the writing competency standards expected of students transferring to the CSU. Finally, we would like to produce a handbook containing the results of our efforts and a chart comparing course equivalents of all ESL courses and other documents, to be disseminated in handbook form to counselors and other staff who work with ESL students at our own and other CC, CSU, and UC institutions.

The work of the San Diego County ESL Articulation Group is far from over. As observed by Flachman & Pluta and Murray (this volume), future financial support to provide release time for our members would contribute significantly toward facilitating the work of this group. Nevertheless, a general enthusiasm about working with others like ourselves and a strong belief in the value of this work keeps us going. ■

Endnotes

1. The core members of the group, which has met for much of the past five years, include:

   Virginia Berger/Patricia Bennett, Grossmont College
   Katheryn Garlow, Palomar College
   Anne Ediger, San Diego City College
   Myra Harada/Neva Turoff, San Diego Mesa College
   Clara Blenis, San Diego Miramar College
   Suzanne McKewon, Southwestern College
   Deborah Poole, San Diego State University
   Margaret Loken, University of California, San Diego

2. Although we initially started out to determine the equivalency of the ESL courses we offered (including courses in such areas as grammar and oral skills), we soon found that the task was much greater than we had originally thought and not every program offered the whole range of courses. Thus, we decided to first address writing courses since we all offered them.

3. The grant was funded by the Establishing Partnerships Joint Project Grants through the California Community Colleges Academic Senate and Chancellor's Office for projects coordinating activities between the CCs, CSU, and the UC.

Appendix A—Comparison of ESL Writing Courses at San Diego County Community Colleges and Universities

College Name	SDCCD (City, Mesa, Miramar)	Grossmont	Southwestern	Palomar	Mira Costa	SDSU	UCSD
Upper Division	None	None	None	None	None	Ling 300W (3) NNS	None
Transfer Credit —G.E. (as Foreign Lang & Culture)	None	None	None	ESL 101 (5) CSU Cred ESL 102 (5) CSU Cred ESL 101 (5) CSU Cred	None	N/A	N/A
Transfer Credit —Electives	None	ESL 103 (3) UC & CSU Credit ESL 102 (3) UC & CSU Credit	None	ESL 103 (5) UC Cred ESL 102 (5) UC Cred	None	N/A	ESL 10 (4 qtr units) [illegible]
Transfer Credit —English (Freshman or Sophomore Level Composition)	ENG 208 (3) ENG 205 (3) ENG 101 (3) ENG 105 (3)	ENG 124 (3) (Lit.) ENG 120 (3) ENG 110 (3)—SDSU only—meets Eng. 100 req. if part of 39 unit pkg. (NS & NNS Sections Avail.)	ENG 116 (3) ENG 115 (3)	ENG 203 (4) UC & CSU Credit ENG 202 (4) UC & CSU Credit ENG 100 (4)	ENG 202 (4) ENG 201 (4) ENG 100 (4)	NS: RW* 200 NNS: LING 200 (3) each NS: RW 100 NNS: LING 100 (3 each)	College Writing Req. (4-5 qtr. units) [illegible] 2-3 qtr. sequence
AA Degree Applicable Credit	ENG 51 (3)	NS ENG 103 (3)	ENG 105—Voc. (3) ENG 114—Acad. (3) ESL 45 (4)	ENG 50 (4)	ENG 80 (4)	N/A	N/A
Non-Degree Applicable Credit (Financial Aid/ Workload Credit only)	NS[a] ENG 50 (3) NNS[b] ENG 10 ENG 09 ENG 08 ENG 07 ENG 06 (6) each (Wrt & Rdg)	NS ENG 95/96/97 (1, 2, 3) (variable unit workshop) NNS ESL 96/97 (3) ESL 94/95 (3)	NS ENG 65 (1) ENG 60 (3) NNS ESL 33 (4) ESL 25 (4)	NS: ENG 10 (4) NNS: ESL 1 (4) (12 hrs/wk) Levels 1–7 (Cr/NC tog) (Lec/Lab)	NS: ENG 802(4) ENG 850 (gram) NNS: ESL 803(4) ESL 802(4) (repeatable) ESL 899 ESL 898 (non-cred) Depts.	NS: RW* 92A/B (3) NNS: RW* 94/95 (3) (Repeatable) *Courses in dept. of rhetoric & writing studies, formerly under English or acad. skills	ESL 10 (4) (May be repeated [illegible] work load credit) ESL 11 (2) Grammar Workshop

Source: San Diego County Community College/University ESL Articulation Group, May 12, 1996

Note: [a]NS=Native speakers (of English); [b]NNS=Nonnative speakers (of English); [c]( ): Indicates number of units of credit
When not identified specifically as NNS or ESL, all courses are for mixed NS/NNS students.

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Appendix B

Instructions for Administering the Countywide Writing Sample of the San Diego ESL Articulation Project

Remind students—during the class period before the sample is to be done—to be on time so they can use the full class period.

When the writing sample is taken:

1. Distribute the writing prompt sheet. Write the class section numbers on the board.
2. Ask students to fill out the bottom portion of the sheet.
3. Say: "This is a timed writing. Consider it as representative of the best writing you are capable of doing at this point in the term."
4. Read prompt aloud to the students.
5. Ask: "Are there any questions?"
6. Answer all questions as time permits.
7. Say: "You will have 50 minutes to write. Write in ink, skip lines, and write on only one side of each page. Begin."

At the end of 50 minutes:

1. Say: "Time is up. Put your pens down and hand in your papers. Staple your prompt sheets to the back of your papers."

Prompt Sheet

Topic: *What is a hero? Most cultures have heroes who represent qualities (such as courage or wisdom) that people admire most. Heroes can be found in areas such as education, religion, government, science, entertainment or sports. Select someone that many people think is a hero and discuss why they admire him or her. Name the person, describe what the person has done, and explain what qualities have made him or her a hero.*

Write an essay in response to the above question. Make sure your essay is well organized and the points you make are well developed. Information may come from a variety of sources: personal experience, movies or TV programs, class discussions, observations, or materials you have read.

The CATESOL Journal

KIM FLACHMANN
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Building Bridges: Articulating Writing Programs Between Two- and Four-Year Colleges

In the past, Bakersfield College (one of 105 California community colleges) and California State University, Bakersfield (one of 20 state university campuses), have suffered through years of jealousy and mistrust that very few of the current faculty at either school even understood. We just carried on the "tradition. "Although we serve the same population, we have developed standards of placement and assessment independently. Even though this practice seemed reasonable, it did not always serve the best interests of our students, especially those who planned to transfer from one institution to the other. In addition, the two schools (the only options for higher education in Bakersfield) have not always communicated standards, changes in policies, and reasons for such changes with each other. As a result, students have found themselves trying to meet two sets of requirements, often resulting in frustration and anger directed at one or both institutions. Faculty members responsible for formulating policy regarding assessment and placement did not have a way to learn from each other's successes or mistakes. The need for improved communication leading to formal articulation agreements and issue resolution was clear, a typical problem between most competing two- and four-year schools in the same geographic areas.

Putting pride aside, two faculty members (one from each campus) applied for and received a grant[1] to begin to pull together these diverse communities. We were unsure where we were headed, but we were determined to take the journey together. We called the project "Building Bridges: Articulating Placement and Assessment Procedures in Writing Courses at BC and CSUB."

Throughout the project, we focused on key areas for both campuses: assessment for placement, developmental standards, freshman composition standards, and proficiency standards for the two- and four-year degrees. Although not originally a part of the proposal, English as a second language and speakers of nonstandard dialects became ongoing topics of discussion as well. The goal of the project was not to duplicate one another's programs; we wanted to learn more about each other's programs so that we could develop formal articulation agreements and a better understanding of each other's institutions.

For each of the topics or phases of the project, the faculty from both campuses visited the other campus to become familiar with its procedures. We then met on neutral ground to discuss the information presented. As we became more comfortable with one another, our discussions became more candid and informative, with both groups admitting difficulties we face in placing and assessing students at all levels. We met a total of 11 times: seven at the campuses and four on neutral territory.

Objective

The two schools are somewhat isolated geographically and needed to work together to ensure effective placement into and smooth transfer from one institution to the other. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in the past, due perhaps to misunderstandings. Because of this, the primary objective of the project was to open new and improve old lines of communication between the two schools. Both schools were misinformed about each other's programs. So an additional objective was to learn more about the programs at several different levels, to share relevant documents, and to discover whether any agreements could be formally articulated. Any such agreements would simplify both the assessment process and the transfer process.

Everyone would agree that students in any institution benefit from well-conceived, coherent assessment procedures. As White (1985) points out, the links between effective assessment and successful instruction are undeniable. Everyone profits from a sound assessment program on any level: entering students, transfer students, and graduating students. Thus, the primary goal of this grant proposal from Bakersfield College (BC) and California State University, Bakersfield (CSUB), was to coordinate placement and assessment procedures in both institutions' writing programs.

We easily divided our major goal of coordinating assessment and placement procedures into five subdivisions as follows:

(a) to articulate placement agreements for entering students at both institutions;

(b) to compare developmental performance standards;

(c) to coordinate our freshman composition course goals and grading standards;

(d) to participate in the lower division final exam process; and

(e) to correlate proficiency standards on both campuses.

We then developed each of these goals into a phase of our project, consisting of four activities: (a) an exchange of documents (such as test questions, grading rubrics, department policies, exam formats, course descriptions, course syllabi, and sample student papers); (b) open discussion moving toward clear, workable resolutions for both campuses; (c) a succinct statement of guidelines pertaining to the subject under discussion; and (d) formative and summative evaluation of the entire project, performed by an expert in writing assessment from the high school district office. This evaluation process was predominantly advisory, providing us insight into the effect each set of agreements would have on the secondary schools; however, it also helped us set up the criteria to be used for the summative evaluation at the end of the project.

Finally, we had some secondary agenda items for both our short- and long-term plans. For the short term, we wanted to (a) standardize our references and acronyms on both campuses so communication would be easier for faculty and students; (b) consolidate some of our committees so they would either meet jointly or report regularly to one another; and (c) explore the use of computers for diagnosis at each performance level in our writing programs. For the longer term, we hoped to share more writing faculty on two different levels: (a) part-time faculty (with master's degrees) and (b) teaching assistants trained in the CSUB English department's MA program and then placed in appropriate courses at either the state college or the community college.

Methods and Implementation

The entire project was codirected by the English department liaison to the director of assessment at Bakersfield College and the coordinator of writing programs at California State University, Bakersfield, with the BC representative serving as the primary investigator. Each of them had limited released time to work on the project. Also directly involved in the grant were the CSUB English department chair and the BC division head, both of whom participated in the initial brainstorming sessions for this proposal.

The consultant for the project, who directs the Kern High School District's Writing Proficiency Program, played an integral role in helping the project directors focus on particular issues to consider at each workshop. She read the evaluations from each of the sessions and the workshops (which she attended), using these comments to help direct the focus of future meetings. She also acted as a representative of the high school community, giving us important feedback about what the high schools needed from the two institutions of higher education (for example, more placement information, more material about expectations on the college level, etc).

Scheduling was one of the first and most important issues we dealt with upon receiving the grant. With personal calendars in hand, the directors met frequently with each other, with campus representatives, and with department members to determine the best dates and times so that as many faculty as possible could participate. We chose Monday through Thursday afternoons for the campus sessions and Friday afternoons for the off-campus workshops. We scheduled two sessions for each phase, one at each campus to explain a particular process and to allow participation. A joint workshop then followed to explore issues which arose from the campus sessions. Additionally, representatives from both campuses made brief presentations regarding the focus of the workshop.

Prior to our first phase, we distributed a sign-up sheet asking English faculty from both campuses to volunteer for one or more of the activities in the five phases of the grant; they were able to choose from among the information exchange, the open discussion, and/or the holistic reading activities in each phase. Both campuses have had so much interest in this kind of collaborative work that about 70% of the department at each school decided to participate in at least one of the five phases. A typical faculty member signed up for only one norming session, but usually two or three information exchanges. In any case, all department members on both campuses received copies of the paper work generated from each of our joint sessions.

Our schedule took shape as follows:

Figure 1
Schedule

Phase 1: Placement

BC placement essay norming
CSU English Placement Test (EPT)
EPT placement procedures
Placement workshop

Phase 2: Developmental English

English 100 Qualifying Exam: norming and grading
BC English 60 Exam: norming
Developmental standards workshop

Phase 3: Freshman Composition

CSUB Common Essay: norming and grading
Freshman composition workshop

Phase 4/5: Proficiency Standards

CSUB Upper Division Writing Competency Exam: norming and grading
BC Writing Competency Test: norming
Proficiency standards workshop

We implemented our plan in the following way:

Phase 1: Placement Agreements

At the beginning of our schedule, we concentrated on the procedures both campuses use for placing students in appropriate writing classes. For CSUB, this involves the systemwide English Placement Test (EPT); for BC, placement is determined by an objective test and an essay read holistically by English faculty who participate in a general norming session at the beginning of each school term. In this first phase, after the exchange of documents and the open discussion, self-selected CSUB writing faculty participated in the community college training and reading. In like manner, community college faculty took part in the placement of CSU students based on the state EPT results. We both streamlined our placement efforts as much as possible and recorded the correlations we established for both developmental (those courses considered by each campus to be below freshman composition) and lower division (our separate two-course freshman writing sequence) composition courses. Before this grant, CSUB and BC had no articulation agreements based on placement test scores, so we investigated and began to solve some of the problems arising from two different assessment instruments. These primarily involved the types of questions on each test, the criteria used for scoring each test, and the interpretation of the results. We completed this phase by meeting with our consultant from the high school district to discuss our placement agreements and our plans to implement these agreements.

Phase 2: Developmental Standards

This second phase focused on developmental performance standards. This is an area in which CSUB and BC have met their respective students' needs but have never discussed mutually relevant issues at any length. In our brainstorming sessions for this proposal, we found an unexpected number of similarities in our two developmental programs. We began this phase with an exchange of documents and an open discussion about the issues related to developmental composition. As we moved toward various resolutions and a specific statement about local developmental standards, including an articulation agreement equating our various developmental levels on both campuses, we participated in each campus' diagnosis and assessment of these students. Specifically, CSUB has a qualifying exam that consists of one essay graded holistically to determine whether or not the students are ready for freshman composition; BC has a department final exam. In each case, faculty from the two campuses participated in the norming sessions and, when possible, in the holistic reading on the other campus. We ended this phase with some outside advice from our evaluator about our individual assessment procedures for developmental students and of the accuracy of comparisons of courses on the two campuses. Most importantly, she advised us to become fully acquainted with each other's testing procedures and to use each other's assessment instruments when possible.

Phase 3: Freshman Composition Standards

Phase 3 addressed the freshman composition standards on both campuses. Although both schools accepted each other's courses in freshman writing, we knew little about each other's diagnosis and evaluation within the courses themselves. During this phase of our project, we exchanged scoring rubrics, goals statements, course outlines, and sample student papers; we also scheduled an open discussion of issues related to freshman composition. Other activities at this stage centered around the Common Essay given for assessment at midterm by CSUB. In the middle of each quarter, all students in composition classes write an inclass essay on one of two topics. These essays are then holistically graded by a panel of composition instructors. This holistic reading gives CSUB faculty a chance to talk about course goals and grading standards from developmental to senior-level writing. At this point, BC looked at CSUB grading standards and explored the advantages and disadvantages of extending this assessment procedure to their campus. To conclude this phase, we recorded our collective insights and agreements regarding freshman composition in particular and consulted with our outside evaluator.

Phase 4: Lower Division Exit Exams

Next, we focused our attention in particular on BC's Writing Competency Exam for their introductory freshman composition course. At present, this essay exam, graded holistically, determines whether or not a student passes the first semester of freshman composition; it also serves as the proficiency exam for students' AA degrees. In this case, following our routine exchange of documents and open discussion, CSUB faculty participated in the norming session for this end-of-course assessment procedure, working to establish correlations between course goals and grading standards on both campuses. We also looked at assessment and grading standards across the disciplines through our separate writing-across-the-curriculum programs. All observations were carefully recorded in a summary statement for this phase and were fine tuned with the help of our outside consultant.

Phase 5: Proficiency Standards

Our last phase concentrated on the proficiency standards in place on both campuses. Both BC and CSUB require proof of writing competency before students graduate. At our brainstorming sessions for this proposal, we discovered that we both administer essay questions that require argumentative responses. After we exchanged and discussed relevant documents, we discussed establishing a local topic bank that both schools contribute to and can draw from (even though we demand different levels of performance in response to the questions). We also participated in the norming sessions for each other's holistic readings of these separate competency exams and, when possible, in the holistic readings themselves. We concluded with some statements for the outside consultant about local proficiency standards for the AA and the BA degrees, which, along with all of our other agreements, will be duplicated and circulated to the high schools in our service areas.

In every phase, each campus demonstrated for the other campus a particular placement process or assessment instrument at various levels of its program. As part of the demonstration, the visiting campus then participated in some part of the actual evaluation process and returned to its own campus with a new understanding and usually an appreciation for their colleagues' procedures at the other school.

At the end of each phase, we scheduled a workshop on neutral territory to discuss the similarities and differences in our procedures at each level of our writing programs and to see if we could reach any agreements to avoid duplication of efforts in instruction or assessment. Once trust had been built up on the human level and faculty had actually worked with each other's material, the agreements came naturally.

Outcomes

The proposed formal articulation of placement standards and curriculum, a result of the project, affected students directly by simplifying the processes for entering either institution and transferring from one institution to the other. Within this framework, faculty were given an opportunity for professional growth by learning more about each other's programs, goals, and concerns, all of which were similar at the two schools. In addition, the grant participants expressed a desire for continuing the process by meeting again to discuss various issues introduced during the project. Finally, faculty suggested other subject areas for future meetings, such as the literature survey course taught at both schools. Most importantly, both schools used the project to reexamine their programs and to initiate further in-house discussions.

As a result, communication has improved internally on both campuses. The English department at BC has included the ESL department in its discussion of the proposed resolutions. Also, the BC project director has made presentations to her president's cabinet and then to her counseling department—as a means of explaining the project and improving communication. Similar meetings have occurred on the CSUB campus, most particularly with the learning disabilities office.

The most important changes are the formal resolutions which articulate placement into and successful completion of courses at both campuses, including developmental English, ESL, and freshman composition. These resolutions, once approved by both schools, were shared with all departments at BC and CSUB and with the feeder high schools.

Our most tangible product was the resource manual[1] that we published, including placement procedures and new articulation agreements between the schools. Course descriptions, outlines, sample syllabi, and assignments for all writing courses at both campuses form the heart of the publication. This manual was distributed not only to both BC and CSUB English faculty but also to key personnel at all of the high schools in our common service area. The demand for this book has been overwhelming. We even received orders for the manual from elementary schools and from counselors at all levels. It is seen in our local community as an agreed-upon statement about the requirements and demands of higher education in our area. The book itself has had several uses in the community that range from counseling to academic preparation for college.

Continuing to Build Bridges

Both schools have followed up on these grant activities in a variety of ways:

First, we continue to participate in each other's grading sessions. In addition, the community college project director has participated in California State University readings on the state level.

In close collaborative fashion, the project directors have also delivered six professional papers together on topics ranging from teaching literature to funding grant proposals.

In addition, the community college district made a joint 1991 Innovator of the Year Award to both project directors—breaking years of tradition by giving a community college award to a CSU faculty member.

And finally, the two schools continue to meet throughout the year—at informal local exchanges regarding the writing curriculum and at an annual scheduled retreat when the writing faculty from both campuses retreat to the mountains for a full day to discuss the curriculum and any pressing related issues.

Recommendations

Here are our best recommendations for other schools attempting to replicate this project:

1. Make sure the director(s) have enough assigned time.

2. Include key people in all brainstorming and initial planning sessions (department chairs, division chairs).

3. Include a wide variety of colleagues in planning and presentations so they feel more involved and committed.

4. Keep everyone, including nonparticipants, informed of developments through regular communication.

5. Recognize professional expertise by paying all presenters and participants.

6. Talk regularly to your counterpart(s) at the other campus.

7. Make a conscious and continuous effort to keep the lines of communication open after the formal aspect of your project is complete.

Conclusion

Participants filled out evaluation forms along the way. Over and over participants stressed the comfortable atmosphere and pleasure in getting to know one another. Relationships began to form as participants met at more than one session of the project. Future working relationships began to be established. We also received constant feedback from a third community—our outside consultant from the Writing Proficiency program in the Kern High School District and our direct link to the high school English department chairs.

"Building Bridges" proved to be an apt title for the project, for we have indeed begun to build bridges of communication, understanding, and respect. These opportunities for professional growth were unparalleled in our region, and we are confident that they can be replicated in any academic setting. The focus of this project was on this union of three communities with all of the attendant variations of that mission. This project not only improved relationships among the schools at all levels but, most importantly, improved our students' lives. ■

Endnotes

1. This project was funded jointly by the chancellors' offices of both the California Community Colleges and the California State University.

2. Each faculty member was released from one course of her normal teaching load for the academic year. Each school also employed one student assistant.

3. To receive a copy of the manual used in the scoring process please contact Kim Flachmann at English Department, CSUB, 9001 Stockdale Highway, Bakersfield, CA 93309 or e-mail KFlachmann@academic.csubak.edu

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The CATESOL Journal

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Noncredit to Credit Articulation: The City College of San Francisco Model

City College of San Francisco serves approximately 21,000 students a semester in our noncredit program and 4,000 students in our credit program. FTE for noncredit is approximately 5,500 and for credit, 1,700. Over half of the students we serve are Chinese, and nearly one fifth are Hispanic. Approximately 13% of our students are Russian, and Southeast Asians make up 9% of our student population. Twenty-five percent of our noncredit students have already had some college education, and another 38% have had some high school.

Noncredit ESL classes are offered at six major campuses and numerous outside locations. Credit ESL classes were offered almost exclusively at the Phelan campus up until several years ago. Since the merger of the noncredit and credit programs, described below, a larger variety of credit classes are offered at the other campuses. The noncredit program currently offers eight levels—beginning-low 1 to intermediate-high 8. Prior to fall, 1994, the program consisted of seven levels ranging from literacy to ESL 600. Courses were revised to align with the state model standards in fall, 1994. The credit program offers seven levels ranging from beginning to low advanced as listed in Table 1.

The ESL program recognized a need to facilitate the transition of students from credit to noncredit classes in the 1980s. However, no articulation program existed. Prior to 1990, the noncredit and credit programs were administered by separate divisions at the college and, in fact, the credit ESL program was part of the English department. This meant that the administration, faculty leadership, counseling departments, and testing programs were all separate. Thus, noncredit students who wanted to take credit classes needed to fill out a separate application, take a different placement test, and negotiate the registration process on their own at a different campus, just as if it were a different institution. The ESL program began to facilitate the transition from noncredit to credit by negotiating an agreement in the early 1980s whereby students who passed a noncredit Level 600 Certificate Test were guaranteed placement into ESL 3 (now ESL 62) in the credit program, no matter how they placed on the credit placement test. However, as described here, we found that transition rates were low.

Table 1
ESL Programs at City College of San Francisco

NONCREDIT CLASSES	CREDIT CLASSES		
Course Name	*ESL Course*	*Description*	*Hours/Units*
Beginning low 1			
Beginning low 2	22	Grammar, Writing,	20 hours
Beginning high 3		Reading, Listening	10 units
Beginning high 4	32	Grammar, Writing	20 hours
Intermediate low 5		Reading, Listening	10 units
	42	Grammar & Writing	5 hours/3 units
Intermediate low 6	44	Reading & Vocabulary	5 hours/3 units
Intermediate high 7	46	Conversation Skills	3 hours/2 units
	48	42 plus 44	10 hours/6 units
	52	Grammar & Writing	5 hours/3 units
Intermediate high 8	54	Reading & Vocabulary	3 hours/2 units
(formerly ESL 600)	56	Conversation Skills	3 hours/2 units
	58	52 plus 54	8 hours/5 units
	60	Grammar	3 hours/2 units
	62	Composition	3 hours/3 units
	68	60 plus 62	6 hours/5 units
	72	Intermediate Composition	3 hours/3 units
	82	Advanced Composition	3 hours/3 units

Note. The lines indicate approximate equivalencies between the credit and noncredit programs.

OTHER NONCREDIT ESL CLASSES
Beginning Low Intensive
Beginning High Intensive
Intermediate Low Intensive
Intermediate High Intensive

OTHER CREDIT (ELECTIVE) ESL CLASSES		
49	**Pronunciation**	**3 hours/2 units**
59	**Oral Communication**	**3 hours/3 units**
71	**Editing Your Writing**	**3 hours/3 units**
79	**Speaking & Pronunciation**	**3 hours/3 units**

With the merger of the noncredit and credit divisions at City College in 1990, ESL became one department, with one faculty chair; counseling became one department as well. These changes facilitated and accelerated our efforts to develop an articulation program which has significantly increased the number of noncredit students enrolling in credit courses.

Existing Transfer Rates

To begin our investigation of the rate of movement from the noncredit to the credit programs, we decided, in the spring 1992 semester to track our noncredit Level 600 students. Level 600 (high-intermediate) was the highest level of ESL offered in the noncredit program, and we reasoned that students at this level of English competency were probably more ready than their lower level counterparts to move successfully to credit course work. Additionally, students in this level represented a relatively small and easy group to track.

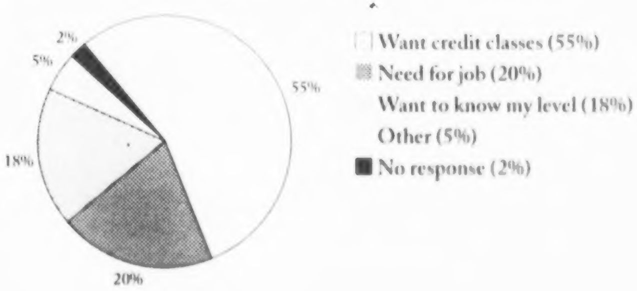
Initial investigations revealed that very few Level 600 students were moving from the noncredit to the credit programs. It became our focus to determine why this articulation was not occurring.

Upon completion of Level 600, students were eligible to take the Level 600 Certificate Test, an in-house multiple-measures tool assessing grammar, writing, listening, and oral production skills. Students who passed the Level 600 Certificate Test, in addition to receiving a certificate of program completion, were eligible for guaranteed placement into Level 3 (high intermediate) credit ESL classes. To enroll in credit classes, however, these students were required to complete the Credit Placement Test *in addition* to the Level 600 Certificate Test. Students who scored lower than Level 3 on the credit test were allowed to enter Level 3 classes based on their Level 600 exit scores. Students wishing to transfer to credit classes had to make their own arrangements to travel to one particular campus to take the Credit Placement Test and were responsible for negotiating the registration process. This apparently was not happening. Of the 66 students passing the Level 600 Certificate Test in the fall 1991 semester, only 14 took the Credit Placement Test. In spring 1992, of the 96 passing the certificate test, only 17 transferred to credit classes. Students either did not desire to transfer from noncredit to credit, or they needed assistance in making the transition.

Needs Assessment

Rather than simply speculate about reasons for the low transfer rates, we decided in the spring 1992 semester to go directly to the source for some answers. Level 600 students, we reasoned, would not have difficulty telling us what their needs were vis à vis articulation to credit. Perhaps they simply were uninterested in taking credit programs, or maybe they were having difficulty with the transition. To pinpoint why students were not transferring to the credit program, a needs assessment was conducted. All students participating in the Level 600 Certificate Test in the spring 1992 semester were asked why they were taking the exam. As can be seen in Figure 1, the majority (55%) of students indicated that they would like to take credit classes. These data strongly indicated that Level 600 students indeed wanted to go to the credit program but were encountering obstacles. Our next step was to design and implement specific changes to help students move more easily from the noncredit to the credit program.

Figure 1
Level 600 Needs Assessment Results



Development and Implementation of the Process

The Test Delivery System

It seemed obvious that requiring transferring students to test twice made movement to credit less than attractive. To overcome this obstacle, the ESL department decided in the fall 1992 semester to give Level 600 students the Credit Placement Test in lieu of the traditional Level 600 Certificate Test. Equivalency scores were generated to ensure that those students not wishing to go to credit classes could receive a certificate of completion while those indicating a desire to transfer would receive accurate placement.

To eliminate the problems that students wishing to transfer to credit might have had regarding the logistics of testing and registration, testing was moved from the unfamiliar "credit" campus to a campus closer and more familiar to the noncredit student population.

Faculty Advisors

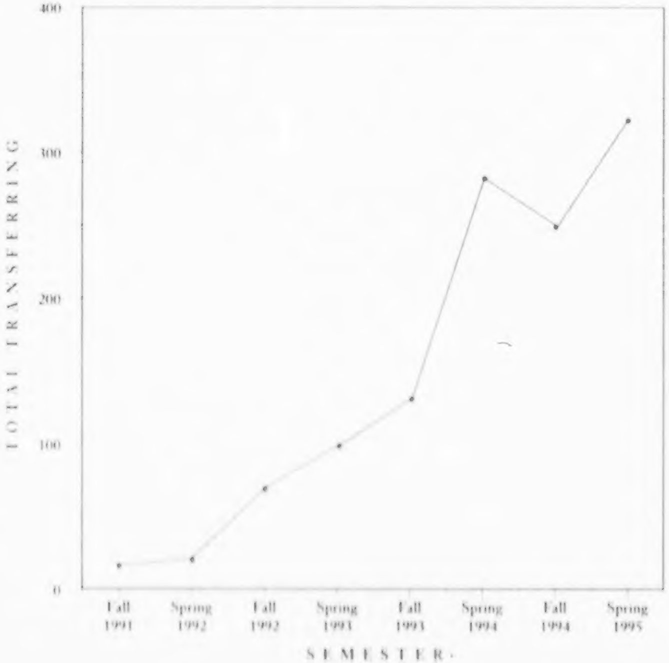
To ensure that students enrolled in Level 600 made informed choices about their academic future and received the help they needed in moving into the credit sector, faculty members from each of the five major campuses offering noncredit classes were hired as faculty advisors. The advisors, working with campus counselors, visited the Level 600 classrooms to discuss the differences between noncredit and credit curricula and assisted students in determining their academic goals. Following testing, those students wishing to transfer to credit classes were asked to attend special registration and orientation sessions.

Results

Conducting a needs assessment, changing the test delivery system, and introducing the use of faculty advisors and counselors produced a dramatic change in the number of Level 600 students transferring to credit. As Figure 2 indicates, a total of 62 Level 600 students transferred to credit in the fall 1992 semester, a significant increase from the two previous semesters. Naturally, we were delighted with these results and felt that we were well on our way to creating a good working model of articulation. Since 1992, we have tinkered with the system in a variety of ways to make transfer as easy as possible for those students interested.

Figure 2

Total Number of Students Transferring to Credit by Semester



Refining the Process

Once our basic model of articulation was developed, we began to look at specific points in the process with an eye toward refinement. It was not enough just to change the test delivery system and introduce faculty advisors; we wanted to gain the buy-in of other departments in our efforts. To that end, a committee was created to look at testing and registration. Aside from ESL department representation, the committee was comprised of members of the counseling department as well as campus deans and administrators in charge of testing and matriculation. By incorporating all members of the college community in our efforts, we found that changes to the process were more easily made and enforced.

The counseling department was recruited to take over the role first performed by faculty advisors. Noncredit teachers were given in-service training about the credit program so that they could better assist students in the decision-making process. The test delivery system was extended to all major campuses offering noncredit classes. Priority registration was given to noncredit students transferring to credit, and the entire process was expanded beyond Level 600 to include noncredit ESL students at all levels interested in transferring. The implementation and refinement of our articulation model has garnered excellent results. While a total of 62 students transferred from noncredit to credit in the fall 1992 semester, 313 students did so in the spring 1995 semester.

Currently, the model developed for use within the ESL department is being expanded to other noncredit departments. Specifically, we are studying how to improve articulation between noncredit ESL and other noncredit programs at City College of San Francisco, including vocational training, Adult Basic Education (ABE) and General Education Development (GED). Following the model, we will establish need, then examine how the test delivery system functions. We will create a committee of all interested and affected departments to determine how to best increase articulation for our students. We are confident, given the success of our articulation model, that we will be successful in our continued efforts to help students.

Summary

The experience at CCSF suggests that there are several key steps to take if you want to develop a successful articulation program.

Needs Assessment

First of all, determine how many students in the noncredit program are interested in enrolling in a credit program. Assess what obstacles may currently exist that you will need to overcome—for example, lack of knowledge about available credit programs, both on the part of students and instructors, student fear of moving out of their comfortable noncredit environment into the unknown world of credit, and lack of communication between the noncredit and credit programs. Determine at which levels you want to focus your articulation efforts. At CCSF we initially decided to focus on the top level of noncredit students. Although we believe that most students benefit from staying in noncredit throughout most of our program to gain basic language skills, we have expanded our outreach to Levels 4 and up because we know that a full range of classes is available in our credit program and some lower level students are interested in credit.

Buy-in of Major Players

Get a commitment from all major players to your plans. This includes faculty, counselors and administration. Noncredit faculty may be reluctant to "let the noncredit students go," feeling that they will be losing students. They may need to be educated about the opportunities available for students in credit courses and the demands of a credit program so that they can provide accurate information to their students, encourage potential transfer students, and prepare them for the differences they will face in a credit program. Credit instructors can help orient noncredit instructors to the credit program.

Counselors are key players, too. The essential components of the CCSF program are the orientation workshops counselors provide and the assistance they give to students in working through the application and registration processes and advising students who matriculate into the credit program. Counselors from the credit and noncredit programs will need to work together to determine who will be responsible for what.

Faculty and counselor chairs or coordinators and administrators need to support the plan and direct its implementation. You will need to make decisions, either jointly or with input from faculty and counselors about such things as what placement instruments and procedures will be used, whether or not placement testing and counseling can and should take place at the noncredit campus, whether or not you can and want to use faculty advisors, and what level of students to focus your articulation efforts on. You'll want to find out how the noncredit and credit classes articulate. You may wish to consider implementing special noncredit classes that prepare students for academic study.

Test Delivery System

The most important decision to make is whether or not it would be helpful to bring the credit placement test to the noncredit location. This was an important step at CCSF to overcome the fear noncredit students might have of leaving their own comfortable campus. Consider eliminating duplicate testing so that you are not asking students who are exiting the noncredit program to take your exit test as well as the credit placement test. This will require establishing equivalency scores for the two tests if you wish to offer a certificate of completion to the noncredit students.

Priority Registration

Another key component of the CCSF model is priority registration for the noncredit students. Our credit classes are impacted; new students often find themselves on waiting lists their first semester and may not be able to enroll in classes they need. We realized that if students completed the application, placement, and registration process, only to find that they could not enroll in classes, our efforts would be in vain. We developed a system for lowering the cap on some of our credit classes in order to save a few seats in some sections that could be given to the transferring noncredit students. After the registration process is completed for these students, caps are raised back up to their normal level.

Location of Credit Classes

Consider bringing some credit ESL classes to the noncredit site. If the classes are available in familiar surroundings, students will be more likely to sign up. Once they have tried a credit class, they may find it easier to go to another campus to continue the credit program. At CCSF we increased the credit offerings at our noncredit sites and the times they are available. Now, instead of only the few night classes that were offered at the Phelan campus five years ago, we have some morning and afternoon classes as well. Each noncredit campus participates in the decision as to which credit course(s) are likely to be most needed at their site.

Student Support Services

Some extra student support seems to be necessary to assist students in making the jump into unknown territory. As discussed here, orientation workshops, aware and supportive faculty, counselor assistance in the application and registration process, and specially designed noncredit classes which prepare students for academic work should all be seriously considered.

Evaluation and Follow Up

Track your success rate. Find out how many noncredit students do indeed sign up for credit courses. Evaluate how your plan is working and make revisions as necessary. As described here, at CCSF we didn't implement all phases at once, but rather refined the process as we progressed. We suggest that a successful program can be designed for interinstitution as well as intra-institution articulation if attention is paid to these key components. ■

Acknowledgment

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The CATESOL Journal

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Ohlone College

Adult School to Community College: The Fremont Adult School-Ohlone College Model

The cities of Fremont and Newark are located in southern Alameda County, on the eastern side of San Francisco Bay. As with other communities in the Bay Area, Fremont and Newark have experienced a tremendous growth in their immigrant population. The adult immigrant ESL population is served by two distinct entities, the Fremont Adult School (FAS), which is under the jurisdiction of the local unified school district, and Ohlone College, the district's community college. The ESL program at FAS focuses primarily on life skills as outlined in the Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System (CASAS) framework. The adult school program is seen as the first step for newly arrived immigrants in achieving the linguistic and cultural fluency necessary for success in the United States. Ohlone College is seen as the next step for students whose primary aim is to complete a postsecondary degree, that is, either an associate in science or arts, a four-year college degree or a postgraduate degree. The program at Ohlone College is academically oriented, its goal being the preparation of students for college-level English courses which in turn serve the students in content area courses.

Articulation Between Ohlone College and Fremont Adult School

The ESL program at Ohlone College was started in 1988 after much discussion and deliberation with colleagues at FAS. In fact, Ohlone had had ESL students for many years, and instructors had found different ways to accommodate their particular needs without any ESL courses. However, the idea of an ESL program was threatening to some constituencies on campus who feared that ESL students would receive space and funding that would otherwise go to other groups on campus. The idea was also of concern to FAS, which had previously been the sole provider of ESL-specific instruction in the Fremont-Newark area for many years. Representatives from FAS attended ESL planning meetings in order to monitor the development of the program. Of primary concern to FAS was whether or not classes at Ohlone would duplicate what was being offered at FAS.

The general feeling at Ohlone College meshed well with the concerns at the adult school. Instructors at the college, already concerned by the impact an ESL program would have on other areas, did not favor a program that would encourage students to attend the college who would be better served by the life-skills focus of FAS. Thus, from the start, the focus at Ohlone was on building a program that would be academically oriented and that would be clearly distinct from the offerings at FAS.

After the college offered one year of trial ESL classes, I was hired full-time to coordinate the new ESL program. The concerns of the adult school were shared with me, and one of my first actions was to meet with the director of the ESL program for FAS. The importance of our meeting at that time was not so much to discuss curriculum as to establish lines of communication. We agreed that we wanted to see the adult school and the college working together to serve the needs of students in the area without the college duplicating the services offered by the adult school. At that time, the Ohlone ESL program consisted of three classes with a total of four sections. All three classes focused primarily on grammar and writing. FAS, on the other hand, offered general ESL classes at four levels, the curriculum of which was determined largely by the life skills outlined in the CASAS framework. As a result of establishing a line of communication between the two institutions, two programs were implemented, one of which has proven successful. In the second year of the program, I became quite aware of the low level of speaking skills for many of our students. Because of the academic focus of our program, it was not appropriate to develop a new course focused on everyday conversation skills. With approval from my division dean and the vice president of the college, I entered into talks with the director of the FAS ESL program about offering a section of a higher level FAS conversation class at the college. Classroom space in the afternoon at the college was available; FAS would control the class and receive all funding related to class attendance. The class was advertised by instructors in the college ESL classes. In its first semester, the class had 15 students; however, the second semester the number dropped to 10, making the class no longer cost effective for FAS to offer. In our evaluation of the class, the director of the FAS ESL program and I recognized several factors working against the success of the class. First, the class was not advertised in the regular college catalog.

Therefore, students often forgot about the class when planning their schedules, in spite of information given in their ESL classes. Second, the lack of credit attached to the class also affected it. Many students were on financial aid, and the FAS conversation class could not be counted towards their enrolled units. With regret, but recognizing the inherent problems of offering future FAS classes at the college, we discontinued the conversation class.

Assessment and Orientation for FAS Students

The second, more successful effort has been the facilitation of assessment and orientation for FAS students interested in transferring to the college. In this case, the Ohlone assessment counselor worked with the director of the ESL program at FAS to set up two dates for placement testing for adult school students. The adult school invited students who scored above eighth grade level on the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) to sign up for the Ohlone assessment process. On the date of the assessment, the assessment counselor arranged for the tests to be given on site at the adult school. Orientation and counseling were offered either at the adult school or at the Ohlone campus about a week later. The students still needed to go to the college to register, but they were given priority over other new students for registration. This process has proved quite successful in placing students at the college. The adult school has also been able to use the results of the testing to encourage students to work on their foundational skills at the adult school by pointing out that the majority of students tested from FAS placed above the entry ESL level at the college.

The Ohlone assessment process has also been coordinated with the adult school in the other direction. Since some students who come to the college for placement are evaluated at below the level of ability needed for success in our foundation level of ESL classes, these students receive information during orientation on classes available at the adult school. Students who inform Ohlone counselors of their interest in registering for adult school classes are able to bypass the waiting list at the adult school.

The Present Ohlone College Program

Today, the ESL program at Ohlone College consists of nine classes at two levels. These classes include speech/conversation, reading, grammar, listening, and writing. Entry into the ESL program is determined by an assessment process, including the Secondary Level English Proficiency Test (SLEP) , currently under validation, and a holistically scored essay.

The Ohlone ESL program, because of its academic focus, overlaps only minimally with the ESL program at FAS. Due to student demand, the

FAS program has added some academically focused classes in the different skill areas of grammar, writing, reading, listening, and conversation one day a week. These classes have had no appreciable impact on enrollment at the college because the students who enroll in them are enrolled FAS students. Similarly, students already enrolled at Ohlone find it inconvenient to attend classes at the FAS campus and thus the two programs do not compete for students. Furthermore, the affected classes at both institutions are limited enough that demand continues to outstrip availability.

The only area of current concern is the reading program at Ohlone. Reading instructors at the college who also work for the adult school believe that many of the students currently enrolling in reading programs at the college would benefit greatly by first attending classes at FAS. However, it has been difficult to articulate the Ohlone reading program with the reading program at FAS. The earlier failure with the FAS conversation class at the college has made the college and FAS very cautious about expending limited resources on bringing another FAS class to the Ohlone campus. Due to recent lawsuits concerning access to ESL programs, counselors at the college do not bring up FAS as an educational option when students have already placed into one of the college's ESL grammar classes. Even suggestions by instructors that students might want to attend an FAS class to increase their skill in a given area are not readily accepted by students because of both the inconvenience of attending classes at a different site and the perceived relative prestige of attending college as opposed to adult school classes. With the validation and implementation of the SLEP, even if students clearly test below the entry level for the college's reading courses, it is doubtful whether students can be successfully encouraged to attend FAS reading courses for their foundational work.

Factors Contributing to Successful Articulation

Articulation between FAS and Ohlone College has been a cooperative effort. Here are factors which I believe have contributed to its general success.

First, Ohlone and FAS have clearly separate programs. As described above, the programs overlap in only a minimal way. Furthermore, Ohlone College does not offer any noncredit classes in ESL. As a result, Ohlone does not draw away students from the adult school who might otherwise be attracted by either the perceived prestige of attending a college versus an adult school program or by the fact that financial aid is more readily available at the college. In the same vein, FAS does not offer classes at the academic level of classes at Ohlone College. Students thus have a clear choice of which institution to attend based on their English ability level, needs, and interests.

Second, Ohlone College and FAS have maintained a good working relationship since the start of the ESL program at Ohlone. As coordinator of the program from its inception, I was able to make sure that I was in contact with FAS to address any of their concerns. Another circumstance that helps the relationship between the two institutions is that several part-time instructors work both at Ohlone and at FAS. Concerns from the adult school are quickly relayed to me, and I can respond promptly before the concerns become problems.

Third, Ohlone is fortunate to have an assessment counselor who is concerned with maintaining quality articulation with the adult school. Our assessment counselor continues to work closely with the director of the ESL program at FAS to help streamline the process for adult school students to attain admission to Ohlone.

Fourth, at the current time, more ESL students seek to enroll than both institutions can serve. The waiting list at FAS is in the hundreds, and dozens of students are unable to get into ESL classes at Ohlone every semester. Thus students are not a scarce commodity causing a competitive spirit to arise between the two campuses serving this urban area.

It is uncertain how the needs and numbers of ESL students in the Fremont-Newark area will change in the future. However, it is certain that as long as Ohlone College and FAS keep open the lines of communication and work together to articulate our respective programs, the students in the area will be well served. ■

The CATESOL Journal

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ESL Language Centers/San Diego

Articulation Between a Private Language School and Other Academic Institutions: The Case of ELS Language Centers/San Diego

The San Diego ELS Language Center[1], along with the other centers throughout the ELS system, participates in articulation agreements with over 500 institutions nationwide. Each year, approximately 90 college- and university-bound students from the San Diego center satisfy college/university English requirements for admission by completing Level 109, the highest level of the program. These students do not need to submit TOEFL scores to the institutions to which they wish to transfer, as long as the institutions are included in this articulation agreement. Although some students have transferred to schools in Florida, Oklahoma, Washington, and other states, the majority transfer to schools in San Diego and Los Angeles. This article will describe the experience the San Diego ELS center has had with articulation agreements and how the agreements have been maintained over time.

The ELS Language Centers Program

The ELS Language Centers/San Diego is a proprietary intensive English program (IEP) not affiliated directly with any college or university. The program offers nine levels, with each level having four weeks of instruction, 30 hours per week. Classes include general ESL instruction as well as English for academic purposes and TOEFL preparation. The program also includes college counseling and assistance with the college application process for all interested students.

Articulation Between ELS Language Centers and Other Institutions

One of the main functions of an intensive English program is to prepare students for colleges and universities, both to function linguistically in an American higher education environment and to improve their English skills to the degree necessary to pass an English proficiency exam and be granted acceptance to a college or university. The ELS Cooperative program, an articulation agreement between ELS Language Centers and over 500 colleges, universities, and vocational/technical schools, was created to give students and schools an alternative to using standardized tests like the TOEFL to satisfy the English requirement. There are three major advantages to this kind of agreement:

1. Students who complete an intensive English program have actually used their English ability to succeed in an American classroom environment, not just demonstrated the ability to score well on a standardized test.

2. ELS students learn study skills such as note taking, outlining, and library research techniques, valuable skills for academically bound students.

3. The time spent studying in an intensive English institute can serve as a bridge between the student's home country experience and his/her American higher education experience, easing the transition between the two by giving students time and help in adjusting to cultural differences.

The ELS Cooperative program has proven very beneficial in facilitating student transfer to colleges and universities. The agreement is an ongoing, nonbinding agreement which can be terminated by either party at any time. It promises that both parties will fulfill certain obligations.

ELS will provide its college/university partner with:

(a) a half-page entry in the *ELS University & Career Guidebook*, an annually updated guidebook distributed to over 1700 counseling centers around the world;

(b) distribution of the school's catalogue and international student information to 100 select counseling centers in 40 countries and to all 23 international student advisors in the ELS centers in the United States;

(c) access for the school's admissions representatives to any of the 23 ELS centers for scheduled recruiting visits;

(d) country briefings, marketing orientations, key contact lists, and letters of introduction for the school's overseas recruiting official; and

(e) cooperation between the ELS placement service and the school's admissions office.

The college or university will cooperate with ELS by:

(a) recommending ELS Language Centers to students who are academically qualified, but lack the English proficiency for admission;

(b) issuing conditional letters of acceptance, contingent upon successful completion of the ELS program, to students who are otherwise admissible; and

(c) stating in their catalogs and international student promotional materials that completion of a designated level of the ELS program will meet the English language proficiency requirement for admission.

Thus, assisting each other in the recruitment of international students is the main focus of the articulation agreement between ELS and colleges and universities.

The San Diego Experience

ELS Language Centers have articulation agreements with 92 California schools—18 four-year colleges or universities, 50 two-year community colleges, and 24 career schools.[2] The establishment of these agreements followed similar procedures.

Recently, the ELS Center in San Diego set up an agreement with Grossmont College in El Cajon, California. Initial contact was made through the biannual college fair at which 15 to 20 schools present their programs to ELS Language Center students. After college admissions and counseling representatives visited the San Diego center, they suggested referral of students to their college.

The desire was to increase the number of international students in the college. After visiting the center, reviewing the program, interviewing students, and meeting with ELS staff, the college representatives were confident that the students could succeed in their community college. They then presented the agreement for approval to their vice president of academic affairs. After review, the articulation agreement was signed.

A number of other schools in the San Diego area have followed similar procedures. Contact has typically been made with the ELS student advisor as students apply to schools, and with ELS staff at various National Association for Foreign Student Affairs: Association of International

Educators (NAFSA:AIE) conferences. Some campuses have also had experience with former ELS students who were admitted after submitting TOEFL scores. The fact that these students have done well recommends the program. Visits to the ELS center, observing classes, meeting with instructional staff, reviewing curriculum and course objectives, and talking with other institutions that already have articulation agreements with ELS have all been methods of learning more about the ELS program.

Depending on the student's intended course of study, applying to colleges and universities with articulation agreements is an attractive option. Students are counseled at ELS regarding colleges in the area and their admission requirements. Students generally already know that some schools will accept completion of Level 109 in lieu of the TOEFL. The student advisor at ELS also guides students through the application process. A critical element of the student's application is an academic report, or transcript, of grades and attendance of all classes taken at ELS. This report serves as the official recommendation of ELS that the student is ready to begin college or university level classes.

Potential Issues and Problems With Maintaining Articulation

Occasionally, problems occur which need to be resolved through improved and ongoing communication between the two institutions involved in an articulation agreement. An evaluation of student progress also allows the ELS center to make changes in its program if needed.

In one experience we had in San Diego, an admissions official at a San Diego area community college reported that a particular student had not been adequately prepared. A review of the student's records showed that the student had completed Level 107, not 109, and had been accepted at the college through the submission of a TOEFL score of over 450 (the minimum score required by the college). It became clear from this experience that when articulation agreements are in place, it is important to distinguish between students admitted through articulation and students admitted through other processes of acceptance.

Another community college, San Diego City College, had for many years accepted students who had completed Level 108 at ELS. During the period that this agreement was in effect, the college admissions officer reviewed applicants' academic reports from ELS carefully and consulted directly with the ELS student advisor and academic director. When the admissions officer moved to another community college, her successor did not maintain such close contact. In addition, the college's programs and the ELS student populations were changing. Many students completing

Level 108 were no longer adequately prepared. Instead, completion of Level 109, with its higher graduation requirements, should have been required for this college, but since communication had not been maintained adequately, the problem was not recognized in a timely way. The situation then was further complicated by the fact that the admissions officer at that college was also accepting students based on nonstandard criteria, thus confusing the issue of which students were accepted through articulation and which by other means. Because of the lack of communication, as well as the miscommunication, the articulation agreement between ELS and this college was terminated.

Another of our articulation agreements was changed when one private San Diego university, National University, raised its standards for all incoming students by placing a greater emphasis on writing skills. As a result of meetings with admissions officers, several changes were made in the San Diego ELS program. The research skills class was increased from 20 to 40 hours of instruction, a greater emphasis was placed on the writing component of the Level 109 exit exam, and completion of Level 109 rather than Level 108 was recommended for undergraduate-level students. In this case, in contrast to the previous instance, we were able to maintain the articulation agreement by adjusting the ELS program to fit the changes at the university.

Conclusion

The above examples show how agreements can be jeopardized, maintained, or even strengthened. From our experience, it has become clear that changes in student populations, admissions personnel, and institutional standards must all be watched carefully to ensure the quality of students referred. Articulation agreements are maintained through ongoing and systematic communication about these changes, involvement of the center directors, student advisors, academic directors, and instructors, as well as consultation with partner institution's admissions officers, counselors, and faculty. This communication can then lead to continuous improvement of the IEP program, and to continued confidence in the articulation agreement. Because these sorts of articulation agreements are so vital to the ongoing success of a private IEP like ELS, they have and continue to receive intense focus and commitment from our staff and administration. ■

Endnotes

1. The official name of this center is "ELS Language Centers/San Diego." For ease of reference and understanding, it is referred to here as "the San Diego ELS center."

2. These 92 schools are part of the cooperative program. Nationwide, 298 four-year institutions, 172 two-year colleges, and 83 career schools have articulation agreements with ELS (Krongold, 1996).

References

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The CATESOL Journal

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In Their Own Voices

In our attempts to improve the articulation of ESL students across the segments, we often overlook the most obvious and in many ways the most reliable resource to help us improve what we do—our students. The following narratives by ESL writers in California schools describe the educational lands they have traveled through, how far they have journeyed, and how they have weathered the journey. These accounts provide important insights into what we as educators are doing well and what we can do better; they also underscore the critical need for increased and continued articulation.

Method

To collect a range of ESL voices from elementary school to university, I asked two teachers from seven levels to have their students write a paragraph of no more than 300 words. The levels are elementary, middle school, high school, adult school, community college, the California State University system, and the University of California system.[1] The students represent a variety of geographical areas as well as differing backgrounds, ethnicity, and years in the United States. They were asked to address the following prompt:

> In the space below, print or type a paragraph about your experiences in learning English in public school in California. Please limit the paragraph to 300 words. Begin by introducing yourself. Give your name, the language you speak at home, the number of years you have lived in the United States, and the number of years you have attended school in California. Then, include information about the kind of education in English you have received. Some points to consider are the types of English classes you have had, the preparation you have had to move from one level to the next, your successes and frustrations, and what has helped you the most.

From the writing received, I selected two samples from each level which best addressed the issues. The writing appears as it was written; I have edited only for length.

The Voices

Some students speak directly to the issue of articulation, stating how their previous classes did or did not prepare them adequately. Others imply the presence of or the need for better coordination between levels, with comments about such issues as placement or the ability to change levels as needed. Still others talk about course content and techniques, letting us know what goes on at one level that has a direct bearing on the next.

Elementary

Kalda, 3rd grade:

I am in the third grade. In school we speak English. At home I speak Cantonese and English. I have lived in America for 9 year. In school I have learned English because when I was in kindergarten I was so scared. My kindergarten teacher taught me to learn alphabet. In first grade I learn how to spell words. In second grade I learn how to read in third grade I learn how to write and I learn a lot of things in third grade.

Linda, 5th grade:

I was born in Fresno, California. When I was a little kid I didn't know how to speak in English. My family all speak in Hmong. When I was four year old I had attended school in California. It was pretty hard to speak other people words like in English. Also I thought I would never learn all of the words A, B, C and 1, 2, 3 . It always get harder and harder on every grade I went up. I never knew I could become so good at writing papers and reading and also doing math but it also got gooder and I also got better.

Middle School

Thien, 7th grade:

I speak Vietnamese at home. I have been in the United States for two years and attended in school for almost two years. I now received ESL 5/6 advanced for English. When I was in sixth grade I received ESL 3/4 for English. to me the class is kind of easy. In my class, our teacher connected our assignment as a game for us to learn more easily. I'm trying to kept my grades as high as possible in order to move to a higher level like ESL 5/6 I'm *having right now. I am successful in reading but frustrated in speaking. I'm successful in thinking but frustrated in explaining. In sixth grade I had learned how to spell different words just like preparing for seventh grade. Right now I'm able to spell really well in the spelling part.*

Jing-Fei, 9th grade:

I can speak three languages at home: english, spanish, and chinese. I have lived here in the united states for four years and have attended school in california for four years. My experiences after learning chinese and spanish was to start learning a new language, which is english in public school in california. The kind of education in english I have received was ESL (english as a second language) class, which was for bilingual people. The preparation I have had to move from one level to the next was to pay attention and work hard in the class to go to a higher level, have a better challenge, and learn more english. My success was to learn english so I could communicate with other people, and the frustration I had was to keep a person from acting what I wanted to keep an assignment from being carried out. Something that has helped me the most in learning english was the dictionary in which to help me to find words that I didn't understand and find the meaning of it. Now I am a trilingual person and I can talk to a lot of people.

High School

Marcela, 10th grade:

I was born in a small town called Cantabria in the state of Michoacan, Mexico. The lenguage I speak at home is Spanish. I being living in United States for five years. When my family and I came to this country, we wore living in Arlington, Texas. I went to an elementary school in fifth grade. For me it was a different world because the lenguage, the people and the cultures wore very different to the ones I have. All I did at school was by myself, because I could not express my feelings. Five months later, we moved to Oxnard, California. I went to another elementary school. In this school the 6th grade was easy, because in my class, the teacher separated all students that did not speak English. Then, I went to junior high. All my classes wore in Spanish because no one speak English. I loosed all those three years in not learning English. Then I went to high school. Here in high school everything is different, because I start to learned English and all students are in their English level they need. The only reason that maked to keep up going was that finally I understood the importance that is to learn English, specially when the students like me are citizens, because their future belongs to this country and to the goals we have for the future.

Xiao, 11th grade:

I'm from China, I speak Mandarine at home. I have lived in U.S. for 3 years. My first ESL class was at Sacramento, CA when I was in 9th grade. Now I'm taking sheltered English and sheltered U.S. History. I stayed in ESL for 3 years, during those 3 years, I really enjoyed learning English. I think that giving an ESL class for those immigrants who had just came to U.S. is very good idea, and a good way to learn English. In ESL class, I don't fell as nervous as in other classes, because in ESL class everybody is not native English speaker, no body speaks English well, so every body can concentrate with each other, and build speaking skills. In ESL I learned easy and basic English and then to medium and high level, by this way I learned and understand a lot of English. In ESL, I fell like I live in a family, because every body is very nice to each other, and the teacher is just like my parents, helps me on everything I don't understand. One thing I dislike in ESL is that in one classroom, there's too many students, and there's only one teacher teaching. Most of the students have different kind problems, and one teacher is unable to help out all of them. I hope that school will 2 or more ESL class seprate all ESL students into different class, so that would lot easier for teacher to help each student. Last thing I want to say is we should thanks for those teacher who has being teaching ESL class because they've doing a even more hard job than other teachers.

Adult School

Amsale:

I am from Ethiopia, Africa. My native language is Amharic. I lived in the USA for one and a half year. It is less than a month since I started attending this school. I was required to take a placing test. Sort of abtitude test. In fact the test was not difficult but the language used in the passages, the terms used in the mathematical problems made the test hard for me. So I was advised to attend the ESL class mainly the language lab. Most of the time we learn comprehensions both with the teacher and computer. I took that class for only one week and I quited because it is too simple for me. I didn't want to waste my time. Though the TOEFL class is same as I took in my country, it still differs in a way. I think it is important in many ways. I very much appreciate the teachers because they have the eagerness and the patience to teach. I have been taking English lessons for over twelve years but I still don't know English yet. I love the English language, I want to speak fluently and be comfortable in writing. I want to master the language but I never did

Jose, United States:

United States, the place I was born but barely remember because I was raised in my parent's country, Mexico. First of all, the language was the first obstacle. I came here as one self-sufficient person, to live my own life. The first frustration was in the moment when I went to the school of English in order to take classes and somebody gave me an evaluation test. I was so nervous and I couldn't answer well. So that person sent me to the first level. That angered me because I had learned English during my first six years of life living in the United States. I was resigned to stay in the first level during the year, but the teacher encourage me to move to the next level. I felt really excited in the other classroom, trying to communicate my experiences with the others students in the class, until the teacher started to say it doesn't matter if we can't communicate each other, the most important thing is to understand, because she said that we, the immigrants who came to United States to work, just need understand and serve. That angered me more, so my purpose was to learn English, and I moved up again from that class. In the next level the situation was quite different, the teacher encouraged me to learn and to express my own opinions, doesn't matter if I spoke correctly or not, I just tried. Now, after almost eight months I'm taking the highest level in the community college the TOEFL class, and I think in a few more months I will able to go to college.

Community College

Darid, 1st year:

I'm just one more of the many persons that have had ESL classes. I was born in San Diego, California. But as many children from Mexican parents, I was taken to Mexico to live with my family. The language that I speak at home was only in Spanish and my only course of English was the radio or the television. I always wonder how would be the life on the other side of the border. After I finished my junior High School in Tijuana, I moved to San Ysidro. My knowledge about English was very insignificant. but I wanted to do something with my life. I started the tenth grade in Southwestern High School. Were I got my first classes of English as a Second Language. After I got my first level of English I realize that it was to easy for me. They made me do a test to pass to the next level. I proved myself that after you practice in your writing and speaking it make more comfortable to understand it. After being in intermediate level, we were told in order to be successful in the study of English you have to be constant in your effort to understand it. Every little rule that you learn, you have to practice, in order to understand it. As soon you pass from Advance ESL to Regular classes in English you *realize that with a little of work you are in a level that is acceptable in any institution. I'm grateful about the classes of ESL I have had, because help me out a lot in the understanding of this new world for me.*

Mina, 2nd year:

I came from Korea and I speak Korean at home with my parents. For the first time, which I got here, I had full of dream and excitement, but many times I had frustrations because of English. As soon as I got here, 4 1/2 years ago, I attended ESL courses about a year. At that time, I didn't realize how much I earned from the courses, but while I attending a college, I realize that I have basic knowledge of speaking, writing, and listening. I know that without ESL courses, I must had more difficulties in my college years. It is because, I learned how to write, speake, and listen in the courses, and I had to study for the next level. Even thought I took ESL courses, most of the time, I spoke Korean in the class, and outside of the class. There were many Korean students, so we rather spoke Korean than English. It didn't help my English speaking at all, yet we helped each other, under better understanding. After I got certificate from the ESL, I entered 2 years college. I took several English classes with good English speaker students. Most of the time, the instructors were so understandable. They all understood my situation, and I visited them often for help my English skills. I think the best way learning English is to visit and ask instructors.

California State University System

Xing-Qin, 1st year:

I speak Cantonese and Lon-duh in my house must of the time. I been living in the United states for more then ten years. I begin with my education in California started back with the English alphabet. I am now working on my Bachelor of Science Degree in California State University of Sacramento. I am having some difficulty in learning English because it is not my first language. Even thought I had received a lot of special helps while I was taking English course for some reason I am unable to keep I learn most of the time. When I was in elementary school, I had attained a ESL tutor session other then that I was also placed to study English with the first grader. Even thought I was learning English like every kinds that was to start from the very beginning materials, I was unable to absorbed what I was teach. It was because I was lacking a translation of what I was learning back to my first language in order to understand it. The lacking of basic knowledge of English I was unable to further use of what I know. During junior high, I attained another ESL English class. During junior high I *started to meet more foreign students, I started to see the success of most of them at able to use English as a normal American kids which started to build up my self essitem. Then during my eight grade, I was finally placed in a lower English class. But once again, I was placed back to another ESL class when I reached high school. The pattern of my English learning is a shift from ESL classes to regular English then back to where I started again, ESL class.*

Alberto, 2nd year:

I speak Spanish at home because my parent are Mexicans and they do not speak english at all. I have been attending school here in california for ten years. But I still can not speak a perfect English because I do not practice it at home or outside of school. I have attended school the same number of year that I have lived here in the united states which is ten. When I started attending school I was enrolled in a bilingual class where they teached English and Spanish at the same time. Then I was transfered to an ESL class in their they thought me how to read and write and also how to put phrases sentences and essays together. Then I was transfered to regular english. But in that class I had some problems at the begining because I was being thought english. But the class that has thought me the most has been the ESL class I learned how to read and write in there. Now here in college I have been in ESL class for three semesters. It has helped me tremendously because now I feel that I can finally write a good strong essay with no run on sentences nor fragments. My frustrations have been failing English courses and my success has been passing them.

University of California System

Daniel, 1st year:

I speak Spanish at home. I've lived in the U.S. for seventeen years and have attended school in California for eleven years. When I returned from Mexico, as a child, I was enrolled in second grade and placed on the ESL/Bilingual Program. My mother was the one who chose this program for me, as she had a choice, and I'm very glad that she did because it has helped me make the transition from Spanish to English easier. From then on, I adopted quite well to the language. As a freshman in high school, a teacher saw my grades and achievements and placed me in Honors English with my consent. I have also passed the UC Subject A Examination on my first try. The problem that I begin to see in my writing—now that I'm in college—is that sometimes I write unclearly. I may try to say too many things in one sentence. As a child, learning English was easy, and fun, because it was like *translating Spanish into English and English into Spanish. Because we took out time in studying visual flashcards and reading along in books while narrators read them through our earphones, learning English was a well-paced, and enjoyable pleasure for me; a pleasure of understanding the interesting environment around me. I am certain that I would have had a much more difficult time learning English if I hadn't participated in an ESL program.*

Thomas, 1st year:

My original language is Vietnamese. I have been in the United States for almost five years. One of the most arduous struggles was my first year in high school. It was the hardest time I had because I had to learn a new language. I had to start off from scratch because I had no knowledge of the English language. I had to learn ten worlds a day through exercises and symbols. For example, My ESL teacher gave me a picture of a cat and showed me how to write and pronounce it. I also learned other things through symbols such as traffic signs and animals. I still remember when we learn about animals we had a change to visit the zoo, which was very practical and beneficial. We learned from what we say. I liked the way my high school teacher taught me. She somehow clearly put the words in my memory. It took me about two years to get up to "regular" English. From there on, I learned more about literature. Through all these years, I always embarrassed myself by mispronouncing words and speaking with weird sentences structure, I got frustrated when people laughed at me because of all these things but the only way I could learn English was by making mistakes. I always have faith in myself and willing to strive to be better. It's very tough to learn a new language fluently but only a challenge can bring out the best in you.

Observations

These samples reflect only a very few of the many L2 students who have moved and are moving through California public schools. However, even this small sample offers lessons, among them that we ought to talk more often to our students and attend more closely to their experiences, not just in our individual classes but at all levels of education in our state. Their comments directly relate to issues of intersegmental articulation, both in the sense of formal agreements between sending and receiving institutions and in the broader sense of communication and collaboration among California educators who serve L2 students.

Articulation of Levels

Several students speak about the progression they perceived as they moved from one class to the next. Linda for example said, "It always get harder and harder on every grade I went up," but in fact we know that no agreement exists about what students need as they move from level to level. Xiao says, "In ESL I learned easy and basic English and then to medium and high level." We need a way to describe *easy* and *basic*, *medium* and *high* levels that educators can use in common across the state, and we need a curriculum that moves students from one level to the next and that prepares students for the increasingly challenging academic demands they encounter at each new level.

As ESL professionals we need to be clear that our students can move not only through K–12 but onward into the colleges and four-year universities, so that we never say, as Jose's teacher did, that immigrant students, "just need to understand and serve." We also need to make sure that the articulation between bilingual programs and ESL or SDAIE programs are clear and that both parents and students understand the value of first language instruction in developing cognitive skills, so that they don't think, like Marcela, that the years spent in first language instruction are wasted.

Articulation of Placement

We also need to make sure that students are placed in the appropriate level of instruction, recognizing that students develop different abilities at different rates, or as Thien puts it, "I am successful in reading but frustrated in speaking. I'm successful in thinking but frustrated in explaining." Marcela is grateful that in her high school "all students are in their English level they need," but Amsala quit his ESL adult school class because it was too easy for him and did not meet his need to be able "to speak fluently and be comfortable in writing." Darid and Jose felt they were placed too low, but both triumphed through effort and persistence.

Students can, of course, be wrong in their perceptions about placement, but these students' words suggest that many students may not be placed correctly. As a profession we need to address their concerns, making sure we have valid and reliable placement procedures and a curriculum that is well designed to move students towards their goals, whether vocational or academic. As we know from the other articles in this volume, the current system is chaotic, with placement carried out in a variety of ways or not at all, with a lack of agreement about levels even between schools and certainly across segments, and with curricula that are as varied as the institutions that have created them.

Issues of Reclassification

Xing Qin charts a pattern that is familiar to many ESL students: "The pattern of my English learning is a shift from ESL classes to regular English then back to where I started again, ESL classes." Because each level places more challenging cognitive and linguistic demands on students, a level of English proficiency that is acceptable at one level may not be sufficient at the next. Thus, students may move from ESL to regular English classes at one level and then be placed back in ESL classes at the next level. Again, articulation could improve this situation but perhaps never eliminate it, since the differences between elementary school, high school, community college, and university are real and since most L2 learners are not going to become indistinguishable from native speakers.

Reexamining Language Acquisition Theory

However, Xing Qin's writing as well as the writing of many of the other students in this section also raises the issue that Lily Wong Filmore has called "the ESL lifer" (see Scarcella, this volume). Some of these students have been in California schools for a very long time, yet their progress in academic English has not been notably successful. As Scarcella suggests, we as a profession must look again at the language acquisition theories we base our teaching on and the pedagogy that we practice to see if we are indeed serving these students in a way that will really prepare them for the next levels of their education.

Responding to ESL Voices

This volume suggests many ways in which the issues raised by these students can be addressed. *California Pathways* (see Browning, this volume) documents the experiences that L2 students encounter as they move through the levels of education in California and suggests practices that can facilitate that movement, based on the many local and regional articulation efforts that are contributing to improving students' experience in our schools. The ESL descriptors in *California Pathways* offer a way to begin developing a common language for talking about our students' proficiencies, which in turn can help us assess them well and design curricula that are well sequenced to promote their acquisition of academic English. Thomas concludes by saying, "It's very tough to learn a new language fluently, but only a challenge can bring out the best in you." We as ESL professionals face a challenge of comparable magnitude; with cooperation and perseverance, it can bring out the best in us as well. ■

Endnote

1. My decision to include students from adult school was deliberate. While there is little to no articulation between that level and those which precede it, there is a strong link between adult school and community college, which in turn leads to coordination with four-year schools.

The CATESOL Journal

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EDITORS' NOTE

It is with regret that we announce that this issue of *The CATESOL Journal* is the last to appear under Peter Master's coeditorship. Peter's responsibilities as coeditor of *English for Specific Purposes*, the publication of which was increased this year to four issues per annum, have made the burden too great for him to continue coediting *The CATESOL Journal*. Donna Brinton will continue her coeditorship along with Robby Ching, who will assume the position of coeditor with issue 10.1.

We have very much enjoyed our collaboration on the last two issues of the journal, and thank CATESOL for the professional opportunity this has afforded us. It is our hope that Donna, Robby, and Susan Orlofsky, the reviews editor, will continue to maintain the high standards set in place by the journal's first coeditors, Denise Murray and Dody Messerschmitt.

This issue of the journal was considerably delayed by the publication of the theme issue (9.1) devoted to intersegmental articulation that came out earlier this year. We hope that CATESOL members will recognize the critical importance of this issue, guest edited by Robby Ching, Anne Ediger, and Deborah Poole, and will forgive the delay that it caused in the publication of the journal's regular issue.

The primary focus of this issue is the classroom. The main articles concern teaching students to question in class (Bean & Hedgcock), reassessing popular teaching models (Hawkins), improving reading rates (Weigle & Jensen), improving student access to online data bases (Kamhi-Stein), and evaluating the use of pictures as a learning tool (Hafernik).The Exchange articles concern fostering awareness of student background (Bean), increasing access to books in students' primary languages in school libraries (Pucci & Ulanoff), bridging ESL and technical studies (Rothkrug), examining the role of adult education (Marshall), and teaching English in Vietnam (Eyring & Silverman). The book review section offers an interesting variety of reviews on classroom and professional texts. We hope that these articles and reviews will be of interest to a broad spectrum of the membership.

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The CATESOL Journal

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Teaching Students to Question: Promoting Analytical Thinking In ESL Learners

■ Many ESL learners come to the classroom with a passive approach to processing information that leads to frustration in the face of unfamiliar spoken and written language. The regular practice of questioning propositional content can equip students with a proactive approach to understanding new information in English. To empower students with cognitive strategies for processing new material, teachers can engage students in tasks that foreground obstacles to students' comprehension and enable them to overcome these difficulties. This paper provides teachers with instructional tools for stimulating questioning behavior and analytical thinking both in and out of the ESL classroom.

Second language learners frequently need strategies for making sense of information that they encounter, a method of approaching text and talk so that they become empowered to bridge the gap between what they understand and what they do not yet understand. ESL learners sometimes express a wish to take their language teachers with them as a personal interface between the classroom and what lies beyond the classroom, between what is readily understandable and what is not. Sooner or later, however, students must leave the shelter of their ESL classrooms and their teachers' ready support. Although we as teachers might wish to teach the students everything we think they need to know, our time might be better spent working with them on cognitive coping strategies, strategies for their output to handle the challenging second language input that surrounds them on a daily basis.

Students may not realize, for example, that the statement *I don't understand* reflects a complex set of circumstances. It begs the question, Why is something not understandable? Perhaps the speaker needs to slow down, or perhaps the text is extensive and involves more complex syntactic and lexical items than the student can handle, or perhaps the talk or text involves a topic that is totally unfamiliar to the student. With insufficient background information, the student may be unable to make sense of the topic. These are problems that can be handled by developing various types of competence. Beginning students need to be adept enough in their strategic competence to be able to use such expressions as *Can you speak more slowly? Excuse me, but what does [unknown word] mean?* and *Can you tell me more about that?* (cf. Canale, 1986; Canale & Swain, 1980). However, once students have reached an intermediate level of proficiency, they are in the position to exercise another kind of competence, a competence for processing the second language input that surrounds them and for moving from a passive, reactive position to an active, proactive position in which they can sort through input that initially seems incomprehensible. They can make inquiries and observations to pinpoint exactly what is problematic about the input and what kinds of information are needed to proceed.

Such cognitive competence empowers students to act as problem solvers vis-à-vis the texts and spoken language that they regularly encounter. As Postman and Weingartner (1969) have observed, being a problem solver is a principal characteristic of a good learner. For problem-solving to become a conscious and regular strategy in second language settings, however, students need practice in analyzing input, specifically in defining a given problem and deciding if it can be expeditiously handled. Some problems merit much time and effort while others do not; nevertheless, students frequently give up before making an informed decision. By finding out enough about a sample of language to make a decision, students often discover that the talk or text in question has already become noticeably more accessible.

Classroom Tasks and Procedures

How can teachers help students acquire tools to assume a problem-solving stance in their encounters with the second language? One engaging and entertaining approach is to involve students in a series of problem-solving games and exercises, activities that bring to awareness the different kinds of problems that students may have in their encounters with the new language. The games and exercises that follow are specifically designed to assist students in the following areas: locating missing information, distinguishing between essential and nonessential information, discerning underlying assumptions, and locating crucial information while searching for and discovering meaning. Such games and exercises then become mnemonics for the kind of activity that students can use with talk and text in virtually any situation.

Based on our experience as ESL teachers and teacher educators, we have developed the following classroom tasks and activities to provide secondary and postsecondary teachers with tools for helping their students examine information and develop analytical strategies that will support and complement their general language proficiency as well as their academic skills.

Missing Information

One aspect of analytical thinking involves making oneself aware of the information that one needs in order to form and express an opinion or make a decision (Hughes, 1992; Meyers, 1986; Missimer, 1986; Stice, 1987). We seldom have opinions about situations when we lack the information needed to have an opinion or make an informed decision. A principal objective of practicing analytical thinking is to help students become responsible for obtaining any missing information and for challenging assumptions, statements, and propositions that they might encounter in academic and nonacademic settings. Task 1, for example, provides a simple means of showing students the need for identifying contextual information by having them evaluate a shopping list that is presented with informative background information.

Task 1

With a partner or by yourself, look at the following shopping list:

Shopping List

- jicama
- tomatillos
- kiwi
- cilantro
- escarole
- mahi-mahi

Do you find this list unusual? Are you familiar with all of the items it contains? If not, you might be asking yourself, What are these foods and how are they used? To find answers to these questions, you will need both *definitions* of the unfamiliar items and a *context* in order to frame the list.

Now that you have thought about definitions and contextual information, the above shopping list might make more sense. For example, the writer of this list may be looking for these items to use in an exotic recipe. This information provides the context and might explain why some of the foods listed seem a bit unusual.

1. With one or more classmates, try to identify the items that you don't know. Can you define them?

2. Try to think of a context for this list. Under what circumstances might a person include these particular items on a shopping list? Brainstorm with your classmates to see how many different circumstances you can come up with.

3. Now suppose that you have to make a shopping list for this weekend. Discuss the kinds of information that you might use to decide on the items you would include.

For example:

- What kind of food is already in the house?
- How many people will be present?
- Which people will be present?
- What are their tastes?
- How much money can I spend?

4. Finally, compare your shopping list with that of your classmate(s). Explain why yours is different.

The above exercise encourages students to consider the contexts of their verbal interactions and to seek knowledge of such contexts when encountering new information. Sometimes the contexts that we construct do not match those intended by the speaker or writer.

Task 2 likewise addresses the missing information issue. We can further show our students the pathway toward missing information in numerous situations, both academic and nonacademic, by highlighting two fundamental questions:

1. What is missing in terms of definitions and context?

2. How can I find this information or at least find out about it?

The following exercise contains questions designed to accompany a classroom presentation of an authentic reading passage, or an audio- or videotaped language sample (e.g., a radio or television news report, a scene from a film, play, or television drama, etc.). One example for which this exercise proved particularly effective is the essay "A Report in Spring" by E.

B. White, found in the reading-composition text *Visions across the Americas* (Warner, Hilliard, & Piro, 1992). Another example is the scene in the film *Nine to Five* (Gilbert & Higgins, 1980) in which a female employee ("Violet") is passed over for a promotion by her male boss ("Mr. Hart").

Task 2

Tracking Missing Information

1. What is your real world experience concerning this situation?
2. Does the information as a whole make sense? If not, exactly what does not make sense?
3. Where does the information come from?
4. What purpose does this information serve?
5. What words or expressions are you unfamiliar with? How might you find the meanings of these new lexical items?
6. Do you need more information? If so, what kind, and where could you get it?
7. Based on the information gathered, what is your conclusion or decision about the situation?
    - On what is your conclusion based?
    - What are the possible consequences?

By working with these questions in conjunction with a variety of authentic language samples and situations, we can demonstrate and practice techniques for identifying missing information and tracking it down. Although we cannot expect learners to locate all of the information they might like to find, we can equip them with tools for solving problems in new situations.

Distinguishing Between Essential and Nonessential Information

The following exercise on giving directions places students in the position of either information provider or information gatherer and makes the point that speakers and writers do not always provide enough information for their listeners or readers. Then again, sometimes they provide information that is not really essential but lends stylistic effect. In what follows, two students (A and B) are asked to give each other directions on how to get from their school to the other's house. In order to give directions that work, one student has to find out how familiar the other is with certain streets or highways, unless the two happen to live very near each other (in which case they can find different partners).

Task 3

Phase 1

A: Imagine that you are going to the home of B, your partner. You may go on foot or by bicycle, car, or bus—whichever would be most realistic given your own access to transportation and the location of your partner's home. Get directions on the easiest way to go from school to B's home. Find out how much time you will need. Also, be sure that you know B's address and what B's home looks like so that you could knock on the door if you went there.

B: Give directions that A could really use. Try to make your directions as complete as necessary but also as clear and simple as possible.

A: Listen carefully and take notes or make a drawing of what B says. Ask questions to clarify if necessary. Imagine that B doesn't have a telephone, so you won't be able to call if you get lost. After you have noted all the directions, tell them back to B.

B: Make corrections of A's directions, if necessary.

Phase 2

Repeat the process with B getting directions to A's home.

Although (as in real life) there is no way of knowing if directions are really good without confirming them on a map or actually making the trip, the no-telephone qualification puts considerable pressure on the direction giver to choose words and information carefully. The directions must also be shaped by the listener's knowledge. For example, if the teller tells the listener to turn right at Safeway and the listener doesn't know what Safeway is, then the listener must ask for clarification and the teller must provide it.

The above exercise not only prompts students to get enough information but also leads them to distinguish between essential and nonessential information, a crucial skill in helping them discern main points, whether they are listening to a lecture or reading a passage. Students discover that when input is incomplete or unclear, it is up to them to probe for more information. The exercise also creates an effective metaphor for possible outcomes when students interact with academic lectures or texts. That is, if listener-readers are unable to recognize key points or milestones along the way, then they will fail to arrive at their intended destination—comprehension of the heart of the communication.

Frequently when teachers ask students if they have any questions about an academic text read at home or in class, they are greeted by silence. The authors have had considerable success in doing essentially what the direction givers above have done—asking students to paraphrase, summarize, or tell back a sentence, a paragraph, or even a passage from an assigned reading. When students realize that they are accountable for what they have read, they often become far more active readers and questioners. Like the listeners in Task 4, they begin to ask for clarification and additional information, realizing that they may well be lost without it.

Discerning Underlying Assumptions

Speakers' and writers' comments are inevitably informed by their underlying assumptions and beliefs, which may or may not be shared by listeners-readers. When we hear something or read something with which we do not entirely agree, it is helpful to question the facts or opinions upon which such information is based so that we can discern exactly which aspect of a given comment or passage leads us to a different conclusion. In the following exercise, students read a letter written to Ann Landers and examine the underlying assumptions of the writer regarding various aspects of the letter. After clarifying the writer's assumptions, the students must respond to the letter and, in so doing, clarify their own assumptions on the issue.

Task 4

> Dear Ann,
> I never thought I'd write to you, but now I am. My daughter has been away at college for two years and has just told us that she's getting married. The man (if I can call him that) is twice her age, is divorced, and has two children. We've tried talking her out of it, but she says she loves him and won't give him up. How can we pre-

vent this terrible tragedy from happening to our little girl?
—Despairing in Duluth.[1]

First of all, what are the parent's (the writer's) underlying assumptions about …

(a) the daughter, a young college woman
(b) older, divorced men with children
(c) the role of parents vis-à-vis their young adult children
(d) marriage in general
(e) the appropriate age for marriage
(f) an appropriate marriage partner
(g) a college education

Next, according to the parent's letter, what are the daughter's underlying assumptions about...

(a) herself, as a young college woman
(b) the older, divorced man with children that she intends to marry
(c) the role of parents vis-à-vis their young adult children
(d) marriage in general
(e) the appropriate age for marriage
(f) an appropriate marriage partner
(g) a college education

- Are there any other possible issues of concern not explicitly mentioned in the letter but that you see lurking beneath the surface of this conflict (e.g., sex, money, power, ethics, morality—sometimes the *real* issues in a conflict are not dealt with)?
- Do you see any areas of possible agreement between the parent and the daughter?
- Is there any possibility for peaceful resolution of this dilemma, or are parent and daughter too far apart for such resolution?
- Write a letter of response to "Despairing in Duluth." Consider possible outcomes if the daughter does or does not marry the man.
- After you have written your response, analyze it for

> your own underlying assumptions about (a) through (g) above, and any other issues that you deem relevant.

The exercise above emphasizes the point that underlying assumptions are always present, seldom explicit, and not always agreed upon by interlocutors or writers and their readers. The ability to recognize the source of different perspectives on a given subject allows listeners and readers to clarify the issues more readily. If a given viewpoint is based on facts and interlocutors do not agree on the facts, then they can recheck their facts or appeal to a third source for confirmation. If a given viewpoint is based on an immutable personal, cultural, or religious belief, then clarifying such beliefs can lead interlocutors to agree to disagree on the surface manifestations of these more deeply held beliefs. Understanding others' points of view and underlying assumptions can markedly clarify their comments, whether spoken or written. Like Task 3, Task 4 serves as a model, reminding students always to look for underlying assumptions in order to communicate and argue more effectively.

Locating Crucial Information: Searching for and Discovering Meaning

A fundamental premise of many current approaches to ESL instruction is that a learner's understanding of new information, whether presented aurally or in print, depends on the successful activation of the learner's schematic knowledge as represented in his or her beliefs about "objects, situations, events, sequences of events, actions and sequences of actions" (Rumelhart, 1977, p. 34). Classroom techniques for teaching ESL reading thus frequently involve leading students through prediction processes to promote their decoding and comprehension abilities (Dubin & Bycina, 1991; Hawkins, 1991). To offer students practice in applying their questioning skills to reading, we propose using reading passages as starting points for making inferences about the wider contexts surrounding them. That is, we suggest going beyond the text itself to understand the writer's purpose and the circumstances leading to its composition. As Dixon and Nessel (1992) point out, "to make meanings, readers must adeptly use their experiences and language abilities when interacting with texts" (p. 15).

A simple but effective classroom technique for demonstrating how an awareness of background knowledge can promote active analysis is to present the constituents of an authentic text (in this case, a recent news item from a local newspaper) piece by piece using overlapping overhead transparencies (see Task 5, below). Beginning with the newspaper's masthead alone, we then overlay the date of publication, followed by the article's headline, subhead, byline, and location before presenting passages of the text. As new layers are introduced, we pose questions to elicit students' schematic knowledge concerning the form and content of newspaper articles in general, the layout of the local newspaper, current topics in the news, writers' purposes, and assumed knowledge on the part of readers. We thus engage students in making conscious use of contextual clues visible in the text.

Task 5

Suggested sequence of presentation of sample news article constituents on overlapping OHP transparencies.[2]

(a) newspaper masthead.
(b) date of publication.
(c) headline ("Students Protest '60s-Style").
(d) subheading ("Demand Return of Affirmative Action at UC").
(e) byline and location.
(f) text of article

Possible questions/prompts for guiding analysis and class discussion:

- What do you need to know to make use of the newspaper's masthead?
- What do you need to know to understand the headline? Perhaps you are missing a definition or need more information about the context. How can you locate this missing information?
- What is *affirmative action?*
- Now that we know the kind of publication, the location of the event described, and the date, can you predict what this headline means?
- We still need to know something about affirmative action and the reasons for this protest. What have you read about this issue? What have you heard about it on television or radio?
- What are your opinions concerning this issue? On what do you base your opinions?

- Can we put these pieces of information together? Let's read the opening paragraph of the article to test our predictions. What can we learn from reading this paragraph alone?
- What new questions does the rest of the article raise?

This procedure thus involves students in searching actively for information by making schematic knowledge explicit and by prompting them to analyze written input. To develop their analytical skills, students need to practice strategies for making inquiries about unfamiliar language, information, and text genres. Other authentic text-based resources for practicing analytical techniques and skills in the ESL classroom might include advice columns as well as journalistic editorials and opinion pieces that present two or more points of view (see Vandrick, 1995). Numerous academic genres (e.g., content textbooks, summaries, and reports) also offer opportunities for practice with unfamiliar text types. We recommend that, when working with materials that are new to students, shorter texts be used. Such texts can induce students to work toward understanding by focusing primarily on methods of analysis and inquiry rather than on potentially complex content.

Conclusion: Joining the Community of Analytical Thinkers

All of the techniques and strategies we propose apply to the ways in which learners process spoken and written text. Listeners and readers need to locate and bring to light hidden assumptions for scrutiny. Readers in particular need to avoid misreading texts and ignoring subtle and not-so-subtle textual clues. We want students, regardless of their language and culture of origin, to be able to be thorough and skeptical questioners whenever confronted with new information—that is, to acquire the practice of questioning text and talk with comfort and ease in virtually all of their second language encounters.

Finally, we suggest that practice with these skills can lead to the growth of learners' general argumentative abilities. Argument, "reasoned persuasion to think or to act in a certain way" (Missimer, 1986, p. 8), is a central pattern of making meaning in nearly all academic disciplines. Likewise, virtually all subject areas make appeals to evidence in the establishment of their foundational arguments. The exercises above give students practice in the skills of seeking and analyzing evidence, at once enhancing their success and inviting them to join what Chamot (1995) has called the "community of thinkers." In joining such a community, students fundamentally alter their approach to information so that comprehension leads to informed response. ESL teachers, moreover, find themselves working with not only ESL listeners, speakers, readers, and writers, but also ESL thinkers. ■

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Endnotes

[1] Thanks to Joe McVeigh for this letter.

[2] This exercise is based on a newspaper article reporting on an organized protest of efforts to eliminate affirmative action programs in the University of California system. The article appeared in the *Spartan Daily* on Feb. 5, 1992.

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Reexamining Instructional Paradigms for K–12 Second Language Learners

■ **Second language acquisition (SLA) and educational research and practices have progressed significantly in the last decade. At the same time, general educational research and practices (i.e., research and practices not specifically related to second language issues but to content areas in general) have also continued to progress. This article begins to explore the articulation between second language acquisition, education research and practices and general education research and practices. Specifically, it examines the constructivist paradigm, which permeates general content-area education, as it relates to SLA research findings that have guided second language instructional policies in elementary school education in California. It concludes that second language instructional policies within the school system are based largely on earlier SLA research and that they seem to ignore more recent contributions. In order to move towards a greater degree of articulation, the author suggests a reexamination of this earlier SLA research in light of general educational research findings and practices that have been guided by a constructivist paradigm.**

The ideal relationship between educational research and practice is reciprocal, that is, one in which the elements of both research and practice inform each other. In addition to having an in-depth understanding of the content that they are responsible for teaching, teach-

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ers need to understand *what* to do in a classroom (methodology), *why* they are doing it (rationale), and *why* they believe it will lead to learning for their students (theory based on research). In other words, the teaching profession demands that teachers be individuals who can be real-world links between research and practice.[1] The research should contribute to their teaching practices, and their teaching practices should contribute to research and the ongoing development of theory. In this paper, I will focus on how I believe the educational community—teachers, teacher trainers, administrators, and school districts—have connected theory with practice in the area of core content education for K–12 second language learners. I maintain that the educational community has largely limited its understanding of second language acquisition research and education to narrow arenas of investigation and has designed programs and instruction based largely on these very narrow understandings.

In recent years, there has been much written in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) with respect to second language (L2) content-based instruction (CBI). Within this body of work, various models for organizing classroom practices have been suggested, and these models have based their development on SLA research and theory, either explicitly or implicitly (Grabe & Stoller, 1997). Among other goals, SLA research and theory have aimed to inform general educational practices with respect to L2 learners in our schools. Simultaneous with this investigation in the field of SLA research and educational practices, there has also been a great deal written in the field of core content area education in general, without special reference to second language research or practices. For whatever reasons, these two areas of critical study—SLA research and education research within core content areas—have operated largely in parallel, rarely crossing over into each other's areas with a significant degree of depth. I believe we are now, however, at a critical point where vital links between educational subject-specific research and practice and SLA research and practice are essential. The research, theory, and practices in both areas are important to examine because they drive our response to student needs, to the programs we design, and to the instruction we provide.

The perspective that I have taken for this paper is that the K–12 public school system has relied almost exclusively on distinctions made by Cummins (1976, 1979, 1981), Krashen (1981, 1982), and Krashen and Terrell (1983) to research, describe, organize, and implement their programs. Furthermore, I believe that the K–12 educational community's reliance on the work of these researchers has occurred without seriously considering how educational subject area research and practices interface with those of SLA. By this I mean that seemingly contradictory implications coming from both fields of research have often gone unrecognized or have simply been ignored. At other times, recent theory and findings in one field have gone unmentioned by writers in the other, even if the findings in both fields are in accord. It is almost as if the ongoing developments in one field had temporarily ceased in the eyes of the other. In addition, many current SLA researchers and practitioners have followed in the path of the seminal works by the above authors, acknowledging them either directly or indirectly as the starting point for their own research and claims.

In this paper, I would like to critically reexamine the work of Cummins, particularly with respect to his distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) due to its strong influence on L2 theory and instructional practices within the K–12 educational community. Likewise, I will examine the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) developed by Chamot and O'Malley (1988, 1994, 1995) as a practical, instructional response based largely on Cummins's theory. There are four parts to the paper: (a) a brief summary of current educational research/theory and practices as they relate to the core content areas, particularly mathematics education, (b) a brief summary of SLA research/theory and practice as they relate to CBI models, again with special reference to mathematics, (c) a comparison of both areas, illustrating the lack of congruency and articulation based on current insights, and (d) a discussion of possible directions for articulated responses.

Current Educational Research, Theory and Practices As They Relate to Core Content Areas: A Brief Summary

A Paradigm Shift in Educational Theory and Practices

The world of education has changed importantly within the last 30–40 years. The changes are so substantial that we are shifting to a new paradigm through which we are able to discuss how learning occurs and how this affects classroom practices. The currently predominant paradigm, *constructivism*, has been enormously influential in the development of national and state standards for the core content areas: reading/language arts, social studies, mathematics, and science. One important implication of this paradigm shift is that the way that teachers are being asked to teach today has little resemblance to the ways in which they themselves were taught.

As a philosophy, constructivism grew out of the seminal work of Blumer (1954)[2], although "particular meanings [within constructivism] are shaped by the intent of their users" (Schwandt, 1994; p. 118). In general, constructivism belongs to an interpretivist approach to human inquiry and originally served as a possible explanation of and guide for ethnographic investigations. Schwandt offers a description of the basic, underlying framework that constructivism offers to the study of human inquiry:

> . . . The world of lived reality and situation-specific meanings that constitute the general object of investigation is thought to be constructed by social actors. That is, particular actors, at particular times, fashion meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action.
>
> The constructivist believes that to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it. The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors. To prepare an interpretation is itself to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer's construction of the constructions of the actors one studies. (p. 118)

Schwandt, citing the work of Wolcott (1988, 1992) and Erickson (1986), later continues:

> . . . at base, all interpretive inquirers watch, listen, ask, record, and examine. How those activities might best be defined and employed depends on the inquirer's purpose for doing the inquiry. (p. 119)

The ideas of active learning, experiential learning, building knowledge structures, learner (and teacher) as researcher, and so forth are all compatible with the ideas of constructivism. In general, learners or "inquirers", construct meaning within a social setting that allows them access to highly cognitively demanding interaction. It is precisely through this intense social communication involving both language and cognition that the learners involved interpret and construct what is to be understood as well as the processes for understanding it. Even when learners are working independently, they are involved in an integrated triad of cognition, language, and social actors. To separate out any one of the three would be to undermine the process of constructing meaning. The interaction is often prolonged, clearly lasting much longer than the time which a seven-step lesson plan usually affords. In addition, the communication (since it is so closely tied to the learners' needs to understand and interpret) often includes experiential opportunities, such as those offered through the use of manipulatives, hands-on strategies, and generally, the ability to discuss meaning that is contextualized to the specific setting.

In terms of classroom methodology, constructivism offers a view of the classroom that is very different from the view we have come to think of as *traditional*—that is, that which most adults experienced for the majority of their K–12 education. Instead of thinking of the teacher as the one who knows and passes information on to students, constructivists would consider the teacher as part of the social setting, interpreting activities with the students. The teacher needs to be a part of this group such that she is very carefully attuned to the learners' and her own construction of meaning over time. The conduit metaphor of learning, which would cast the teacher as the giver of knowledge (i.e., passing the body of information to be learned unidirectionally from herself to the learners), is replaced, and in its place, the teacher joins the community of learners as they struggle to explain activities and build meaning. In other words, the relationship between teacher and students is reciprocal.

Underlying Research/Theory and Practices of Current Mathematics Pedagogy

A clear example of this paradigm shift towards constructivism is found in the content area of mathematics. Before elaborating how this paradigm presents itself specifically in mathematics education, it is important to note that although the description of current mathematics educational theory and practice does not speak for the specific demands of all core content areas, it does present basic theoretical congruencies and methodological generalizations that extend across the content areas. Before discussing mathematics, therefore, let us briefly examine the other three core content areas of language arts, social studies, and science.

Much research has indicated that learning in the four core areas of the curriculum supports the underlying concepts of constructivism. For example, in language arts, reading and writing have been examined from the view of the meaning-making processes involved. In becoming a competent reader, students actively interact with text to build understanding; the act of reading centers around obtaining meaning from text—a highly cognitive activity involving parallel processing at several different levels (see Mason & Au, 1986, for a review of factors influencing reading). "Talk about text" (Heath, 1983) is seen as a necessary part of the reading process; this process requires students to interact over possible meanings in a given text and to interpret their understanding of the text as it relates to the author's intent.

Likewise, the writing process involves the creation of meaningful text, not as a series of grammatical and punctuation rules strung together, but rather as the attempt of an author to communicate her understanding with her readers (see, for example, Graves, 1983; Kroll, 1990). Writing often involves internal dialogue as well as interaction with others in order to clarify meaning for an imagined audience. Finally, writing takes place over an extensive time period, which allows for the nuances reached in discussion and revision to surface in the text.

Both social studies and science have also benefited from constructivist theory. Students learn history by becoming historians; that is, by taking on the task of contextualizing initial information and then by investigating, interacting, and interpreting events within that context. Likewise, students learn science by becoming scientists (Kaufman, 1997). They learn to observe the natural world around them, bringing their observations to a community of scientists and other learners to help create meaning consistent with these observations. The *Science Framework for Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade 12* (California Department of Education, 1990) indicates that traditional science instruction has emphasized "factoids"—isolated facts and definitions" (p. 38); it further notes that the current shift in pedagogy is marked by the move to connect traditional science content via conceptual approaches. According to this view, it is through identifiable scientific processes and direct experience with what is to be studied that scientific information is contextualized, connected, interpreted, and finally understood by the learners over time.

A Constructivist Approach to Mathematics Instruction

I will now turn to mathematics education to further elucidate specifically how the constructivist paradigm has influenced educational theory and practice. Constructivism was a major source of philosophical influence on the Working Groups of the Commission on Standards for School Mathematics of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) as they drafted their *Standards* (1989, 1991, 1993).[3] The role of constructivism as it is used with respect to the theory behind the *Standards* is twofold. First it helps the students clarify the nature of mathematics as it relates to real-world experiences; second it helps them to think of themselves as mathematicians in their approach to the subject area. In other words, one role focuses on what the content of mathematics should be and the other on how it should be studied, the processes of mathematical inquiry. In this sense, constructivism treats the learner as the interpretive inquirer with respect to the subject matter. This is to say, through watching, listening, asking, recording, and examining during mathematics instruction the learner fashions "meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction" (Schwandt, 1994; p. 118; see above). As learners interpret the experiential data, they construct a reality of meanings, including the processes of meaning construction (i.e., the processes of mathematical investigation), and "what and how many meanings" are involved (i.e., the content of mathematics).

Traditional Mathematics Instruction

How might this be played out in the elementary school classroom? Let us first examine traditional mathematics instruction that puts emphasis on following prescribed algorithms or sets of rote rules in order to accomplish mathematical tasks. Parker (1993) makes a distinction between the "*school culture* [italics added] of mathematics" and "the culture of *mathematics as a discipline* [italics added] in the real world" (pp. 4–5). She remarks that "in many ways, the culture of school mathematics is the antithesis of the culture of mathematics as a discipline" (p. 4). In summarizing the differences she puts forth the following to describe the culture of school mathematics:

> 1. Mathematics is neat and concise. It is about memorizing correct procedures or algorithms for solving well-defined problems.
>
> 2. Speed or getting answers quickly is important and emphasized.
>
> 3. Right answers are emphasized. Answers are validated by the teacher or answer book.
>
> 4. Arithmetic and abstract manipulation of symbols form the core of the curriculum.
>
> 5. Calculators are to be used once basic skills are mastered. Computers and other technology are useful primarily for drill but also for enrichment.
>
> 6. Math is done in isolation, working quietly from a textbook or worksheet. (p. 5)

In his study, Gregg (1995) gives a beautiful description of the "school mathematics tradition" (which Parker would call the *culture of school mathematics*) that most of us will remember well from our days of mathematics instruction in both elementary and high school, if not college also. There may exist a variant of this tradition, but "the underlying sameness is seen in all mathematics classrooms" (Gregg, 1995).

> This tradition includes the familiar routine of checking the answers to the previous day's homework, working some of these homework problems on the chalkboard, introducing new material, working some examples to illustrate the application of the new material, and assigning seatwork. The classroom discourse is tightly controlled by the teacher and follows an initiation-reply-evaluation pattern. There is an emphasis on formalized mathematics—that is, mathematics is presented as a collection of facts and procedures. In fact, it often appears that mathematics is viewed as nothing more than a set of propositions, and that doing mathematics consists of simply replicating procedures taught in class. Further the teacher and the textbook are the mathematical authorities in the classroom. Thus, classroom interactions are structured as information transfers from the teacher to the students. Finally the students are considered to understand when they can follow procedural instructions to obtain correct answers. (Gregg, p. 443)

Given this traditional perspective, the meaning that gets built over time is that one must know the rules—or formulas, as described by many learners. Application of the rules would require, or at least imply, understanding of the rules, one would think; however, such thinking can lead to a quite false conclusion since, in this regard, the applications are also very often formulaic.

The Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade 12 (California Department of Education, 1992) contrasts *exercises* with *problems*. Exercises are more consistent with a traditional paradigm of mathematics pedagogy, whereas problems are more consistent with the *NCTM Standards* (Working Groups of the Commission on Standards for School Mathematics, 1989, 1991, 1993) or constructivist paradigm. Below is the first part of a chart based on the information presented in the *Framework* (1992) which outlines the features of exercises. The chart presents both a straightforward computation exercise (1) as well as a word problem exercise (2). Each example is examined both in terms of the nature of the task and of the role of the student in responding to the task.

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EXERCISES

1.) 3.5 x 5.5 = ?

The Task	The Student
• is clear-cut	• does not have to define the problem
• requires only a numerical exercise	• does not have to select a technique for solving the problem
	• does not have to communicate any thinking involved in solving the problem

2.) What is the surface area of a right square prism whose base is 3.5 cm on a side and whose height is 5.5?

The Task	The Student
• is clear-cut	• does not have to define the problem
• has a preordained answer based on a correct calculation	• solves the verbal puzzle to apply the correct calculation
	• does not have to communicate any thinking involved in solving the problem

Either one of the exercises is typical of the traditional school mathematics paradigm in that finding the correct answers is a rule-based activity, both in terms of the calculations and the procedures for solving it.

For Exercise 1, one can envision the rule for multiplying decimals:

> *To Multiply Decimals:*
>
> 1. Multiply just as you would in a "problem" that does not have decimal points.
>
> 2. Count the number of decimal places (i.e., number of places to the right of the decimal point) in both the multiplier and the multiplicand. Add these two numbers, keeping them in mind for the next step.
>
> 3. Go to your answer, and count the number of decimal places you got in 2 above, beginning from the right. Put the decimal point to the left of the last place you count.

By the same token, there are sets of rules that will be needed to determine the correct surface area in Exercise 2. This may introduce an element of conflict, because the rules are to be taught cumulatively, and whichever rule comes first—multiplying with decimals, or surface area—will define the kinds of exercises that appear. If surface area were introduced *before* decimals, it would mean that all former surface area problems would have been with whole numbers only.

Pertinent to the issue of the language needed to solve word problem exercises, there have been many linguistic approaches to analyzing and solving these and other types of word problems. Generally, such approaches ask learners to respond to yet another list of rules. For example, a series of rules might look like the following:

> *In doing your word problems, do the following steps:*
>
> 1. Find the question. (What is the problem asking?)
>
> 2. Find the information the problem gives you. (What are the data you need, and that the problem *always* gives, that will help you answer the question?)
>
> 3. Make a plan and decide on an operation. (What will you do to answer the question?)
>
> 4. Do the problem. (Show all of your work *clearly*, and label your answers; use pencil in case you have to erase.)
>
> 5. Check your work. (Is your answer "reasonable"? Did you make any computation errors—or "stupid mistakes"?)[4]

Cue words and punctuation signs are given as hints to move the process along; for example, Look for the question mark to find out what the problem is asking; many times—but not always—when the following words are found, they mean you will need to use *addition* to solve the problem: *altogether, in all, total,* and so on. On the other hand, these words usually mean *subtract*: *remainder, left over, less,* and so on.

Instructional Practices Encouraged by the *NCTM Standards* and the *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade 12*

Switching now to a different paradigm for teaching mathematics, we can examine the meaning that gets built when the students are exposed to constructivist methodology—a methodology by which the social interaction "encourages learners to 'do' mathematics" (Parker, 1993).

Beginning with a general description of mathematics instruction that follows the *NCTM Standards* (Working Groups of the Commission on Standards for School Mathematics 1989, 1991, 1993) and the *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade 12* (California Department of Education, 1992) (i.e., mathematics instruction that is conceptually driven as opposed to computationally driven), I turn once again to Parker (1993) for her list of descriptors, this time for the culture of mathematics as a discipline.

> 1. Mathematics is messy. It involves a search for sense and order from complex, ill-defined situations.
>
> 2. Persistence and flexibility are essential to mathematical pursuits. Mathematicians often spend years of their lifetime trying to solve a single problem.
>
> 3. There is no answer book. Often there are no best answers nor even a guarantee that an answer will be found. Problem resolution involves judgment calls. Justification of one's ideas and communication of one's findings are essential to mathematical endeavors.
>
> 4. Important ideas and the interrelatedness of those ideas from the diverse mathematical domains of geometry, patterns and functions, logic, number, measurement, probability, and data collection and analysis form the core of mathematics.
>
> 5. Tools (e.g., manipulatives, computers, calculators) are continuously available and used to examine and represent ideas or extend thinking. Tedious computations are done by machines and thinking and reasoning by people.

> 6. Math is used to make sense of information, events, or situations in the world. It is a collaborative endeavor with mathematicians and others working together, communicating their ideas and building on one another's ideas and experiences. (p. 5)

This list of descriptors is very different from that of the culture of school mathematics offered earlier, and conjures up a classroom experience in mathematics that most adults in the United States have not experienced as learners. The students become interpretive inquirers with respect to the subject matter. This is to say, they fashion "meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction" (Schwandt, 1994; p. 118). They need plentiful opportunities to watch, listen, ask, record, and examine during mathematics instruction.

As mentioned earlier, one of the most important notions supported by the *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools* (California Department of Education, 1992) is that of problems and investigations as they contrast with exercises. Let us now look at the continuation of the chart that summarizes the features of investigations as presented in the framework. In this part of the chart, the sample problem is again examined according to the nature of the task and the role of the students in responding to the task.

PROBLEM

Take six rods: one black (length 7.5); one purple (length 4.5); and four light green (length 3). Make a three-dimensional object, using all six rods. Find its surface area. Compare your answer with those of other students, making sure you understand each other's solutions.

The Task

- is open-ended: many possible answers, or a variety of ways to solve the problem, or both
- focuses student thinking around a central problem
- preorganizes some of the information necessary for solving the problem

The Student

- formulates the problem
- visualizes a solution
- explains reasoning clearly
- uses calculations as a tool, not as the central goal of the problem
- requires communication of solutions and thinking involved to others

The problem, as presented by the framework, changes the very nature of the decimal multiplication/surface area task. Perhaps the most startling difference is that the problem is open-ended. Some problems are open-ended because there are many different possible solutions that will be correct. Some are open-ended because there are many possible procedures that will lead to one correct solution. Finally, some problems are open-ended because there are many possible answers that are correct, as well as many possible procedures that will lead to a correct solution. The sample problem is open-ended in both ways—the students will produce many different, but correct, answers, and they will probably use many different ways to arrive at their answers.

Because of this shift in perspective with respect to end results and procedures, the calculation rules for adding and multiplying decimals are no longer the focus of the task; rather, they are tools used to determine and convey information about the three-dimensional figures created by the students. In addition, students can experiment with the rods and explore with each other how surface area is affected by arranging the rods differently. Finally, the solution to this problem will take longer than that of the two exercises above. In this sense, the problem reflects Parker's (1993; p. 5) assertion that the culture of mathematics requires time, persistence and flexibility; as speed and getting answers quickly are de-emphasized, clear thinking and problem solving are emphasized.

"But," one may ask, "will the students know—or ever learn—how to add and multiply decimals?" This question leads us to the difference between *problems* and *investigations*. If problems require more time and are open-ended, investigations push the envelope in both areas.[5] Investigations can last anywhere from a week to two or three months (or more). They often start with a real-world question that can be solved in a myriad of ways. The nature and length of the investigation depend entirely on the question and on how the students construct solutions.

The *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools* (California Department of Education, 1992) describes and contrasts subject matter that is "more concrete" with that which is "more abstract." The students will learn and practice doing computations (such as multiplying decimals) throughout the course of more concrete investigations, although *perhaps* more methodically during abstract investigations. The conceptual knowledge underlying computations, however, is not the focus of the investigation; rather, the focus is to investigate a matter which is more concrete, which has to do with real-world situations, and will answer real-world question(s) (pp. 92–94).

The other kind of investigation is that which deals with subject matter that is more abstract in nature. This does not mean that it cannot relate to a real-world problem, or that concrete manipulatives and other tools cannot be used during the investigation. Often times, in fact, it is a real world problem that creates the context for the abstract investigation. The purpose of an abstract investigation is to investigate abstract mathematical concepts. For example, one could envision an investigation of the concepts of number, sorting, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, decimals, fractions, etc., and how they are used to do mathematics. The investigation might include geometry, measurement, algebra, etc. as it proceeds over time while students build a deep understanding of a chosen abstract mathematical concept.

Current SLA Research, Theory and Practices As They Relate to Core Content Areas: A Brief Summary

SLA Theory

As mentioned earlier, the work of bilingual and SLA researchers Cummins, Krashen, and Terrell has had an enormous influence upon L2 instructional practices in the public elementary school setting in California. In this section, I would like to revisit the work of Cummins, particularly with respect to the distinction he makes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (1976, 1979, 1981). My rationale for focusing on this distinction is (a) the pervasive reliance of K–12 ESL practitioners on this distinction and its impact on their instructional practices, and (b) the mismatch between this SLA-influenced paradigm of education and the constructivist paradigm that influences the mainstream direction of core content area education.

Cummins has outlined his ideas about BICS and CALP in several articles (1976, 1979, 1981). Both BICS and CALP are constructs that are tied closely to the threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1976; Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1976) which:

> assumes that those *aspects of bilingualism that might positively influence cognitive growth are unlikely to come into effect until children have attained a certain minimum or threshold level of proficiency in the second language* [italics added]. Similarly, if bilingual children attain only a very low level of proficiency in one or both of their languages, their interaction with the environment through these languages, both in terms of input and output, is likely to be impoverished. (Cummins, 1981, p. 38)

The hypothesis goes on to state that there are two thresholds, a lower one and a higher one. "The attainment of a lower level of bilingual proficiency would be sufficient to avoid any negative effects; but the attainment of a second, higher level of bilingual proficiency might be necessary to lead to accelerated cognitive growth" (Cummins, 1981, pp. 38–39). In general, "this work has profoundly influenced methodology for all teachers of limited English proficient students by distinguishing between language used for social and academic purposes" (Sasser & Winningham, 1991, p. 33).

In summarizing the distinction between BICS and CALP, Chamot & O'Malley (1994) note that BICS is characterized by social communication skills which are "context-embedded" and "cognitively undemanding" (pp. 7, 24, and 40); in other words, the language of BICS takes place in situations that offer many contextual clues and can become easily routinized since the interaction typically accompanies everyday transactions. BICS has often been described as "the language students use among themselves on the school campus" (or playground, with reference to elementary school children; Sasser & Winningham, 1991, p. 33). Chamot & O'Malley (1994) note that this social language "typically deals with fairly uncomplicated topics that are familiar to the speaker" (p. 40) and that proficiency in BICS can usually be attained "in about two years" (p. 7). They further note that such proficiency can fool the uninitiated into thinking that learners have a higher level of language proficiency than they actually do, simply because the learner's spoken English appears to be very fluent.

According to Chamot and O'Malley (1994), BICS is not considered as critical to academic success as CALP, the context-reduced and cognitively demanding language of the content classroom. CALP is viewed as requiring a "different type of language skill" (pp. 7 and 40)—that is, those skills needed for successful participation in content classrooms:

> The cognitive demands for which academic language is used, and the fact that academic language is frequently not supported by the rich array of non-verbal and contextual clues that characterizes face-to-face interaction, make academic language more difficult to learn. (p. 7)

CALP is believed to develop much more slowly than BICS, taking 5–7 years to acquire (p. 7). In fact, according to Cummins (1981), during the time when students' competency lies largely in the area of BICS, they may not have the cognitive academic language proficiency to perform well in schools.

Important for this discussion is the idea that cognitive academic language and basic social language are separated out from their respective settings by means of the levels of cognitive demand and contextualization involved in each. Implied in the BICS/CALP distinction is that cognitive demand should be made only when a certain threshold level of linguistic proficiency has been attained; if made before, there can be negative effects. This view assumes a dependency model between language acquisition and cognition, a threshold level of language proficiency being a prerequisite for cognitive development. A causal relationship also seems to be implied between context and the attainment of the threshold level of language proficiency since cognitive demand is minimal (can it be nonexistent?) during this period of initial acquisition, and therefore generally unavailable for the acquisition process. Once the threshold level of proficiency has been reached, however, context takes an increasingly smaller role, as cognitive forces begin to play a correspondingly larger role.

L2 Instructional Practices That Relate to SLA Theory

In terms of program organization, the BICS/CALP distinction has led school districts to put off instruction in the core content areas in bilingual programs until students have reached a threshold level of language proficiency, which is generally based on language proficiency levels as measured by prescribed, standard assessment tools[6]. The three subjects taught in English before this threshold is attained are usually art, music and physical education, which are thought to be more easily contextualized and to require lower levels of cognitive demand than the core content areas.

A problem arises, however, when lack of bilingual resources necessitates instruction in English from the first day of school. Clearly, the students in this situation cannot be left to do only art, music and physical education for the first three years of school. Yet, if L2 students receive core content instruction (i.e., in areas that are thought less apt to be contextualized and more apt to be cognitively demanding) too early, before they have had a chance to reach a threshold level of L2 proficiency, are we not pushing them exactly into the situation in which negative cognitive effects may accrue, or where development in both their L1s and L2s will be impoverished? Yet, this is exactly what does happen with children in these settings; they receive all instruction—core content areas in addition to art, music and physical education—in their second language, regardless of L1 or L2 proficiency. Often presented to teachers in the form of lists of *dos* and *don'ts*, guidelines for instructional practices in these classes form the heart of specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE) practices.[7] These guidelines place heavy emphasis on contextualized classroom interaction that offers comprehensible input. In addition, teachers are asked to design appropriate lessons, including coaching students in effective learning strategies for the subject areas being taught, using visual organizers, preview/review of key concepts, controlled vocabulary, modified speech, and so on. (Los Angeles Unified School District, Office of Instruction, 1995; Potter, 1995). The question still remains, however, as to the nature of the acquisition process as it concerns instructional practices. Several burning issues present themselves:

- If these students have not yet reached a threshold level of language proficiency in their second language, will our efforts at SDAIE actually impoverish their L1 and L2 development?

- Does making content area instruction highly contextualized and interactive put the instruction in the realm of BICS? Or, because the core content area subject matter is cognitively demanding, is the instruction more properly considered to lie within the realm of CALP?

- Is there a third alternative—namely, that the BICS/CALP distinction is an artificial one?

- Is the SDAIE instruction that these L2 students receive on an equal par with that received in the mainstream English L1 classroom? In other words, do these L2 students, in fact, have equal access to the core curriculum, or can they ever get equal access to the core curriculum given our approach to SDAIE with them?

The above questions lead us to further ponder how instruction appears in SDAIE classrooms. We turn, therefore, to the approaches that CBI has given us, many of which have informed our SDAIE practices. There have been, of course, many examples of L2 content-based materials, most of which have been isolated lessons or units, although some have also offered models or frameworks for content-based instruction. Mohan (1979, 1986) has presented work on his integrating language and content model. Also, Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989) and Snow (1991) have offered a framework for content-based L2 instruction, dealing mostly with older students (i.e., college level). Crandall (1987) presents in-depth treatment of three content areas, noting the language teaching implications, but does not present a complete program for content-based L2 instruction. Snow, Met, and Genesee (1989) present guidelines for systematically analyzing content area language that is essential for sheltered instruction, as distinguished from that content area language with which it is compatible.

One of the most comprehensive programs developed with the American public school system in mind (and including a philosophy, foundational procedures, and sets of content-based materials) has come from Chamot and O'Malley (1988, 1994, 1995). Their Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) finds its roots in Cummins's (1976, 1979, 1981) ideas about second language acquisition in school settings, particularly his ideas of BICS and CALP. "CALLA is an instructional model developed to meet the academic needs of students learning English as a second language in American schools" (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994; p. 4). Specifically, with respect to academic content, Chamot and O'Malley (1994) put their efforts into trying to help "shorten the time students need to develop academic language skills in English" (p. 7). Like other instructional models designed to give access to curricular content to limited English proficient students, such as SDAIE or sheltered instruction (Los Angeles Unified School District, Office of Instruction, 1995), CALLA is designed to "assist ESL students to succeed in school by providing transitional instruction from either standard ESL programs or bilingual programs to grade-level content classrooms" (p. 9); that is, to help L2 students move more efficiently from BICS to CALP.

In the next section, I will focus on the CALLA model for content-based instruction in L2 classes. I do so for three reasons: (a) it is designed for use with L2 American school children, (b) it is based on Cummins's work, and (c) it offers a clear example of how I think reliance on the BICS/CALP distinction has actually led us away from the educational research and instructional practices encouraged by a constructivist approach. Along with this discussion, I will examine guidelines in a sample CALLA unit in mathematics, and compare these guidelines to the recommended mathematics instructional practices outlined earlier.

CALLA as Content-Based Instruction

The authors have divided their rationale for CALLA into four areas: learning strategies, academic language skills, academic content, and cognitive theory. The learning strategies focus on academic language functions (e.g., explaining, proving, justifying, comparing, informing, etc.) that appear in connection with a content area. The guiding principle behind CALLA is that students have various learning strategies at their disposal, and, via direct instruction in these strategies, can learn to choose the most appropriate among them for given tasks. With respect to academic language skills, CALLA teachers are encouraged to select specific academic language functions that occur in grade-level, classroom interaction by visiting these classrooms and by analyzing grade-level textbook treatment of content. Chamot and O'Malley include cognitive theory in the specific content areas, with the intent of examining how this information applies to second language acquisition.

CALLA and mathematics content

With respect to specific academic content, in this case mathematics, Chamot and O'Malley indicate that they are aware of the philosophy and practices of mathematics education that are advocated by the *NCTM Standards* (Working Groups of the Commission on Standards for School Mathematics, 1989, 1991, 1993), as well as of what is presently being taught and how it is being implemented in actual classroom settings (pp. 222–223). Their summary of what is being taught indicates that the mathematics content largely follows basal, or traditional, textbooks, and that the methodology used to teach this content also relies heavily on traditional program practices. Thus they offer the following description of actual classroom content and instruction that parallels many descriptions of the culture of school mathematics (Parker, 1993), or of the traditional mathematics classroom:

> The curriculum across the middle grades was noted to be recursive for these teachers in that there was a high degree of content overlap between grades. The findings are consistent with analyses of the curriculum presented in mathematics textbooks for the middle grades, in which 65 to 80 percent of the exercises were on skill practice, while 10 to 24 percent were on conceptual understanding, and 6 to 13 percent on problem solving. [. . .] Students in the mathematics classrooms tended to spend their time in recitations, or responding to a teacher inquiry, in the varieties of seatwork, and in contests. Over half the students' time in math classes was spent on a single activity, solving problems at their desks [. . .] Instruction was limited to basic operations followed by fractions, mixed numbers and decimals. (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994, p. 223)

The authors acknowledge that these practices do not represent the curriculum as envisioned by the *NCTM Standards*, neither in terms of content nor methodology. For the purposes of CALLA, the authors conclude that mathematics instruction "should emphasize mathematical literacy: a communicative approach involving discussion, application, and analysis of alternative paths to problem solution" (p. 226). Having decided this to be a force guiding their materials development, they then turn to questions of language dependency in mathematics, including such factors as the vocabulary and syntactic structures found in mathematics.

For their detailed application of CALLA in the content area of mathematics, the authors chose to concentrate on solving word problems. Specifically they observe that grade-level classrooms neglect the treatment of problem-solving strategies, and that this area would likely cause problems for L2 students as they transition into these rooms (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994, p. 223). The authors use a five-point checklist for native speakers of English that is often present in basal textbooks:

- Understand the problem.
- Find the needed information.
- Choose a plan.
- Solve the problem.
- Check the answer.

Clearly, this list is comparable to that offered earlier as an example of traditional mathematics instruction. The authors go on to explain that, while the checklist may be adequate for native English speakers (which we have already seen it is not), "ESL students continue to have difficulty with such guides to problem solution because of uncertainties with word meanings and their application" (p. 234). The learning strategies that they develop, therefore, center around making this five-point checklist accessible to ESL students as an algorithm to guide the process of solving story problems. Rules of thumb are presented that indicate the four operations—addition, subtraction, multiplication and division—alongside a discussion of how each operation would be used in a word problem (p. 241). Using guidelines which also appear in many basal texts, Chamot and O'Malley's suggestions for developing a plan include yet another list: draw a picture, make a table, find a pattern, guess, solve a simpler version of the problem, act it out, and so on (p. 242). Selective attention is directed to key words used in the problem statement, with the key words comprising another list of cues signaling the operation to be used in solving the problem—*add, and, sum, total, plus, combine* all suggest addition (p. 229). Because of the actual uncertainty of how these words may be used in context, however, it will be necessary for students to check them against "whatever else they know about the problem" (p. 242). Students receive guided practice in writing word problems that first take them through rewriting the question in a set of given word problems. When students move to writing problems on their own, they do so based on a model that asks them to first choose an equa-

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tion and then think of a story to go with the equation that they can then write out. Students cooperate with each other by reading and solving each others' problems and checking their answers.

If we think about the approach to mathematics instruction underlying Chamot and O'Malley's recommendations in CALLA, it is clear that it is a computationally driven, rule-based approach. That is, the starting point is not a problem, but a highly predictable exercise. The students do a linguistic analysis of the word problems (exercises), but their growth in understanding mathematics as a discipline to help organize information, find patterns, and quantify and make sense of the world around them seems, at best, very limited. Even when the students write their own problems, they begin with an equation—a computation rather than a concept drives the writing of the words. The computation is not a tool used to help solve a problem, but the cornerstone forming the basis of the problem. The answers are precise, and the only messy part involves the linguistic interpretation of the key words found in the problem. The correct answer is preordained, meaning that there is only one correct answer and only one way to solve the problem—perform the correct operation, which is chosen from among the four basic possibilities and based on key-word analyses. The work is done mostly in isolation, the exception being when students share their problems and check each others' answers.

This form of sharing, however, is of the show-and-tell variety; it is not a group of students and a teacher who have come together to construct a reality through intense interaction surrounding an open-ended problem. It does not offer the opportunity for "interpretive inquirers to watch, listen, ask, record, and examine", or to "decide how activities might best be defined and employed, depending on the inquirer's purpose for doing the inquiry" (Schwandt, 1994; p. 119). Finally, the exercise the students are asked to do can be done in a matter of one to two days, at the most. There is no sense of an ongoing investigative process through which students define a problem, deepen their understanding of its many possible implications, revise definitions and procedures, see and extrapolate patterns, communicate their understandings and questions to each other, and so forth. In short, the students receive help with the linguistic analysis of word-problem exercises, which would be fine if that were what mathematics were all about. This approach, however, is woefully inadequate in a mainstream classroom that follows the constructivist approach advocated by both the *NCTM Standards* (Working Groups of the Commission on Standards for School Mathematics, 1989, 1991, 1993) and the *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools* (California Department of Education, 1992).

A Constructivist Paradigm as It Relates to SLA Theory and Practice

To compare the salient points included in the discussion of the constructivist paradigm with those included in the discussion of SLA theory and practice is to realize that the approaches currently offered by each paradigm are running on parallel tracks, offering little or no possibility for crossover. As described here, the two approaches completely reverse starting points, seen most clearly in the description of practices flowing from each one. This is not to say, however, that SLA theory and practices and a constructivist paradigm need to be mutually exclusive. Indeed, I would argue that the reverse would be optimal—that is, an avenue which would integrate both approaches. I would further argue that it is largely due to the heavy, almost exclusive reliance on earlier SLA research (for example, Cummins, 1976, 1979, 1981) by both K–12 educators and SLA researchers and educators who work with K–12 programs that has acted as a powerful restraint on the integration of SLA theory and practice with a constructivist paradigm.

Although Chamot and O'Malley (1994) acknowledge the importance of the *NCTM Standards* (Working Groups of the Commission on Standards for School Mathematics, 1989, 1991, 1993) as they begin their content-based mathematics unit, it appears that they actually have been guided by the traditional school culture of mathematics rather than the culture of the discipline of mathematics (Parker, 1993). In the CALLA mathematics materials, the students start with the algorithm (the five-point checklist), letting it create a meaning outside of them that is closed and off-limits to interpretation. As in the traditional basal mathematics textbooks, CALLA uses highly predictable exercises which also have one correct answer, one correct procedure for solving them, and which can be done very rapidly. The constructivist paradigm, represented in the *NCTM Standards* and the *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools* (1992) on the other hand, involves the actors (i.e., the students and the teacher) in creating meaning out of a real-world situation. The process of creating meaning is open, and the results are agreed-upon algorithms constructed over time by those involved.

I would suggest that Chamot and O'Malley's fundamental reliance on Cummins (1976, 1979, 1981) and his distinction between BICS and CALP precludes the serious integration of cognition, language and social knowledge as in a constructivist paradigm, at least for beginning or lower level L2 proficient students, since it separates out the elements of language, cognition and social context in a dependency model. More specifically, if the dichotomy between BICS and CALP is accepted, then the kind of cognitively demanding social interaction and language required to construct meaning in the constructivist model are simply not available to the L2 learner before the threshold of minimal language proficiency is reached. Practically speaking, in elementary schools, this has meant controlling content and linguistic forms in ways that cannot allow the free construction of knowledge by the learner.

The descriptions of language defined as academic and found in grade-level academic content classrooms always make me wonder if researchers actually have ever been on yard duty during recess, when students are engaged in playground language, one of the typical arenas mentioned for the predominance of language associated with BICS (see Potter, 1995). As an elementary school teacher, I have spent many hours on the playground as part of my supervision duty. I have been amazed continually at the cognitively demanding level of interaction that occurs as students, both L1 and L2, explain and describe subtle nuances of the games they play; justify, prove, debate and persuade others when conflict about procedures, unfair behavior, or results arise; and compare, classify and evaluate each others' actions in relation to the rules of the games, and so on. When this becomes most apparent to teachers is when students bring a complaint or problem to them. If the teacher decides truly to deal with the issues involved, it can become a cognitive nightmare in trying to sort out actual events as students inform the teacher about what has happened. I have spent much time trying to understand a situation of which all of the students involved have complete control, from rules of the game to sequential events that led to the problem (cause/effect), to persuasion about who is right, and so on. Sometimes it is difficult because students fail to use clear referents when describing who did what, but many other times it is difficult because the students have such a complex understanding of the details of the game that have been constructed over time (in the sense described earlier in this paper), and of how these details fit into the whole picture, that a teacher's rudimentary understanding of the games— for example, soccer or kickball—are simply not enough to understand the issues involved. The teacher needs instruction, and the students become the teachers. In addition, I have spent many a yard duty stint watching girls and boys playing Chinese jump rope, and I still do not know how to play the game. I have tried doing what my L2 students do, and watch and ask questions, but it still escapes me. The rules are complex, and the patterns that are evident to the students within a day or two are not at all clear to me. In the end, I am the observer, the outsider that is not an active member of the community that is constructing meaning, and so the subtleties of playground culture escape me. The point is, if this level of complex learning and language use is successfully established on the playground, why do we need to invent a continuum or dichotomy such as that between BICS and CALP, between the levels of cognitive demand of one type of language versus the other? Maybe, instead, what we need to do is to incorporate the "constructive" nature of playground interaction into the classroom, where "the inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118).

Returning to Chamot and O'Malley's sample mathematics unit for CALLA, algorithms are relied upon to control investigation, and linguistic rules are developed that end up controlling the interpretation of content; learning more closely resembles a list of check-offs that guarantee a correct answer, as opposed to deep understanding. Content area knowledge is passed through the conduit of these algorithms and rules, and learners do not fashion meaning in the content areas.

As we have seen, the constructivist approach to mathematics instruction relies precisely on the serious integration of language, cognition, and social knowledge. Revisiting Schwandt (1994):

> The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors. To prepare an interpretation is itself to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer's construction of the constructions of the actors one studies. (p. 118)

This is to say, to know something one must use cognitive powers of elucidation to construct meaning, and this only occurs in close integration with language and social actors. Construction of meaning requires "prolonged social interaction, including the history, language and actions involved in the process" (Schwandt, 1994; p. 118). Even when we are working independently, we are involved in this integrated triad of cognition, language, and social behavior. To separate out any one of the three would be to undermine the process of constructing meaning.

In addition, the constructivist viewpoint offers a vision of learning that is highly contextual, that is, responsive to the situations and actors involved in the learning. In fact, this sensitivity to context is the norm for regular classroom discourse. When learning is decontextualized, it rarely seems to produce deep learning, not because the language is difficult, but because contextualization seems to be a key for learning new knowledge in general.

Future Directions for Articulated Research and Practice Efforts

Let us now turn to the question of articulation between the fields of second language acquisition/education and the core content areas. It is my hope that the root of this dissonance is now clear. How can a paradigm which offers algorithms as the driving force for learning (eg., CALLA) be reconciled with a paradigm that offers the learners' construction of meaning over time as a driving force (e.g., constructivist-oriented content area instruction)? How can a paradigm which separates out language acquisition from context and cognition be reconciled with one which integrates context, language, cognition and social behavior? While both practitioners of CALLA and constructivist education share the desire to provide quality content area instruction to our second language students and recognize the unique learning needs of this population, I see little evidence of articulation in instructional goals, methodologies, or philosophies between the two groups. As a matter of fact, based on my own inability to bring the fields successfully together in the methods courses that I teach, I have come to believe that the two are often working at odds with each other.

One major impediment to improving the articulation between SLA-influenced models of content-based instruction and current content area instructional models is the scarcity of research investigating the BICS/CALP distinction; rather, most SLA research in this area assumes the distinction suggested by Cummins (1976, 1979, 1981). Some researchers, however, do call this distinction into question. Flashner (1987) "went on a search" for decontextualized language in a fourth grade classroom, where she examined the oral and written language use of the teachers, L1 students, and L2 students.[8] She found little evidence for the existence of such language, and concluded:

> I suggest that there is no such thing as decontextualized language. There are, rather, varieties of language that have more of one feature than another when purpose, audience, mode and planning are altered. Results point to the importance for growth of children's language to the children being able to do activities in each section of the language continua. (p. 165)

Similarly, Hawkins (1988) examined the existence of scaffolded classroom interaction as it relates to SLA. Her findings suggest that scaffolded interaction, which is seen as interaction geared to the learner(s), occurs most frequently in the presence of both high interactive demand and high cognitive demand. In other words, "one of the motivating factors for scaffolded interaction is in the interaction of two variables; i.e., high interactive demand in the presence of high cognitive demand" (p. 123). Finally, Hatch, Flashner and Hunt (1986) adopt a learner-as-language-researcher attitude with respect to the L2. The teaching materials they suggest take an interactive approach aimed at achieving a unified system, one which integrates cognitive processes with language and social processes.

Hatch and Hawkins (1987) discuss three basic representations of the relation of social, cognitive and linguistic knowledge in our internal, mental system: a separated model in which the three elements are disconnected, a connected model in which they are linked reciprocally, and an integrated model in which the three elements are interwoven (p. 243). In their efforts to understand and account for learner data, the authors argue for an integrated model of the three processes: ". . . we believe in a messy, interrelated picture rather than one that is neat and clean, not because of aesthetics, but because nothing else seems viable" (p. 249). Likewise, they indicate that one's point of view as to how language development occurs—that is, through a separated, connected or integrated model—guides both teaching and research:

> As second/foreign-language teachers, we are constantly faced with the question of how to proceed with instruction such that it enhances L2 development. Do we begin with the syntax of the language, making it the central focus of our instruction and thereby giving it primacy in terms of language development? Do we begin with experience, with the idea that giving meaning to our experiences is the driving force behind language development? There are of course, many other places we might begin.
>
> . . . we opt for beginning with experience, believing that all of the subsystems of language develop as we make meaning clear to ourselves and others. . . . (pp. 241–242)

Clearly, this experiential approach to SLA research and L2 teaching is very compatible with the constructivist approach to learning in the content areas. It suggests that we will get very different results if we begin with the algorithms of language (e.g., syntax) than if we begin with the experiential knowledge that learners bring to the learning task. It is precisely because this experiential approach is compatible with a constructivist view that it offers opportunities to bring both content-area educational research and SLA research together, moving us toward integration of both fields.

Conclusions

My own experiences as an elementary school content area instructor of mathematics to limited English proficient learners and as a methods instructor preparing future elementary school teacher candidates for the same classroom arena lead me to concur strongly with Flashner's (1987) call for further study of decontextualized language as it relates to SLA research and educational applications:

> Evidence here demonstrates that social science research can only show us how complex and interconnected are the language, cognition, and social aspects of language behavior. To describe this complexity, we thus need more research on speech and writing that describes the language within, not taken out of, its context of use and discourse within classrooms. (p. 167)

In the methods courses I teach, the mathematics classroom I portray bears very little resemblance to that which is described in the SLA literature—instruction simply is *not* decontextualized, and optimally, it is *always* cognitively and interactively demanding. I find it difficult, therefore, to incorporate into my own teacher training courses in both mathematics and science methods and student teaching in mathematics and science instruction what are currently considered to be "good" SDAIE (sheltered) techniques. In fact, when I come across the bullets and various checklists designed to assist teachers to teach mathematics and science content to L2 students (CATESOL Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1993; Los Angeles Unified School District, Office of Instruction, 1995; Potter, 1995), I find myself at a loss. These materials would push me into the very paradigm I am trying so hard to avoid and change in both my teacher-training methods and student-teaching observation courses. Since, therefore, the mathematics classroom that I am being asked to portray in my methods courses bears very little resemblance to that which is described in the SLA literature, my feeling is that the SDAIE approach fragments learning into artificial parts that make it impossible for me to teach mathematics and science methods in a way that will promote understanding. I fear that, relying on SLA theory and practices that are currently so prevalent, we will not be able to offer our L2 learners equal access to content area education as compared to that received by L1 speakers.

I often wonder what would happen if we decided to let go of the highly accepted "+/- contextualized and +/- cognitively demanding" view of language acquisition that has been promoted by Cummins and others. What would happen instead if we decided that the way children learn to interact in their L2 during playground activities is not reflective of a hypothesized stage called BICS, but rather a demonstration of how learning occurs via the effort to make meaning out of experiences within a community of peers—via the effort to construct meaning? What would happen if we assumed that a hypothesized stage called CALP is actually nonexistent, and that it is precisely contextualized interaction that is also cognitively demanding that promotes SLA, right from the beginning? Would we be able to pursue SLA research that takes advantage of the findings in constructivist theory, instead of running parallel to it? Would both our L2 instruction and our content area instruction for our limited English students improve? The disjointed space where I find myself, straddling both fields, pushes me toward efforts in this direction. ■

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Endnotes

[1] Emphasis on "life-long learning" on the part of the California Department of Education supports this connection between research and practice. See, for example, Hart and Burr (1996).

[2] There is much discussion in the literature, especially with respect to mathematics education, about the relative contributions of Vygotsky and Piaget to the development of a constructivist viewpoint within education. See, for example, Lerman (1996).

[3] See Bossé (1995) for a most interesting discussion of the politics behind the writing of the *NCTM Standards*. Bossé indicates that, while the public relations angle on the presentation of the *Standards* to a nationwide audience "promoted constructivism as the underlying paradigm of mathematics education" (p. 180) for "marketing purposes" (p. 183), the members on the actual NCTM committee that wrote the *Standards* were not so unanimous in their acceptance of constructivism as an underlying force. Quoting from several committee members specifically with regard to this question (pp. 182–183, and p. 188), Bossé offers insight as to the struggle. "Not everyone had embraced constructivism by name, but most of us found that what we had been doing for a number of years was already consistent with constructivism" (NCTM member 7). Meanwhile, from another committee member, "Many of us are uncomfortable with the title constructivism and being all placed under the same banner. We all recognized that when children are allowed to be actively involved in learning, they learn more. . . I see some real problems with philosophical and psychological issues in constructivism" (NCTM member 4). "When we began the work on the *Standards*, the word constructivism was not used. It was not the primary driving force of the NCTM members. Clearly, though, what people were doing and what people believed could be labeled constructivism. The concept emerged into the discussion after the release of the *Standards* as leaders tried to sell the *Standards* to educators and administrators" (NCTM member 5). Finally, from one other member, "When the working group chairs got together to discuss what they were doing, no one seemed to greatly diverge from this paradigm. Philosophically, we were very close. We all agreed that this was how it really ought to be and we were all willing to go with it. We did not all agree, however, in *toto*" (NCTM member 3).

[4] With respect to Step 5 on the rule list, *reasonable* is problematic. The common translation is, *Does your answer make sense?* The problem is, however, that many students do not know how to decide this; they have followed the rules and checked their computations, and so the answer *must* be reasonable. In addition, if it happens that the learners know that they are on the multiplication of decimals page or the surface area page, this knowledge will take care of the answer actually having to make sense.

[5] See the *Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools: Kindergarten Through Grade 12* (California Department of Education, 1992, pp. 19ff) for an example of an investigation that relates to the surface area exercises and problems given above.

[6] See the *Sheltered Instruction Teacher Handbook: Strategies for Teaching LEP Students in the Elementary Grades,* [Publication No. EC-617], Los Angeles Unified School District, Office of Instruction, 1995 for a summary of general options for elementary school second language students.

[7] *Specially designed academic instruction in English* (SDAIE) describes content courses taught to English language learners. For the CATESOL position statement on SDAIE visit the CATESOL web site at http://www.catesol.org or contact Pam Butterfield, CATESOL Public Relations Chair, Palomar College, 114 West Mission Road, San Marcos, CA 92069.

[8] See Flashner (1987) for a comprehensive review of the literature on contextualized and decontextualized language.

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Reading Rate Improvement in University ESL Classes

Reading rate development is an important concern of university-level second language students. This paper describes a reading rate development program at a major university and two studies which were conducted to investigate the effectiveness of this program. These studies addressed students' perceptions of their own L1 and L2 reading abilities, and the carry-over effect of in-class rate development activities on their academic reading outside of ESL courses. These studies provide substantial evidence that a rate development component may be of significant benefit for university ESL students.

Reading rate development is an important component of the second language reading curriculum in the university for at least two reasons. According to the interactive model of reading, fluent readers are able to process the printed word automatically so that they can devote their conscious minds to larger questions of the overall meaning and organization of a text (Eskey, 1986). Poor readers, on the other hand, tend to read slowly, word by word, and thus cannot get a picture of the text as a whole. This description applies to many second language readers—even those who are excellent readers in their first language—who have not learned to transfer their reading skills to their second language; for this reason, rate development can be an important tool in teaching students to go beyond the word-by-word decoding process.

The other main reason for including a rate development component in an academic ESL course is that university students generally have large amounts of reading for their coursework; in order to meet the challenge of this heavy reading load ESL students need to improve their reading rate

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significantly. In fact, several studies have found that reading is considered the most important skill for second language learners in academic contexts (Carrell, 1989; Grabe, 1993; Lynch & Hudson, 1991).

Based on these considerations, reading rate development activities have been part of the curriculum in the ESL service courses at UCLA since 1988 and have been particularly emphasized in ESL 33C, an advanced multiskills course for matriculated students that meets for five hours a week over a 10-week term. Most ESL 33C students are Asian undergraduates who have attended U.S. high schools but do not yet have the academic language and skills necessary to succeed at the university. These students are acutely aware of the gap in reading rate between themselves and their native-speaker classmates and are therefore generally open to learning techniques and strategies that will help them to read more rapidly with increased comprehension.

Reading rate development activities in ESL 33C consist of paced and timed readings done on a weekly basis throughout the quarter as well as instruction in eye movement exercises and reading strategies such as previewing, skimming, and scanning. Students read 400-word paced readings (taken from Spargo, 1989) at an imposed rate which is increased by 25 words per minute (wpm) weekly; following the paced readings, they read 1000-word timed readings (Fry, 1989) at their own rate. (For a detailed discussion of a rate development component in a multiskills ESL class see Jensen, 1986.)

The claim that reading rate development activities will double and in some cases even triple students' current reading rates is often met with disbelief, but as students' rates begin to climb, they are convinced that the instruction is paying off. Most students are reading between 100 and 200 wpm at the beginning of the quarter and finish with an average rate between 250 and 400 wpm for the timed readings. By the end of the quarter, students are not only pleased with their improvement in class but also comment that the improvement has carried over to their academic reading outside of class and, in some cases, even to their first language reading.

In the first year that the rate development component was used in ESL 33C, an evaluation was conducted to document in a more rigorous fashion the positive anecdotal evidence that rate development activities were beneficial to students (Cushing, 1990). The data for the evaluation consisted of a comparison of students' reading rates and comprehension scores from their first and last timed readings of the quarter, class observations, teacher interviews, and student questionnaires. Cushing found that students gained an average of 110 words per minute over the course of the 10-week quarter without decreased comprehension. Furthermore, when the students were divided into high-comprehension versus low-comprehension groups based on their posttest comprehension scores, the high-comprehension students read significantly faster than the low-comprehension students. This finding provides evidence supporting the notion that reading faster can actually increase comprehension, at least of the kind of texts used in the rate development exercises.

Cushing also looked at differences across sections of ESL 33C and found significant differences in the gain scores from the first (pre) to the last (post) timed reading across the five sections of ESL 33C, from a low average gain of 44.20 words per minute to a high average gain of 158.67 words per minute. The two sections in which the gain scores were the highest were the sections taught by the researcher and the level supervisor. Class observations and interviews revealed that both of these instructors were quite convinced of the benefits of timed reading and promoted reading rate gain more heavily in their classes than the other instructors. These results must be interpreted with caution, since the two instructors who had the largest investment in the timed reading evaluation were the ones whose students gained the most; however, they provide at least anecdotal evidence that teacher enthusiasm and commitment to the program can influence students' levels of improvement.

Cushing also administered questionnaires to the students and interviewed the teachers to gauge student and teacher reaction to the timed reading program. Overall, student reaction was quite positive. Students especially appreciated learning such reading strategies as previewing and reading in thought groups. In addition, with very few exceptions students were quite pleased with their improvement in reading speed over the quarter, and many mentioned a connection between the timed readings and an increased ability to read faster in their other courses.

Negative comments from students principally dealt with concerns of pressure, especially with the paced readings, and with the materials, as some found them boring. Others did not like the fact that the timed and paced reading passages were not integrated into the rest of the course content. However, these negative comments were much fewer in number than the positive comments.

Teacher reaction to the program was also positive. In general, teachers were pleased with their students' progress, and believed that the program should be continued.

As a result of Cushing's evaluation, adjustments to the program were made and reading rate development was more fully integrated into the multiskills curriculum at all levels of ESL at UCLA. While teachers and students continued to give anecdotal reports of satisfaction with the rate development program, however, no empirical evidence existed to support the notion that the program was actually benefiting students outside of the ESL class. We therefore decided to expand on the work done in the earlier evaluation of the program by carrying out further research in this area.

Questions

The studies described in this paper address two main research areas: students' perceptions of their own L1 and L2 reading abilities and the carry-over effect of in-class rate development activities on students' academic reading outside of ESL courses. Specifically, the research questions were as follows:

- How do students' perceptions of their reading ability in their L1 and in English compare?
- How do their perceptions of their English reading abilities change after a 10-week multiskills course with a rate development component?
- Is there a beneficial effect of rate development activities on longer, more academic reading passages?

To investigate these questions, two studies were designed and carried out in ESL classes held between fall 1993 and fall 1994. The first study involved collecting questionnaire data at the beginning and again at the end of the 10-week quarter, and the second involved measuring reading rate and comprehension on extended academic texts at the beginning and at the end of the quarter. Each study is described below.

Study 1

In order to investigate students' perceptions of their reading abilities in L1 and L2 and their attitudes toward the rate development component of ESL 33C, two questionnaires were administered to students, one at the beginning of the quarter and one at the end. The first questionnaire contained five-point Likert scale items asking about students' perceptions of their reading ability in their first language and in English and open-ended questions asking about students' problems with reading and their reading goals for ESL 33C. The second questionnaire contained the same Likert items about reading in English and open-ended questions asking about students' reactions to the reading rate development program in ESL 33C. Both questionnaires also asked students to report on the number of hours spent reading in their native language, reading in English, and doing homework for their classes. The questionnaires are found in Appendix A.

The questionnaires were administered to students in ESL 33C in fall 1993, Spring 1994, and Fall 1994.[1] A total of 82 students answered both questionnaires.

Results

A summary of the Likert items from the questionnaires is found in Table 1.

Table 1
Students' Self Report of Reading Ability in L1 and English

Questionnaire item	Range	Median	Mean	*SD*	Sign test (pre- vs. postcourse)
Overall reading ability					
First language	1–5	5	4.20	1.09	
English: precourse	1–4	3	2.94	.64	R=12, n.s.
English: postcourse	2–5	3	3.22	.58	
Reading speed					
First language	1–5	4	4.02	1.12	
English: precourse	1–4	3	2.66	.72	R=10, p<.05
English: postcourse	2–4	3	2.90	.67	
Vocabulary					
First language	1–5	4	4.10	1.01	
English: precourse	1–5	3	2.61	.68	R=14, n.s.
English: postcourse	1–5	3	2.77	.73	
Concentration					
First language	1–5	5	4.04	.98	
English: precourse	1–5	3	3.01	.89	R=13, n.s.
English: postcourse	1–5	3	3.20	.75	
Comprehension					
First language	1–5	4	4.21	1.07	
English: precourse	2–4	3	3.01	.89	R=10, p<.05
English: postcourse	2–4	3	3.14	.58	
Need for rereading					
First language	1–5	4	3.50	.99	
English: precourse	1–5	2	2.37	.86	R=15, n.s.
English: postcourse	1–5	3	2.57	.75	

Note. n = 82 ^{a}5 = highest rating

As the table shows, there was quite a gap between students' perceptions of their abilities in their first language and in English, both at the beginning and at the end of the quarter. The median score for all categories in first language reading was 4 or 5, with lower scores (3 in most cases) for reading in English. A comparison of the mean scores reveals that the gap was largest at the beginning of the quarter in the areas of reading speed and vocabulary, with students rating themselves respectively 1.42 and 1.51 points lower in English than in their first languages. While self-reported scores of this nature cannot be regarded as accurate measures of actual student abilities, this result nonetheless indicates that these students are aware of their deficiencies in these areas as compared with their first language reading skills.

The table also shows that students rated their abilities in English somewhat higher at the end of the quarter than at the beginning. Because these self-report data do not lend themselves to parametric statistics such as *t*-tests, a sign test was performed to compare students' perceptions of their abilities before and after the course (see Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991, for a discussion of the sign test). As the table indicates, the sign test showed significant improvements in self-perception of reading speed and comprehension. This result is encouraging as it lends credence to the anecdotal evidence of improved reading ability following rate development instruction.

As mentioned above, the questionnaires also contained a number of open-ended questions regarding students' perceived problems with reading, their goals for the course, and (in the postquestionnaire) their reaction to the timed reading program. Because of the complexity of coding and tabulating open-ended data, only the data from fall 1993 (the first quarter in which the questionnaires were administered) were analyzed. Tabulations of selected open-ended questions are found in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Open-Ended Question Responses

Precourse questionnaire		**Postcourse questionnaire**	
A. Reading problems		D. Reading problems	
Vocabulary	8	Vocabulary	7
Rate	4	Rate	2
Comprehension	4	Comprehension	2
Other	1	Concentration	3
No answer	14	No answer	16
B. Goals for reading class		E. Likes	
Speed	19	Pressure	5
Comprehension	13	Improvement	4
Vocabulary	6	Method	4
Other	5	Comprehension	2
		Content	2
C. Have you been taught reading strategies?		Speed	2
		Concentration	1
Yes	7	Bar graph	1
No	23	Questions	1
		No answer	7
		F. Dislikes	
		Pressure	6
		Content	3
		Returning readings	2
		Length	1
		Comprehension	1
		Questions	1

Note. $n = 31$. Numbers do not add up to 31 since students could provide more than one response per item.

A number of noteworthy findings can be derived from this table. First of all, nearly two thirds of the students mentioned reading speed as a goal of their ESL class. This was the most frequently mentioned goal and indicates that improving reading speed is a genuine concern of these students. More than two-thirds of the students reported that they had never been taught reading strategies. These findings support our initial perception that, given the importance of reading skills in the university, there is a need for such strategy training in the second language classroom.

In general, the students responded quite positively to the rate development exercises in their ESL classes. Only three out of 31 students reported that the exercises did not help them; the vast majority reported that they were helpful in several areas, citing improvement in their speed and concentration and ability to locate main ideas quickly.

As for student likes and dislikes about the program, the results are similar to those found by Cushing (1990). About the same number of students listed the pressure of timed readings as a positive aspect of the program and as a negative aspect. Similarly, although in smaller numbers, students were divided as to the content of the readings, with two students listing content as positive and two as negative.

One area which students consistently listed as a problem both at the beginning and at the end of the quarter was vocabulary. The timed reading program does not have as its primary goal the improvement of student vocabulary, and it may be that more attention needs to be paid to explicit work on vocabulary in the ESL reading class. However, several researchers have suggested that extensive reading increases vocabulary (e.g., Krashen, 1986; Seal, 1991); thus a program of reading rate improvement combined with attention to effective reading strategies could be very beneficial in terms of vocabulary development. Students gain more confidence and hence more enjoyment out of reading and therefore read more, in what has been termed the *virtuous cycle* of the good reader (Nuttall, 1996, pp. 127–128).

From the results of both the Likert items and open-ended questions on the questionnaires, we can see that reading rate is one of the major concerns of the ESL students in this study; it is also one of the areas in which students reported the most gains at the end of the quarter. This is an encouraging result and reaffirms our belief in the reading rate development component in the ESL curriculum.

Study 2

Our second research question focuses on the carry-over effect of rate development: Do the benefits of in-class paced and timed readings extend to academic reading outside of class? This study is similar to Cushing's (1990) research in that it is a pre-post design in which students' beginning-of-quarter reading rates are compared to their end-of-quarter rates. However, rather than using the standard 1000-word passages that are read in class, the pre- and posttests consisted of readings from an academic textbook in order to replicate the kind of reading students are more likely to encounter in their university courses.[2]

Two passages from an introductory astronomy textbook were selected and minimally edited to be approximately the same length (1690 and 1712 words, respectively). These texts dealt with ancient astronomy in the Greek and Roman world and in other cultures. Ten three-alternative multiple choice questions were written for each passage. At the end of fall quarter, 1993, both passages were administered to three sections of ESL 33C within a week. Results of this pilot administration showed that, while passage 2 took somewhat longer to read than passage 1, there was no difference in difficulty between the mean comprehension scores on the two tests based on a matched *t*-test.[1]

Both passages were administered in ESL 33C classes during spring and fall quarters of 1994. Passage 1 was administered to students during the first week of class, and passage 2 was administered during the last week of class. Students knew that the readings were timed and that they would have to answer comprehension questions at the end. A total of 64 students read both passages.

Results

Table 3 shows the descriptive statistics for the entire sample of 64 students. As the table shows, the average reading rate for the sample increased by about 40 words per minute, from 158.47 to 194.50. This increase was statistically significant based on a matched *t*-test. At the same time, however, comprehension was slightly lower on the posttest than on the pretest (5.80 correct versus 6.59 correct out of 10 possible). This decrease was also statistically significant based on the *t*-test results.

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Rate (wpm)[a]				
Pre-	158.47	34.68	99	260
Post-	194.50	42.37	143	428
Comprehension [b]				
Pre-	6.59	1.59	2	10
Post-	5.80	1.79	2	9

Note. $n = 64$
[a] $t = 6.58, p = .00$
[b] $t = -2.81, p = .00$

One possible explanation for the decrease in comprehension is the fact that this analysis combined students from two different quarters, who may in fact not constitute samples from equivalent populations. In general, fall quarter students tend to be placed into ESL 33C as a result of the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE), while those who enroll in 33C in spring quarter have either avoided taking the ESLPE or enrolling in ESL classes or have come up through the lower courses in the 33 series (33A and/or 33B). Such students tend to have lower proficiency than students placing directly into ESL 33C (see Brown, 1980, for a discussion of this phenomenon in ESL courses at UCLA).

To investigate the possibility that the two groups of students performed differently on the pre- and posttests, separate analyses were carried out on the data from fall and spring. The results of these analyses for spring and fall 1994 are found in Tables 4 and 5. As these tables show, students in both quarters increased their reading rate significantly; however, this rate gain was much more pronounced for the fall quarter students than for the spring quarter students. In fact, the posttest scores for the spring students were very similar to pretest scores for the fall students (168.24 and 164.02 wpm, respectively).

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics: Spring 1994

Variable	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Min.**	**Max.**
Rate (wpm)[a]				
Pre-	143.11	31.36	102	218
Post-	168.24	29.96	99	204
Comprehension [b]				
Pre-	6.47	1.58	3	9
Post-	5.16	1.77	2	10

Note. $n = 17$
[a] $t = 2.23, p = .04$
[b] $t = -2.79, p = .01$

Table 5
Descriptive Statistics: Fall 1994

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Rate (wpm)[a]				
Pre-	164.11	34.44	99	260
Post-	204.00	42.41	148	428
Comprehension [b]				
Pre-	6.64	1.61	2	10
Post-	6.06	1.73	2	9

Note. $n = 47$

[a] $t = 6.43, p = .00$

[b] $t = -1.72, p = .09$

In terms of comprehension, the tables show that, while comprehension was slightly lower for both groups of students on the posttest than on the pretest, the decrease in comprehension was only statistically significant for the spring quarter students.

There are several possible explanations for this decrease in comprehension for the lower proficiency spring students. While the two tests had been shown to be equivalent in difficulty in pilot testing, it is possible that their comprehension of the first passage may have been facilitated by the fact that the subject matter of the passage (the history of Western astronomy) was more familiar to the students in the sample than that of the second passage (astronomy in other ancient cultures).

Another possibility is that the emphasis placed on increasing speed in class, combined with the lower level of difficulty of the in-class passages compared with the test passages, may have prompted some students to adopt a strategy of reading through the test passages as quickly as possible without monitoring their comprehension and adjusting their speed to ensure more complete comprehension. This strategy may have been adopted more frequently by the weaker spring students than the fall students.

To summarize the results of Study 2, there appears to be some carryover from the simpler readings practiced in class to more difficult readings, although for some students reading these longer, more complex passages at a faster rate led to decreased comprehension. Since this phenomenon occurred more frequently with spring students, it may be that rate development carryover is generally more effective for students who are already fairly strong readers; weaker readers may need to work more intensively on bottom-up skills such as word recognition and vocabulary development before rate development exercises can be maximally beneficial. Such students may also need help in identifying appropriate strategies for tackling more difficult texts so that they can adjust their reading speed accordingly.

Conclusion

Based on the research described in this paper, we know that students are concerned with reading rate and comprehension, and we know that a rate development component does improve students' rate in the ESL classroom. It also seems that rate improvement does carry over to readings of a more academic nature, but perhaps only for the more proficient readers. Although questions still exist as to how strong this carry-over effect is and for what length of time it lasts, these studies provide substantial evidence that a rate development component may be of significant benefit for university ESL students. We hope that the results presented in this paper will encourage both reading rate development in the academic ESL classroom and further research into this important but neglected area of second language teaching. ■

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Endnotes

[1] Because of the major earthquake in Southern California in January 1994 we were unable to collect data during winter quarter of that year.

[2] As in Cushing's study, a limitation of this study is the lack of a control group. We felt that the benefits of rate development activities for students outweighed considerations of research design.

[3] Although the second passage took longer to read than the first, we felt it was important to have two readings from the same source to control for differences in readability. Also, the case for rate development would be strengthened if students showed gains on the longer, somewhat more difficult passage.

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Appendix A
Questionnaire Given at Beginning of Course

Name ____
First language ______________________________________
How many years have you studied English? _________
How many years have you lived in the U.S. or any other English-speaking country? _______
Grad _____ Undergrad _____ Major ____________________________

First language reading	Poor		Average		Excellent
How *well* do you read in your first language?	1	2	3	4	5
How *fast* do you read in your first language?	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you *understand* what you read in your first language?	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you *concentrate* when you read in your first language?	1	2	3	4	5
How would you describe your vocabulary in your first language?	1	2	3	4	5
Do you have to reread material in your first language in order to understand it?	Always 1	2	Sometimes 3	4	Never 5

Reading in English	Poor		Average		Excellent
How *well* do you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How *fast* do you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you *understand* what you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you *concentrate* when you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How would you describe your vocabulary in English?	1	2	3	4	5
Do you have to reread material in English in order to understand it?	Always 1	2	Sometimes 3	4	Never 5

In the last week, about how many hours did you spend reading in your first language?

What did you read?

In the last week, about how many hours did you spend reading in English?

What did you read?

On average, how many hours a week do you spend on reading assignments at UCLA?

Do you have any problems reading class assignments? If so, what are they?

Have you ever been taught specific reading strategies in your first language or in English? If so, what were they?

What would you like to learn about reading in an ESL class?

Appendix B
Questionnaire Given at End of Course

Name ______________________ Section ______________

Part I	Poor		Average		Excellent
How *well* do you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How *fast* do you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you *understand* what you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you *concentrate* when you read in English?	1	2	3	4	5
How would you describe your vocabulary in English?	1	2	3	4	5
Do you have to reread material in English in order to understand it?	Always 1	2	Sometimes 3	4	Never 5
How much has your overall reading in English improved this quarter?	Not at all 1	2	Somewhat 3	4	A lot 5
How much has your reading *rate* in English improved this quarter?	1	2	3	4	5
How much has your reading comprehension in English improved this quarter?	1	2	3	4	5

Part II

1. In the last week, about how many hours did you spend reading in English?

1a. What did you read?

2. On average, how many hours a week do you spend on reading assignments at UCLA?

3. Do you have any problems reading class assignments?

3a. If so, what are they?

4. Has doing timed/paced readings this quarter helped you in any way?

4a. If so, how?

5. What, if anything, did you like *best* about doing timed and paced readings?

6. What, if anything, did you *dislike* about doing timed and paced readings?

7. Will you be taking ESL 35 during Winter quarter?

8. Would you be willing to meet once briefly with one of the service course instructors during winter quarter to discuss your academic reading skills?

8a. If yes, please give your phone number and the best time to call:

The CATESOL Journal

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Making Online Databases Accessible to ESL Students

■ This article describes a model of online database instruction that draws on the collaboration of content faculty, reference librarians, and ESL teachers. In this model, implemented at California State University, Los Angeles through Project LEAP (Learning English for Academic Purposes), online database instruction is hands-on and is integrated into the demands of a multistep writing assignment required in selected general education courses. The article describes the six rationales on which the model relies and presents the sequence of activities designed to promote independent online database use by ESL students.

Within the last five years, the nature of the college and university library has changed considerably. Until the early 1990s, doing library research involved using the card catalogue and print indexes. With the microcomputer revolution and the subsequent growth of the Internet, the card catalogue has literally disappeared from the library and, instead, students have to rely on the electronic services available from the Internet, a network of computers that offers access to online databases and other services.

When it comes to online Internet databases, ESL students, both recent immigrants and international students, find themselves in a position of disadvantage due to a number of factors. These factors include insufficient access to and training in computer use ("Computers in Schools," 1996), a frequent lack of understanding of the American university library in general (Sarkodie-Mensah, 1986; 1992) and online resources in particular, and a limited awareness of the academic language needs of ESL students on the part of library professionals (Macdonald & Sarkodie-Mensah, 1988; Sarkodie-Mensah, 1992).

These observations were validated in an investigation at California State University, Los Angeles (CSLA) (Kamhi-Stein, 1996). A survey administered to 93 entering freshmen from a Spanish-speaking background living in the Los Angeles area revealed that library use at the high school level was very limited. As can be observed in Table 1, 15% of the students indicated that they never used the library and another 36% stated that while in high school, library use was limited to no more than five times a semester. Additionally, the survey showed that, to find books, an overwhelming number of students relied on the card catalogue and *not one* student reported using online databases.[1]

Table 1
Library Use by High School Level: Frequencies and Percentages

Frequency	Number	Percentage
Twice/week, minimum	11	(12)
Once/week	9	(10)
Six–10 times/ semester	19	(20)
One–five times/ semester	33	(36)
Never	14	(15)
Other	7	(7)

Note. n = 93

The CSLA library, much like most university and college libraries in California, is rapidly becoming a "library without walls." Fifty computer terminals have recently been installed in the library, and students are required to have a computer account to access the online databases available at CSLA. To function in an electronic environment like the one just described, students need to have high levels of electronic literacy. It is thus essential that ESL students be given access and exposure to and training in the use of new technologies (Sayers, 1996), including online databases (Shiver, 1995). The question that remains is what methods to use to teach ESL students how to use online databases, help them become independent database users, and promote the acquisition of academic literacy skills in English.

A Model for Electronic Resource Instruction

The model of electronic instruction described in this section has evolved from my work with content faculty and reference librarians working for Project LEAP (Learning English for Academic Purposes) at CSLA, a project supported by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) (see Snow, 1994 for a description of the project). As part of Project LEAP, content faculty in three introductory general education (GE) courses (political science, animal biology, and health science), a reference librarian, and I, as the ESL instructor, redesigned the library requirements of the courses to integrate online database training. The model of electronic resource instruction was later refined with language minority students from Asian and Spanish-speaking backgrounds enrolled in the 1993 and 1994 Summer Bridge and Science Summer Bridge Programs and in a variety of general education courses. Since the model of electronic instruction described in this article has resulted in improved student online research strategies in content and ESL courses, it has been adopted by over 60 faculty teaching lower and upper division courses across the disciplines.

The model of electronic resource instruction relies on six complementary rationales:

1. *Online database instruction is the joint responsibility of reference librarians, content faculty, and ESL instructors.* In a traditional approach to library instruction, training in online databases remains the sole responsibility of reference librarians. While librarians are experts in the field of information science, they are often not aware of and are, almost always, unprepared to meet the academic language needs of ESL students (Macdonald & Sarkodie-Mensah, 1988; Sarkodie-Mensah, 1992).

The model proposed here advocates a nonisolationist view of instruction. In this view, supported by experts in the library science (i.e., Kelly, 1995) and ESL fields (i.e., Benesch, 1992; Snow, 1994), instruction becomes the responsibility of interdisciplinary teams, in this case reference librarians, ESL teachers, and content faculty.

2. *Library instruction is integrated in the context of a multistep writing assignment required in a content or ESL course.* Customarily, online search strategies are taught in a decontextualized manner. This implies that little emphasis is placed on embedding online strategy use into the requirements of content and ESL courses. Therefore, coordination between content instructors and library specialists is minimal, if nonexistent.

At CSLA, online database instruction is grounded in the demands of the content or ESL course in which students are enrolled (Carson, Chase, Gibson, & Hargrove, 1992). For example, in the introductory animal biology class, which requires students to fulfill a multistep scientific paper assignment on the topic of biological rhythms, students learn how to use three databases, *ArticleFirst*, *Applied Science and Technology Index*, and *General Sciences Index*,[2] all of which contain information relevant to the scientific paper assignment.

The integration of online database instruction into the requirements of a multistep writing assignment, which requires students to submit exercises in stages, insures the multiple use of online databases. Specifically, after participating in the library instruction session designed to train them in the use of online-database research strategies, students submit a graded library exercise to their content or ESL instructors. They then turn in a selected section of the writing assignment, requiring them to integrate the sources identified in the library exercise. After this, the course instructor provides students with feedback on the section as well as with comments on the range and quality of the library sources. Depending on whether the sources are too broad or narrow, students may be asked to run a new online search and integrate the newly identified references into their revised version of the section. This process approach to online database instruction not only promotes proficient database use but also results in assignments that include sophisticated references.

3. *Library instruction is hands-on.* A very common approach to library instruction involves learning how to use the library through lectures and demonstrations (Barclay & Barclay, 1994; Saule, 1992; Williams & Cox, 1992). Typically, students participate in a library tour in which reference librarians show students how to identify resources. Because demonstrations do not allow students to engage actively in learning, a workshop approach to online database instruction that provides for practice in hands-on activities appears more appropriate for training students in the use of databases (Bradigan, Kroll, & Sims, 1987).

In a workshop approach to database instruction, reference librarians encourage students to work in collaborative learning groups so that students can help one another. Instruction begins with the librarians modeling appropriate online database search strategies as students follow the librarians' examples on their computers. Then, working in dyads or triads, students are asked to conduct a search using synonyms for the descriptor used in the first search. Finally, working in dyads, students are asked to structure a search related to the writing assignment required in the content or ESL course in which they are enrolled.

For example, in the library instruction session integrated into the introductory animal biology course, reference librarians model a subject search using the descriptor *biological rhythms*, which is the topic of the scientific paper assignment in the content course. As they do this, students follow the instructions given on their computers. After completing the first search, reference librarians ask students for synonyms or topics related to biological rhythms. Using the synonyms and related topics as descriptors (i.e., *circadian rhythms, jet lag, sleep deprivation, biorhythms*), students are asked to work in dyads or triads, search the databases, and compare the results of the new search with those of the first search.

4. *Online database instruction is meant to provide students with scaffolds.* ESL students have very limited experience with online databases. Therefore, training in their use should provide students with assisted performance or *scaffolding* (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). In the context of online database instruction, scaffolding involves having ESL students work under the guidance of reference librarians acting as "more capable others" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). As ESL students gain control over their own online-database learning process, reference librarians gradually reduce the amount of scaffolding provided, thus promoting independent performance.

5. *Instruction is designed to promote independent online database strategy use.* In the model of database instruction described in this article, emphasis is placed on the development of metacognitive awareness as to what search strategies to use, why the strategies have to be used, and how and when to use the strategies (Anthony & Raphael, 1989; Garner, 1987; Weinstein & Mayer, 1986). By way of example, in using the electronic bibliographic databases, students are asked to determine (a) what subjects are covered in the database (e.g., anthropology, biology, chemistry, law, etc.); (b) what type of publications are covered in the subject database (e.g., books, journals, magazines, papers, or conference proceedings) (Rader & Coons, 1992); and (c) whether the searching software of the database uses Boolean operators (e.g., *and, or, not, and not*) or proximity operators (e.g., *w/1 or adj/1*). Additionally, students are asked to determine whether the coverage of the database is restricted to a specific time frame. Since it is not uncommon for many electronic databases to provide indexing to journals for the last decade or two, a search of older journals must be still be done in print indexes. Finally, students are asked to decide whether the database displays the full text of the article or permits online purchase of this text; they are also asked to determine whether the searching software allows them to limit or restrict their search by (a) subject, (b) author, (c) title of article, (d) journal name, (e) language of publication, and (f) a range of dates or a specified date.

6. *Library instruction provides students with comprehensible input. For ESL students, online database-related vocabulary is considered to be a third language.* As part of the online database training sessions, reference librarians are

asked to provide students with comprehensible input (Krashen, 1981). Specifically, they are asked to define library-related terminology that is beyond the students' current level of comprehension (i.e., *descriptor, database, Boolean*) and to recycle new terminology in different contexts. This provides students with input in high-frequency library-related vocabulary, ultimately leading students to understand online terminology.

Implementing the Model: The Instructional Context

As already explained, in this instructional model, responsibility for online-database training is shared by reference librarians, content faculty, and ESL instructors. Appendix 1 summarizes the structure of the 10-week-long online database instructional program implemented at CSLA.

This shared responsibility is evidenced in several ways. First, content faculty identify a topic for the multistep writing assignment in their content classes. Working in collaboration, content faculty and reference librarians identify descriptors and select a list of databases as well as journals, magazines, newspapers, and electronic media that the students will be required to use to complete the multistep writing assignment. After this, ESL instructors assist reference librarians and content faculty in developing a library activity—and an accompanying handout—sequenced into manageable tasks which provide students with comprehensible input. Appendix 2 presents a summary of the strategies that, based on nearly four years of experience, are recommended for coordinating tasks among content faculty, reference librarians, and the ESL instructors.

Conclusion

The integration of online database instruction into content and ESL courses has been widely accepted by both ESL students and ESL instructors at CSLA. As reflected in the comments below, students note increased self-confidence in their ability to use databases as well as satisfaction with learning a skill that they need to apply in their classes:

> Before this class, when I went to the library, I did not use the computers. I went directly to the stacks and looked for books and magazines that looked familiar. Now I go to the computers and find everything I need. (Ana)

> I like to use the library now. I know what I need to do to find the articles that I need for my classes. When I meet with my friends on the weekend, we talk about what we read on LEXIS/NEXIS. (Irma)

Irma, like many ESL students participating in the library instruction program described in this article, expresses a preference for using LEXIS/NEXIS, a database that provides full-text access to journals, magazine and newspaper articles, as well as television and radio programs. Probably, it is the convenience of full-text retrieval in LEXIS/NEXIS that makes it appealing to ESL students.

Content instructors note an enhancement in the quality of the sources identified by their students. As explained by introductory animal biology and political science instructors, training in database use has resulted in a significant improvement in the students' ability to identify appropriate content-related references and to work independently. However, many content instructors have found themselves challenged by the need to upgrade their skills in the use of online databases. This is evidenced by the fact that over 50% of the CSLA faculty have participated in a database training program offered by the CSLA library.

In summary, the integration of online database instruction into the demands of content and ESL courses provides ESL students with opportunities to develop online database research skills which are needed to complete assignments requiring the use of library resources. With the expansion of the Internet and the likelihood of more full-text resources being available on the Internet, it is essential that ESL students be routinely taught how to use the online databases available on the Internet. ■

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Endnotes

[1] The survey instrument is available from the author at the Division of Educational Foundations and Interdivisional Studies, Charter School of Education, California State University, Los Angeles CA 90032.

[2] *ArticleFirst* is a database of 12,500 journals from 1990 to the present which covers all topics including popular science. *Applied Science and Technology Index* is a database indexing the 350 major journals in the sciences from animal science to zoology. *General Sciences Index* is an index to 150 journals in the sciences which relies on nonscientific and scientific terms for descriptors. Coverage includes the more popular science magazines such as *Discover, Nature, Scientific American*, and *Sky and Telescope*.

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Appendix 1
10-Week Online Database Instructional Program
Recommended Structure

Week 2

Instructors' objective: To familiarize ESL students with online databases

- Students are assigned a paper topic on which they will work for the rest of the quarter.
- Students receive guidelines on how to complete the paper.
- As part of the GE or ESL class, students participate in a library "hands-on instructional session" in which they learn how to use online databases.
- Students are asked to complete a follow-up graded library assignment (see Week 3).

Week 3

Instructors' objectives: To encourage online database practice; to determine whether the sources identified are appropriate for the purposes of completing the multistep writing assignment.

- Students turn in the follow-up graded library assignment, which requires them to identify a number of sources applicable to the paper assignment. This task allows them to obtain practice in computer database use and permits instructors to determine whether students have identified appropriate library references.

Week 5

Instructors' objectives: To determine whether or not students are in the process of learning how to use online databases; to provide students with feedback in their database strategy use.

- Students complete a draft of selected sections of the paper. The literature review section, which includes the sources identified in the graded library assignment and the bibliography, are good examples of the sections which are turned in at the midpoint of the term.
- Depending on the quality of the sources identified by the students, they may be asked to go back to the library and continue researching their topic.

Week 10

Instructors' objectives: To determine the extent to which students have become successful online database strategy users.

- Students turn in the complete paper, including the revised version of the section(s) originally completed.
- Students may be asked to give a presentation based on the paper findings.

Appendix 2
Microstrategies for the Implementation of Online Database Training

Prior to the beginning of the term, content or ESL instructors should:

- select a paper topic that students will enjoy working on for a full term
- contact the library reference librarian or subject specialist to help them design an online database assignment
- select journals, magazines, newspapers, and electronic news transcripts services (e.g., LEXIS/NEXIS) appropriate for the purposes of completing the multistep writing assignment.

During the online database training session, the reference librarian or subject specialist should:

- provide students with a list of key descriptors, a list of online databases, and the names of print indexes appropriate for completing the writing assignment
- have students work in dyads or triads; in this way, students will help one another with keyboarding skills
- allow sufficient time for the online database instructional session.

After the online database training session, ESL or content instructors should:

- provide students with feedback in their online database strategy use
- require students to complete a library assignment, give students feedback on the references identified and, when necessary, ask students to run another online search.

The CATESOL Journal

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How Much Is a Picture Worth? An Experiment

Chinese proverb: *Seeing something one time is better than hearing it a thousand times.*

English proverb: *A picture is worth a thousand words.*

■ **Despite the growing popularity of using video in language education, there has been limited research on its effectiveness. This paper reports on an experiment incorporating news broadcasts into two listening classes for international students who were studying in an intensive English program: a high-intermediate class and an advanced class. Two questions were addressed: (a) Does the aural comprehension of ESL students differ according to medium of presentation: audio or video? and (b) does the level of student proficiency interact with medium of presentation to affect the aural comprehension of ESL students? The results indicate that video does not necessarily improve students' listening comprehension of news broadcasts. Results indicate that there is an interaction between medium of presentation, specifically video, and proficiency level. Research into the effectiveness of video and audio is needed to inform classroom practices.**

Using video in language classrooms has become increasingly common and popular, not just for teaching listening skills but also for teaching other language, content, and cultural skills. The use of teacher-made as well as student-made videos has long been advocated as has the use of authentic video material such as TV shows, documentaries, news reports, and film (e.g., Cooper, 1996; Cooper, Lavery, & Rinvolucri, 1991; Santos, 1993). Stempleski and Tomalin (1990) state that video can motivate students, prepare students to communicate in the target language, introduce nonverbal aspects of communication, and provide data and situations for cross-cultural comparison. Advocates of video note that it provides learners with input, stimulus, and discourse models (Devenney, 1990).

In the last 10 years more and more commercial video tapes and even video language programs have become available. These fall into two basic categories, the first being the most common: (a) curriculum-based videos and (b) videos that use authentic material (i.e., videos produced for the general native speaking public. In this paper, I call these "authentic videos."). The curriculum-based videos are designed to accompany a language textbook, workbook, or series of texts (e.g., *French in Action* video series [Capretz, 1987], *Follow Me to San Francisco* [Griffin, 1981], the *Interchange* video series [Richards, 1996]) and may be marketed as complete language programs (e.g., *Crossroads Cafe* [Savage, Gonzales, McMullin, & Minicz 1996 and Intelecom, 1996], *Family Album, U.S.A.* [Beckerman & Kelty, 1990–1995]). These videos are generally dramas, much like soap operas in format, with a group of characters whom the language students quickly get to know. The format for authentic videos varies more and includes videos teachers write materials for (e.g., segments of *60 Minutes*, Public Broadcasting series such as *Nova*, or movies) as well as commercially available videos with accompanying texts (e.g., *American Picture Show* [Mejia, Kennedy, & Pasternak, 1992], a text using film as the content, and *ABC News ESL Video Library* [Stempleski (Ed.), 1992–1995], which includes *Culture Watch* [Tomalin, 1995] and *Focus on Business* [Maurice, 1992]).

Language faculty teaching listening or oral communication classes often choose texts that have an accompanying video and incorporate authentic videos into their classes, believing that video improves language learning more than audio does. Yet, how much is a picture worth in learning a second language? Specifically, how much is a video worth? Despite the increase in the availability and the use of video in language teaching, there has been limited experimental research on its effectiveness, the majority of which has focused on curriculum-based videos. Research suggests that the use of curriculum-based videos improves the listening comprehension of high-beginning foreign language students (Herron, Secules, Morris, & Curtis cited in Rubin, 1994; Secules, Herron, & Tomasello, 1992). Rubin (1990) found that the use of video dramas that support the linguistic information (i.e., the audio portion) improves comprehension. That is, if the video drama corresponds closely to the linguistic input (i.e., audio portion), students understand more than with the audio only. Other research

(Dunkel, 1991; Mueller, 1980; Rubin, 1994) suggests that the general language ability of the listeners is an important factor in determining how beneficial video cues are.

To add to the body of research on the effectiveness of using authentic video material (i.e., national news broadcasts) in language teaching, I incorporated a pilot study with an experimental design into two listening classes for high intermediate and advanced international students in an academic intensive English program. Two questions were addressed:

1. Does the aural comprehension of ESL students differ according to medium of presentation: audio or video?

2. Does the level of student proficiency interact with medium of presentation to affect the aural comprehension of ESL students?

In addition to conducting the experiment, I gave students a questionnaire about their perceptions of the usefulness of video and audio at the end of the semester (i.e., the end of the experiment).

Methods

The subjects were 37 ESL students in two 15-week listening classes at the Intensive English Program at the University of San Francisco: 17 high-intermediate-level students (10 males and 7 females) and 20 advanced-level students (11 males and 9 females). The students in both groups came from a variety of countries. In the intermediate class there were seven Japanese, three Southeast Asians, two Europeans, two Taiwanese, two Latin Americans, one Korean and one Saudi Arabian. In the advanced class there were eight Chinese speakers, three Southeast Asians, three Mexicans, two Europeans, two French Polynesians, one Algerian, and one Korean. For the intermediate group the average pre-TOEFL score was 460, with a low of 407 and a high of 493; the average section 1 (listening) subscore was 48, with a low of 41 and a high of 55. For the advanced group the average pre-TOEFL score was 533, with a low of 493 and a high of 600; for the presection 1 (listening) subscore the average was 53, with a low of 45 and a high of 61. The post-TOEFL and postsection 1 TOEFL scores showed marked differences also. A two-tailed *t*-test of the pre- and postscores on the TOEFL and section I (listening) showed that the differences in the group means on these four variables were statistically significant at the 0.01 level. (See Table 1.) Thus, the data indicate that these two classes were distinct groups based on their English proficiency.

Table 1
Test Scores of Intermediate and Advanced Groups

	Intermediate[a]		Advanced[b]			
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t* (two-tailed)	*p*
TOEFL1	459	27	533	25	-8	.0001[c]
Subscore1	48	4	53	3	-4	.0004[c]
TOEFL2	501	35	570	35	-6	.0001[c]
Subscore2	51	4	57	4	-4	.0001[c]

Note. TOEFL 1 and Subscore 1 are scores from August 1990 and TOEFL 2 and Subscore 2 are scores from December 1990.

[a] $n = 17$

[b] $n = 20$

[c] statistically significant

As a component of the classes, each group received 10 aural comprehension exercises, consisting of five audio and five video news clips from such programs as the *McNeil-Lehrer Newshour* and *ABC News* with Peter Jennings. Except for the medium of presentation, both groups received identical treatment on the Friday of each week for 10 weeks. In other words, each group received identical oral content, the same comprehension questions, the same number of repetitions of material, and the same amount of time to complete the exercises. The medium of presentation alternated for each group, with the intermediate class receiving the video presentation one week and the advanced class receiving video the next week. To maximize the learning benefit for students, when I returned the papers from Friday's exercise, I replayed the tape (often several times), either video or audio depending on the medium used on Friday, and we went over the exercises, answered any questions, and discussed successful listening strategies.

The topics and the length of the news clips varied (see Table 2). Topics included medical issues (i.e., organ transplants, Alzheimer's disease, and encephalitis) political issues (i.e., the California Gubernatorial Race, marijuana as a cash crop in the U.S.) and social/environmental issues (i.e., drunk driving, education, the environment, and consequences from the 1989 earthquake in the San Francisco Bay Area). Seven lessons were five minutes or under, with the shortest being two minutes ("Encephalitis"), and three lessons were 8 1/2 minutes or more, with the longest being 12 1/2 minutes

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Table 2
Programs Presented for Intermediate and Advanced Groups

Subject area/ program	Length	Medium of presentation
1. Education: Ability Grouping ABC Nightly News: American Agenda	5.0 minutes	Audio - Advanced Video -Intermediate
2. Drunk Driving ABC Nightly News: American Agenda	4.5 minutes	Audio - Intermediate Video - Advanced
3. Marijuana ABC Nightly News: American Agenda	5.0 minutes	Audio - Advanced Video - Intermediate
4. Encephalitis ABC Nightly News: News Story	2.0 minutes	Audio - Intermediate Video - Advanced
5. Organ Transplants McNeil-Lehrer Report	8.5 minutes	Audio - Advanced Video - Intermediate
6. Aftershock (Report about 1 year after the Bay Area earthquake in 1989) McNeil-Lehrer Report	11.0 minutes	Audio - Intermediate Video - Advanced
7. Campaign '90 (California gubernatorial race) McNeil-Lehrer Report	12.5 minutes	Audio - Advanced Video - Intermediate
8. Alzheimer's Part 1 ABC Nightly News: Vital Signs	3.5 minutes	Audio - Intermediate Video - Advanced
9. Alzheimer's Part 2 ABC Nightly News: Vital Signs	3.5 minutes	Audio - Advanced Video - Intermediate
10. The Environment ABC Nightly News: American Agenda	4.0 minutes	Audio - Intermediate Video - Advanced

Note. Lessons are listed in the order presented.

("Campaign '90: California gubernatorial race"). The format for all the news clips was similar. The anchor introduced the topic of the news story, giving background information and often giving the main idea. The majority of the news clip was a series of scenes related to the story with a reporter's voice over. Frequently there were comments from individuals in the scenes, and near the end of the report, the reporter rephrased the main idea before returning to the anchor. For example, the "Drunk Driving" lesson began with the reporter talking over scenes of police officers stopping, questioning, and testing drivers at a sobriety check point; then moved to a bar for individual comments about sobriety checkpoints; then had various other scenes with individuals commenting (e.g., portions of a speech from a MADD [Mothers Against Drunk Drivers] rally; comments from a mayor, a police officer, a judge, and a convicted drunk driver); then the reporter closed the report and the anchor reappeared, thanked the reporter, and commented on the legal status and issues surrounding sobriety checkpoints.

Each lesson had 10 questions except for the first lesson, which had eight questions: five to seven multiple choice questions and three true/false questions. Scores were the number correct out of the ten questions, except for scores on the first lesson, which were computed on a percentage to correspond to the perfect score of 10 on the other nine lessons. Questions focused on stated details or generalizations, implied information, and the main idea. The average score for each student for each medium of presentation (audio or video) was computed by dividing the total number of answers correct by the number of lessons. For example, if a student missed one of the five audio lessons, her average score was based on scores from four lessons. The majority (71%) of students missed fewer than three lessons.

For the first four lessons, the tapes were played three times, whereas for the last six lessons the tapes were played twice. Students were instructed to watch or listen to the tape the first time; then the comprehension questions were distributed and students had four minutes to read over the questions before the tape was played again. When the tape was played a third time, students were given approximately three minutes between the second and third playings. After the final playing, students were given another three minutes to complete the questions.

Near the end of the semester after the 10 lessons had been completed, students completed a questionnaire on their opinions about using video and audio, the ease and difficulty of each medium, and their preferences for medium.

Any differences in length or difficulty of the news clips, difficulty in the comprehension questions, or differences in which class received video or audio for which lessons, were random. Thus, these differences should have had no systematic influence on the performance of the subjects or on the results of this study.

Table 3
Intermediate Group Means With Standard Deviations for Audio and Video Lessons in Rank Order

Audio

Subject	*N*	*M*	*SD*
Drunk Driving	14	8.43	1.40
Aftershock	12	7.17	1.47
Alzheimer's Part 1	17	7.00	1.27
Encephalitis	14	6.79	1.85
The Environment	17	6.59	1.46

Video

Subject	*N*	*M*	*SD*
Education: Ability Grouping	16	8.00	2.00
Campaign '90	15	7.07	1.67
Marijuana	16	6.88	1.50
Organ Transplants	14	5.93	1.38
Alzheimer's Part 2	15	5.87	1.96

Note. Group means are the average number of questions answered correctly out of 10 questions.

Results

To answer the first question—Does the aural comprehension of ESL students differ according to medium of presentation?—a two-tailed paired t-test was run. The results showed no significant difference between individuals' performance on video or audio lessons ($t = 0.26$, $df = 37$).

To answer the second question—Does the level of student proficiency interact with medium of presentation to affect the aural comprehension of ESL students?— descriptive statistics were analyzed and ANOVA and correlation coefficients were computed. The lesson with the highest mean for both groups was "Drunk Driving," in which the advanced class had video and the Intermediate class had audio (advanced $M = 9.29$; intermediate $M = 8.43$). The two lessons with the highest group means when the advanced class had audio and the intermediate class had video were "Education; Ability Grouping" and "Campaign '90" in that order (Table 3 and Table 4). The advanced group consistently scored higher than the intermediate group regardless of medium of presentation, with one exception. On the "Marijuana" lesson, the intermediate group (video) scored slightly higher than the advanced group (audio) (intermediate *M* = 6.88; advanced *M* = 6.67). (See Figure 1.)

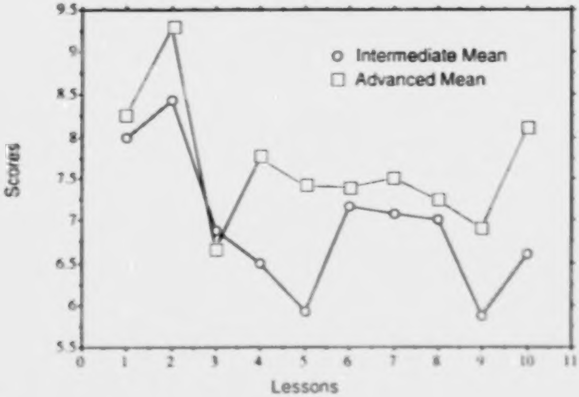
Table 4
Advanced Group Means With Standard Deviations for Audio Lessons in Rank Order

Audio			
Subject	*N*	*M*	*SD*
Education: Ability Grouping	14	8.28	2.00
Campaign '90	16	7.50	1.78
Organ Transplants	17	7.41	1.37
Alzheimer's Part 2	10	6.90	1.52
Marijuana	18	6.67	1.03
Video			
Subject	*N*	*M*	*SD*
Drunk Driving	17	9.29	0.59
The Environment	16	8.12	1.41
Encephalitis	19	7.74	1.28
Aftershock	15	7.40	1.55
Alzheimer's Part 1	17	7.24	0.75

Note. Group means are the number of questions answered correctly out of 10 questions.

Analysis of variance showed no statistically significant difference between the two group means on audio presentations; however the difference between the two group means on video presentations was significant at the 0.0001 level (Table 5). The correlation coefficients between medium of presentation and class, pre-TOEFL score, pre-TOEFL listening subscore, post-TOEFL score, and post-TOEFL listening subscore showed the same pattern: audio had a very low correlation with these variables (ranging from -0.11 to 0.23) whereas video had a moderate positive correlation (ranging from 0.34 to 0.58). The correlation coefficients between video and three of the other variables (i.e., class, pre-TOEFL, and post-TOEFL) were statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level; the correlation coefficients between video and the two TOEFL Listening subscores (pre and post) were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level. None of the correlation coefficients between audio and any of the other variables was statistically significant at either of these levels (Table 6).

Figure 1
Means of the Intermediate Students and Means of the Advanced Students on the 10 Listening Comprehension Lessons, With the Lessons Listed in the Order Given



Note. See Table 2 for the subject area and other information about each lesson.

Table 5
Summary of Analysis of Variance on Medium of Presentation for Intermediate and Advanced Groups

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Audio					
Between groups	1	1.71	1.71	1.95	0.171
Within groups	36	31.52	0.88		
Total	37	33.22			
Video					
Between groups	1	12	12	18.64	0.0001[a]
Within groups	36	23.17	0.64		
Total	37	35.17			

Note. [a] statistically significant

Table 6
Correlations Among Class, Scores, and Medium of Presentation

Medium of Presentation	Class^{a}	Pre-TOEF score T1^{b}	Pre-TOEFL listening subscore S1^{c}	Post-TOEFL score T2^{d}	Post-TOEFL listening subscore S2^{e}
Audio	0.23	0.11	-0.08	0.10	-0.11
Video	0.58^{g}	0.57^{g}	0.37^{f}	0.47^{g}	0.34^{f}

Note. $^{a}n = 38$
$^{b}n = 35$
$^{c}n = 35$
$^{d}n = 35$
$^{e}n = 35$
^{f}statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level
^{g}statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level

Students were asked two questions after completing 10 lessons: Which type of medium did you find the easiest to understand and why? and Which type of medium do you prefer overall—audio or video? Thirty-one students answered the questionnaire (13 intermediate students and 18 advanced students). As shown in Table 7, all but two individuals reported that video was the easiest to understand and 23 reported that they preferred video. The most frequently written comments were that it was easier to understand with the sound and the picture (nine responses) and that it was easier to remember the content when there was a picture (seven responses). The next two most frequent comments were that one could easily guess the meaning with the picture (four responses) and that video was more interesting/fun (three responses).

In observing students doing the lessons each week, I noticed that few students took notes regardless of the medium. With video lessons all students watched intently and seemed focused, whereas with the audio lessons, students seemed more restless and looked around more and even closed their eyes while listening. As I collected the papers, students often commented that video lessons were easier than audio lessons.

Table 7
Tally of Responses to the Two Questions and Written Comments in Response to Question 1

1. Which type of medium did you find the easiest to understand and why?
Audio = 0 Video = 29 Both = 1 No Response = 1

Written comments	**Number of Respondents**
Easier to understand with the sound and the picture.	9
Easier to remember content with the picture.	7
Can easily guess the content with the picture.	4
More interesting/fun with the video.	3
Video is easier but both are hard.	1
Video is better. I could keep my conscious to watch the program. However, it could be easy. So, I am not sure which is better.	1
With audio, I could concentrate on listening.	1
All are hard - easier if you know about the subject.	1
No video on the TOEFL.	1

2. Which type of medium do you prefer overall—audio or video?
Audio = 0 Video = 23 Both = 5 No Response = 3

Note. n = 31 (advanced = 18; intermediate = 13)

Discussion

Neither group did consistently better on one medium: video or audio. In fact, the advanced group scored higher than the intermediate group on nine of the 10 lessons, regardless of medium. The results suggest that adding a video component to the linguistic (i.e., audio) input does not necessarily improve comprehension of news broadcasts. However, the data indicate that there is an interaction between proficiency level and medium of presentation, specifically an interaction between proficiency level and video. This interaction between video and proficiency level is evidenced by the results on the ANOVA on medium of presentation and results on the correlations between medium of presentation and class and between medium of presentation and TOEFL scores and TOEFL listening section subscores. Putting these results into the larger context of what constitutes listening comprehension and what affects it can help us interpret the data.

Research suggests that listening comprehension is a complex, little understood skill that is affected by numerous factors: text characteristics, environmental features, and listener characteristics (e.g., Bacon, 1992; Dunkel, 1991; Markham, 1988; Rubin, 1994). Text variables include speech rate, comprehensibility of accent and speech patterns of the speakers, perceived expertness of the speaker, length of passage, linguistic complexity of the lexis and syntax, degree of explicitness, redundancy, discourse markers, and conceptual difficulty of the content. Environmental variables include ambient noise and distractions such as lawn mowers outside, phones ringing, voices outside the classroom, temperature of the room, and lighting. Listener variables include intelligence, gender, language proficiency, attention, age, motivation, affect, purpose of task, learning style and strategy, familiarity with the topic (i.e., background knowledge or content schema), and familiarity with the script or format (i.e., textual schema).

In this study, text features as well as listener characteristics may have played an important role. The news stories were similar in format, length, and speech rate. However, the lessons may have differed in linguistic difficulty, in the redundancy and explicitness of the text, in text type, and in conceptual difficulty. For example, both groups did better on "Alzheimer's Part I" than on "Alzheimer's Part II." (advanced Part I $M = 7.24$ [video] and Part II $M = 6.90$ [audio] ; intermediate Part I $M = 7.00$ [audio] and Part II $M = 5.87$ [video]). Part I dealt with defining the disease and its symptoms by focusing on one woman and her family, whereas Part II dealt with current research and possible causes and cures for Alzheimer's. Students in both classes commented that Part I was easier than Part II. This may have been because Part I, unlike Part II, was conceptually fairly easy and was a narrative text type.

Closely related to text features is the correspondence of the video to the linguistic input (i.e., audio). Research done with drama videos suggests that the correspondence between linguistic input (i.e. audio) and the visual presentation affects comprehension (Herron, et. al., cited in Rubin, 1994; Secules, et. al., 1992). Rubin (cited in Rubin, 1994) argues that "it is the selection that is critical, not just the use of video alone" (p. 205). The results of the two lessons on Alzheimer's may speak to this point in that the visual cues in Part I, almost a minidrama, closely correspond to the linguistic cues; Part II is more abstract and pictures of researchers in white coats, holding test tubes, and standing in front of instruments convey less specific information than a minidrama.

Related research, done with native English speakers, adults and children, cited in MacWilliam (1986) suggests that the addition of a nonlinguistic visual component (video) to the linguistic component (audio) may lead listeners to ignore the sound (linguistic component) if there is a perceived conflict between the picture and the sound. In other words, individuals may generally pay more attention to the visual cues than the linguistic information. This might be the case when the linguistic cues are difficult to understand as well as when there is seeming disparity between visual and linguistic cues.

In addition to text features, listener features may have influenced the results. Two patterns from this study suggest that the background knowledge of the listeners may affect comprehension: (a) the two groups had similar overall comprehension patterns on each lesson in relation to adjacent lessons (Figure 1), and (b) both group means were the highest on the "Drunk Driving" lesson followed by the "Education: Ability Grouping" lesson. Were the listeners more familiar with these two topics than the other eight? Members of the advanced class with the video lesson on "Drunk Driving" snickered during the scene when police had a drunk driver attempt to walk on a yellow stripe in a straight line. Research into the importance of content schema in listening comprehension suggests that students understand more when they are familiar with the content of the listening passage than when the topic is unfamiliar (Long, 1990; Markham & Lathman, 1987) and that L2 listeners may overextend their background knowledge onto inappropriate data (Long, 1990; O'Malley, Chamot, & Kupper, 1989). Do visual cues help students call up related background knowledge and in certain cases overextend that knowledge? In a study of nonnative speakers' comprehension of news broadcasts in Spanish, Weissenreider (1987) found that both content schema and textual schema (knowledge about the newscast process) augmented the comprehension of news information.

Despite the fact that students did not consistently do better on the video lessons than on the audio lessons, none of the students felt that audio was easier and only one stated that both video and audio were equally easy. Students perceive the video cues to make the content of the lesson more interesting and easier to understand and remember . In addition, the overwhelming majority also stated that they preferred video over audio. Students may feel more comfortable watching a video and more confident of their listening ability than when listening to an audio tape.

Conclusion

Intuitively, many language teachers, as well as language learners, feel video lessons in comparison to audio lessons are more effective in teaching listening skills and improving comprehensibility. Yet, this experiment shows that the addition of video does not necessarily improve students' comprehension. We should not blindly embrace all uses of video or eliminate the use of audio. Research is needed into the suitability and effectiveness of video and audio for language instruction. This study raises questions about the effectiveness of video and audio. These questions include:

- Do more proficient students benefit more from visual cues, with lower proficient students relying and incorrectly extending these cues when they have difficulty with the linguistic cues?

- How do the effectiveness and comprehensibility of curriculum-based audio and video lessons compare to the effectiveness of authentic audio and video lessons?

- What text features affect comprehensibility most? Are these text features equally critical in audio and video presentations?

- What learner characteristics seem most salient for comprehension of audio and video material?

We need a more rigorous, research-based approach to inform our classroom practices in the use of both audio and video. With the help of sound research, we can assist students to benefit from both media and can perhaps help them realize the proverb that "A picture is worth a thousand words." ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

"If We *Really* Knew Our Students": Exploring Learner Backgrounds in the ESL Classroom

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In the rush to adopt learner-centered curricula and honor learner preferences and styles in the classroom, the learners themselves sometimes get lost. Before an effective learner-centered curriculum can be put in place, teachers need to have substantial background information about the learners in front of them. Teachers would never visit a foreign country without finding out something about the geography, language, and customs of the country that they were about to visit. But ESL teachers routinely handle classes of students from such distant shores as Brunei and Qatar with only the most rudimentary information about the location, size, languages, religions, and social practices of the countries from which their learners come. When teachers lack knowledge about their learners' origins, they miss valuable opportunities for the learners' background knowledge and experience to inform the tasks and texts of the ESL classroom. They also miss the chance to make the classroom a multidimensional learning situation, with teachers learning about students as well as students learning about each other and the rest of the world and the United States.

What kinds of information can expand teachers' horizons, especially if they wish to know their students well and thus make the language learning experience more relevant and effective?

Helpful Information

Student's Country of Origin

This information includes knowledge of the size, geographic location, and history of the country of origin. Is the country an island nation that has a history thousands of years old, like Japan—or is it an old culture but a new nation like Israel? Or does the student come from a culture in search of a nation, like Armenian culture? Is the culture relatively homogeneous, with a dominant language, ethnic group, and religion or philosophy, like Japan—or has it been historically multiethnic and multilingual, like Malaysia? Are there groups in the country which suffer discrimination along one dynamic or another, like the Chinese in Indonesia? Likewise, teachers might be surprised to learn, for example, that although the literacy rate of Honduras in Central America is 73%, the literacy rate of nearby Costa Rica is 93%, nearly as high as that of the U.S., which is 96% (Famighetti, 1997). Information on per capita income, mortality, and average number of children can likewise give teachers some indication of a country's economic and health conditions as well as social organization, thus contextualizing the students' origins.

Learner's Language and Language Background

It is not safe to assume that the first language of someone from India is Hindi, from Mexico is Spanish, or fromHaiti is French. Many East Indians are native speakers of Dravidian languages unrelated to Hindi, while some Mexicans are native speakers of Nahuatl or other Indian languages, and most Haitians speak Créole before learning French in the educational system. While we can assume that most students from southern China speak Cantonese and most from Taiwan speak Mandarin, they may speak other languages as well, like Shanghainese or Taiwanese. Some knowledge of the colonial history of the countries from which the students come can also help teachers predict students' familiarity with other languages. For example, older students from northern China often know Russian or Japanese, older students from Indonesia, Dutch, and older students from Vietnam, French. Similarly, some students have already had substantial contact with English because of historical exposure to the British or Americans, as in India, Hong Kong, and Singapore—or the Philippines, Samoa, and Puerto Rico. It is useful to remember that many of the students in our classes are probably already multilingual or multidialectal, reflecting the linguistic diversity common in most countries besides our own.

Often the ESL teacher's first contact with the learner's first language is the student's name on the class roster. Students are particularly appreciative when ESL teachers know something about their names. Naming differences include the fact that, in some countries, many people have the same surname, such as *Park*, *Kim*, or *Lee* in Korea, or *Nguyen* in Vietnam. Children of a given generation in Chinese families generally have the same middle name, and their first names often mean something, like *Mei Hua* (beautiful flower) for a girl. Some knowledge of name order and pronunciation helps as well. In China and Vietnam, names are typically said with the surname first followed by the given and middle names. Thus, a student called *Min Chen Zhao* in English would actually be *Zhao Min Chen* in China, with the *zh* pronounced /j/. Students from Indonesia and parts of India may have only one name. For students from Spanish-speaking countries, the father's surname is generally the *first* name of a double last name and not the last; for example, *Gabriel Garcia Marquez* would be *Gabriel Garcia* in the U.S. rather than *Gabriel Marquez*. Certain adult students might be offended by the instructor's calling them by their first name, while other students might object to the Americanization of their names. Given the plethora of options, the best strategy is to consult the students themselves on their naming preferences. Likewise, teachers should not be put off when students call them *Teacher*. This term of address is a preferred title for many students from abroad whose cultures deem that the honorific be used in place of the teacher's individual name. ESL teachers, however, may wish to socialize students into U.S. preferences and practices so that the students will not offend their other instructors by repeatedly calling them *Teacher*.

Circumstances of the Student's Arrival

Whether students have come to the U.S. voluntarily or not may be reflected in their adjustment to the ESL classroom. The degree of voluntariness of the students' arrival may exist on either the national or family level. Clearly, students who are political refugees have left their countries because their lives were in danger in their own country. The fact that these students are in the U.S. (rather than another country) may have been dictated by proximity (e.g., most Salvadorean refugees came north) or by assignments received in refugee camps. Likewise, regions of the world in dire economic straits, such as some parts of Mexico and Africa, force their residents to leave. Indeed, a goodly part of the immigration history of the United States reflects this response to deep and ongoing political, religious, and economic difficulty in the country of origin.

For nonrefugee families, the situation may have been more negotiable. Perhaps the family was surviving in the country of origin, but key family members felt that the family should seek its fortunes elsewhere, often for a combination of economic and educational reasons. When the prime movers in the family decide that such a move is indicated, spouses and children are caught up in the relocation, sometimes against their will. Older members of the family in particular may resent the disruption in their lives and the necessity of giving up all that is familiar in order to accompany the rest of the family to the new setting. Such feelings may initially affect students' performance in ESL classes. Fortunately, however, the ESL classroom itself is a place where people who have shared such disruptive experiences can establish social contacts that will help them in their adjustment to the new setting.

Class and Regional Background of the Student

The term *class* has less rigid boundaries and connotations in the United States than in many other countries and cultures. Still, class background can give important clues to the educational opportunities that have been open to students. It is helpful to know whether class structure does or does not figure strongly in the social stratification of the student's homeland. If it does, then students from the same country but different class backgrounds may exhibit quite different characteristics in terms of their literacy and attitude toward education, as well as quite different political attitudes. In many countries of the world, higher education and even secondary school are reserved for the country's elite. Attending school is not so much a right as a privilege, and public education may be limited. ESL teachers must be wary of both overestimating and underestimating their students' prior educational experiences. In fact, in countries where education is reserved for the elite, the general level of education is often significantly higher than that found in corresponding grades of a U.S. public school as schools in these countries are not charged with educating the entire population of young people.

Another distinction that can be helpful for teachers is to know if students come from rural or urban backgrounds. Students from urban backgrounds are often familiar with such urban amenities as subway systems or metros, large libraries, museums, exhibition halls, zoos, theaters, and other landmarks (e.g., government buildings, churches, temples) and can be counted on to know and share something about them. The knowledge of country dwellers is often centered around the demands of life on the farm—the expertise required for animal husbandry and the raising of seasonal crops. In such rural cultures, harvest festivals linked to the fertility of the land are common, and students can share these experiences. Teachers conversant with the urban versus rural aspect of their students' background can call upon such information as students encounter these settings in their speaking, reading, and writing materials.

In certain countries, knowledge of a student's regional background provides a wealth of information about that student's language and cultural practices and preferences. In Peru, for example, a student from *la sierra* (the mountains) might well be bilingual in Spanish and Quechua and would likely know the distinct dances, music, and food of this culturally well-defined area. A student from *la selva* (the jungle), whether bilingual or not, would have knowledge of the languages spoken by the indigenous peoples of the region and a totally distinct repertory of foods and customs which have grown in part out of geographical differences and in part out of the cultural practices of the different groups inhabiting the area. And a student from *la costa* (the coast) would most directly reflect the Spanish influence on Peru in speech as well as in dance, music, and cultural orientation. In fact, in some countries a regional cultural identity may supersede the national identity, as in the case of the hill tribes of Laos.

Student's Prior Education

The preceding section on social class and regional background suggests that upper class students from other countries are likely to be better educated than their working class counterparts. However, it is helpful to know what the norms for a given country are. It may be that everyone is expected to complete the eighth grade or secondary school or two years of college in a given country. Having discovered the norms, one would also want to know how the students fared in their own educational systems. Were they able to reach the norm? Perhaps their education was disrupted by political upheaval and could not be continued, or perhaps economic constraints or scarcity of schools precluded their attaining the level of education desired. Inviting students to share the specifics of their prior educational experiences can be fruitful as well. Typically, how many students were in a class in the country of origin? Was the style of teaching mostly lecture or question-answer or something else? Were the students encouraged to speak out in class or mostly to listen? If the students could speak, was it mostly recitation or could they question their teachers and probe their expertise on the topic at hand. Was the learning style rote memorization, or were students asked to engage in critical thinking? (Students trained in rote memorization may need support in adjusting to a critical-thinking approach.) Was the emphasis more on *what* one learns (product) or on *how* one learns about a certain content area (process)? The topic of education itself thus becomes an opportunity for students to explore the question of exactly what learning is while they engage in their own learning of English.

It can be particularly helpful for teachers to know what language learning looked like in the students' schools of origin—whether language study centered around the first language, a foreign language (not necessarily English), or both. What did a typical language class look and sound like? Was the emphasis on reading and translation or on developing listening and speaking skills? What kinds of materials did the teachers use and what kinds of activities did the students participate in? How many hours per week did they work on language, and what was the configuration of the group—teacher-centered, small groups, or other? Did the students have an opportunity to use the foreign language outside of class at all? Was the study of the language optional, or was it mandatory, and if mandatory how did the students feel about it? Likewise, learning how English is viewed in the student's country of origin can offer teachers clues to their students' attitudes and motivations vis-à-vis the study of English in the U.S.

Activities That Promote Learner Input

In theory, we might wish to have such information about all our students before they arrive in the classroom. However, the fact that we do not may be fortunate, as it requires that we consult our students and invite them to disclose such information about themselves and their countries. This is content well worth pursuing—content about which students are sure to have something to say. Working such content into our ESL classes can be done in both direct and indirect ways.

Direct

Direct ways include such activities as the "country quiz." The following is the kind of quiz that teachers can construct about the countries of origin of the students in their class. Each week or month can feature a different country. For example, high school or adult students of intermediate proficiency could handle some or all of the following:

"We know that Jorge comes from Peru and speaks Spanish."

- Which continent is Peru on?
- How can you get to Peru, and how long would it take?
- Name one country, mountain range, or body of water that bounds Peru.
- What is the capital of Peru, and what is the population of Peru (approximately)?
- What are the major languages spoken in Peru?
- What kind of government does Peru have, and who is the current leader?
- What are the major geographic regions of Peru?
- What are the major religions of Peru?
- How old is Peru as a nation?
- Was Peru ever a colony of another country? If so, which one?
- What agricultural or industrial products come from Peru?

- Name a famous Peruvian, living or dead, and tell what that person is famous for.

Teachers can select questions from such a list, or assign students the task of researching the answers to one or two questions. Some of the above information can come from the students themselves, and the rest is readily available from a world almanac, encyclopedia, or software/CD-ROM program like *World Atlas* or the World Wide Web. Each week the country of a different student (or group of students) can be highlighted. The country can then be outlined in magic marker on a world map and the students' towns or regions of origin located via push pins. If the students have pictures, post cards, books, or brochures from their country, they can bring them in to explain what the major tourist attractions are and how much it costs to stay in the country.

Information about the learners' language background can also be elicited by a more direct approach. Beginning students can tell how many languages and dialects they know and name their first language while the teacher records this information on a chart or overhead. Then the students can practice "Hamid speaks Farsi and English" and so on. In intermediate and advanced classes, the teacher can ask each student to tell three other students which languages they speak (though students may have to ask how to spell the names of the languages). The teacher can then ask, "Who can tell me about Maria?" and someone can answer, "Maria speaks Spanish and English" or "Carmen speaks Spanish, English, and Nahuatl." This activity educates both the teacher and the other students and leads to an appreciation of the linguistic ability of others. It also boosts the self-esteem of students vis-à-vis their own language expertise as it uncovers their often multilingual abilities in a supportive and appreciative environment.

Another entertaining and engaging activity is to have students who are literate in their first language write their name or a short expression on the board in the first language and then pronounce it. The expression might be something like a greeting or "What's your name?" Classmates can then learn to say the name or expression and, if adventurous, copy it down. Students quickly become fascinated when the script of the first language is different from Roman script as in the case of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, Arabic, Farsi, Hindi, Russian, Greek, and so on. Again, students gain a new appreciation of their classmates' linguistic expertise, especially their ability to read and write a different script as well as to adjust to the Roman alphabet. Somewhere along the way, students realize that writing conventions—reading and writing in rows instead of columns, or from right to left instead of from left to right—are just that, conventions. This realization can foreground a useful discussion of writing conventions in English. Additionally the activity above can provide ESL instructors with important clues as to why their students are experiencing certain difficulties in English writing—why Arabic speakers, for instance, find it so hard to write *on* the lines of a piece of paper rather than between the lines.

Indirect

Information about the circumstances of the students' arrival can be acquired more indirectly as such information can be woven into the speaking, reading, and writing activities that would be occurring anyway. For example, work on writing naturally lends itself to student narratives, such as arrival narratives. In fact, the "arrival story" is a common narrative subgenre among authors with roots in other countries. In introducing this genre, teachers can talk about their own family histories—for example, which generation was the immigrant generation—or about an arrival experience of their own—perhaps moving from one coast to the other or leaving a small town to live in a metropolitan area. These stories of uprooting and adjustment can lead students to share their feelings and experiences about their own arrival in the U.S. in an atmosphere of support and trust. Such trust is necessary as refugee arrival stories may border on the harrowing while immigrant arrival stories often involve much disruption of the family. On the other hand, certain arrival stories will entail much humor and adventure—stories of misplaced passports and bizarre immigration interviews. These stories may be shared either orally or more privately in journals, whatever the students are comfortable with. All of the above tap into the students' affective side and help teachers see the students as whole persons rather than only as "good" or "not-so-good" communicators in English. Teachers may also catch important glimpses of learner motivations regarding the study of English.

Likewise, information on social class, regional background, and prior education can be captured in discussions of what it means to be rich or poor in the U.S. or in another country or what schooling is like in the U.S. or in another country. For example, the distribution-of-wealth question is an important social issue often aired in the U.S. media. While students need not designate themselves as rich, poor, or middle class, their perspectives on situations in their country of origin will help the teacher understand their educational (and other) options in both that country and the U.S. Regional origins can likewise be explored in discussions of life in the country versus life in the city and the advantages and disadvantages of each. Prior educational experience can be explored in speaking exercises in which the students are asked to "describe a typical class (language, math, history, etc.) in grade X in your country."

Students from different countries can talk in pairs or small groups to reveal details about typical lessons—how many students per class, seating arrangements, number of hours a week, how much homework, whether or not students talk in class, what kinds of activities students generally engage in, and so on. Such discussions prove equally enlightening to teachers, who can learn the kinds of activities that the students are accustomed to, whether translation or memorization are routinely used, as well as the amount and kind of homework that students are used to doing. Favorite educational practices from the country of origin can be elicited as well. For example, one teacher discovered that her advanced students from China had regularly published a small class newspaper in English and held an annual poetry contest at which students read or recited poems from English literature. She successfully instituted these practices in her own class.

Conclusion

The information and activities above collectively serve to contextualize the students in our classrooms. We see the students not as isolated entities but rather as individuals juxtaposed against the rich geographic and sociocultural background of their homeland. Perhaps more importantly, such information can transform both teachers and students. We the teachers become the novices as our students literally bring the four corners of the earth to our classrooms. We become knowledgeable and appreciative of the traditions and practices that accompany our students. Our horizons expand as we learn of the histories and heroes of other nations as well as of social and educational practices that differ significantly from our own. Despite our own necessarily limited experience, we (like the students in our classes) become citizens of the world. We also become sophisticated rather than naïve educators, and our students feel more comfortable as our lack of knowledge of their origins and circumstances diminishes. As we progressively create more common ground with our students, our dialog with them becomes rich and fluent. Having found creative ways to integrate students' background information into our regular round of classroom practices, we are amply rewarded through our own expanding expertise and our students' knowledgeable and enthusiastic participation in the classroom. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Where Are the Books?

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Research indicates that children benefit when they are encouraged to develop a reading habit and interest in reading from an early age (Goodman, 1986; Krashen 1993b; Smith 1986). For those students who come to school speaking a language other than English, it is further argued that reading ability is best developed in the native language. Then it can be readily transferred to a second language (Cummins, 1994; Thonis, 1981). This suggests that reading interest should be encouraged in the primary language. If this is true, second language learners need to have access to books in their primary language. This paper reports on three studies which specifically focus on the availability of Spanish books in public elementary schools with large numbers of second language learners who have Spanish as their primary language. These studies were driven by the following question: If students are to learn literacy in their primary language, where are the books in that language for them to read?

Study 1

We visited four elementary (K–6) school libraries in the greater Los Angeles area in order to tabulate the number of books available in Spanish. Data on the precise number of books were collected from two of these schools, School 1 and School 2, each having a population of approximately 1200 children, 90% with Spanish as their primary language. Table 1 lists the number of books in both Spanish and English for School 1 and School 2.

Table 1
Number of Books in Two Public Elementary Schools

	School 1		School 2	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total books in library	6570	100	4418	100
Total books in English	5570	84.8	3449	78.1
Total books in Spanish	1000	15.2	969	21.9
Books in Spanish K–2	672	10.2	639	14.5
Books in Spanish 3–4	297	4.5	296	6.7
Books in Spanish 5–6	31	.5	34	.8

Note. Percentages do not add up exactly due to rounding off of decimal points. We then examined the selection of books by students in School 1 as they made their decisions about which books to select for check out (see Table 2). While the percentage of Spanish books checked out ranged from 0% to 75%, the average percentage was 18.2%. It is important to note that of the total of 75 Spanish-language books checked out, 50 were checked out by one first grade and one third grade class. This may be a direct result of the acute lack of books in Spanish in the upper grades (see Table 1).

Table 2
Books Checked Out to Various Classes at School 1

Grade	Books checked out	Spanish books out	Percentage of books out in Spanish
K	52	1	1.9
1	27	4	14.8
1	25	19	76.0
2	14	8	57.1
3	61	31	50.8
3	41	0	0
3	5	0	0
4	27	1	3.7
4,5	33	7	21.2
4,5,6	6	4	66.7
5	78	0	0
6	42	0	0
Total	411	75	18.2

We also found that individual teachers tried to compensate for the lack of Spanish books by providing books themselves. One sixth grade teacher at School 1 reported making trips to Tijuana to purchase books, but even so she was unable to provide enough Spanish books for free reading. At this same school the annual book fair revealed a similar pattern: Among the small selection of Spanish-language books (about 6% out of approximately 500 books in total) there was but a handful of titles above the second grade level, making the purchase of a Spanish-language book for a child from the upper grades nearly impossible. In summary, Study 1 showed few books in Spanish and even fewer in the upper grades.

Study 2

In order to examine the reasons for the lack of Spanish reading material, we sent questionnaires (adapted from Schon, Hopkins, Main, & Hopkins, 1987) to school librarians at 32 elementary public school libraries (one per school) in the Los Angeles area. The librarians were asked to respond to a series of eight questions relating to their library's acquisition of Spanish books, including whether Spanish books are difficult or cost-prohibitive to obtain. They were also asked to estimate the average circulation of the Spanish books.

According to the survey results, 54% of those responding indicated that Spanish books were difficult to obtain; 70% indicated that the cost of obtaining Spanish books was too prohibitive (n = 13). Participants also reported that 25% of all books in circulation were Spanish-language books from the school's library.

The finding that books in Spanish are too expensive is supported by the authors' own observations regarding the prices of Spanish books in the greater Los Angeles area, where they are approximately 50–200% more expensive than books in English. For example, an average hardback book in English costs approximately $15. A similar book in Spanish costs at least $25 and may cost more. The same is true for paperbacks. In addition, the fact that the librarians found the Spanish books difficult to obtain further compounds the problem of the scarcity of Spanish-language books in school libraries.

Study 3

We visited three elementary (K–6) school libraries in one large urban district in Los Angeles County to investigate district policy regarding the acquisition of books in Spanish. District librarians choose their books from an approved district list. Only 300 titles on the list were available for purchase in Spanish as compared to more than 5,000 in English. A crude calculation reveals that even if these books were age appropriate, a child reading two books a week would finish every Spanish volume in the library before entering the fourth grade. This calculation does not address the issue of appropriateness of reading materials or adequate numbers at each grade level. If the Spanish books on the list are typical of those that we found in the schools we surveyed, then there were fewer books for upper grade students. Some might argue that older children have less need to read in the native language as they begin to transition to all-English instruction. This argument, however, does not take into account recent immigrants who may still receive instruction or need content-related background in their primary language, or, for example, students literate in their primary language entering middle school who still need primary language instruction and support until they are ready to transition to English. It further does not address the issue of choice of language in self-selection of reading materials within maintenance programs that support the primary language after transition.

Conclusion

Proponents of bilingual education have long argued that students should read in their native language (Crawford, 1994; Snow, 1994; Thonis, 1981). Since children get the majority of the books they read from libraries (Krashen, 1993a), it is crucial that there be enough primary language books in school libraries to maintain a healthy reading habit in Spanish for those students who read in Spanish. However, there appears to be a limited availability of children's books in Spanish in elementary school libraries. This lack of primary language materials is even more critical in languages other than Spanish, for which there are even smaller numbers of books available. This shortage is one of several issues (such as understaffed libraries or libraries without regular schedules) which negatively impact these facilities.[1] Since access to reading materials is crucial to the development of literacy, this lack of primary language materials has negative implications for both literacy and the academic success of students who come to school speaking a language other than English. If the schools we visited are typical, this lack of books will seriously compromise the success of bilingual education as well as the literacy development and academic success of English-language learners at all levels. ■

Endnote

[1] A disturbing note: Four libraries were actually visited but data were unavailable from two. Three of the four libraries did not have regular hours or staff, and one was periodically used as a storeroom.

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From ESL to Technical Studies: Designing a College Bridge Class

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At Los Angeles Southwest College (LASC), as well as other community colleges, large numbers of ESL students enter technical career courses in computer-aided drafting, computer servicing, electronics, and machine shop. Other students attend programs such as nursing or take general education requirements prior to transferring to a four-year college. Because the ESL program cannot be designed for a specific group of students, there is a large disparity between the language demands of the ESL classroom and those of the content area.

One method of addressing this disparity at the college level has been the use of adjunct classes, where ESL instructors work with students as they take content classes, providing support in both language and academic skills (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989). As originally discussed by Brinton et al., adjunct classes were seen as orienting students to a specific content class that was being taught concurrently. In recent years the concept has received some new variations. Adamson (1993) discusses a "precourse" type of adjunct as a way to prepare students who are not yet ready to enter a given content class. And Iancu (1993) relates how an adjunct class gradually grew into an adjunct program with upper level ESL classes integrating content and skills from content courses.

Another way to ease the challenge facing ESL students is through bridge classes. Bridge classes are taught prior to the content classes and are not necessarily oriented to one specific course. Both bridge and adjunct classes are subcategories of content-based instruction (CBI) (Adamson, 1993; Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989; Snow & Brinton, 1992). In content-based instruction, students are taught representative subject matter from the content area in a manner that the students understand, while the students use English to master the material. Language skills needed in the content areas are acquired through this process. CBI requires that students have intermediate-level language skills. Consequently, neither adjunct nor bridge classes, which use CBI methods, are suitable for ESL beginners. If the English skills of the students entering either type of class are too limited, the necessary content discussion and learning cannot occur.

Chamot and O'Malley (1987) discuss the motivation and methodology for creating academic bridges for students exiting ESL. Their discussion is about K–12 classes, but much of it also applies to higher levels. Otherwise, bridge classes are considerably less discussed in the literature than are adjunct classes. Neither Brinton, et al. (1989) nor Adamson (1993) mention bridge classes in their typologies. However, bridge classes, adjunct precourses, and adjunct programs that are part of regular ESL classes all serve the purpose of creating a transition phase between ESL and regular content classes. In all of these (as well as in concurrent adjunct classes), instructors combine content and language learning with explicit attention to strengthening students' academic skills. Instructors work with students in such areas as listening to lectures and taking notes, reading textbooks, writing, and test preparation. This assistance is essential at LASC, where many students have weak academic backgrounds as well as difficulties with English.

At LASC the diversity of student interests and resource limitations has led to one bridge class serving all students interested in technology programs. This arrangement has the additional advantage of introducing students to some of the different areas of technology education. In certain respects technology education is a particularly good candidate for CBI methods. Technical areas are often less language intensive than the humanities and social sciences, while hands-on work, math, demonstrations, charts, and schematics make up a greater part of the course activity and material.[1] These nonlinguistic sources help ESL students to comprehend the information. On the other hand, the density of technical information, the need for precision in its use, and students' academic weaknesses create other difficulties. For this reason, prior knowledge and experience greatly ease the transition to future classes.

This article describes the bridge class at LASC, discusses how the curriculum has been developed, and points out some specific benefits students derive from the course. There is also discussion of the importance of interdepartmental cooperation, the need for ESL instructors to communicate with and gain assistance from content-area instructors (difficulties that ESL instructors face in developing a bridge course), and suggestions for overcoming these difficulties.

Course Development

The technical studies bridge class at LASC is the joint product of the technology department and the Bilingual Center.[2] ESL classes are organized separately through the English department, not the Bilingual Center. The goodwill and excellent communication that exists between the Bilingual Center and the technology instructors has been essential to the success of the bridge class. I began working at LASC in the technology department, where I teach machine technology. Being part of the technology department and having collegial relations with its instructors made coordinating between them and the bilingual counselor easier than it may have been for most ESL instructors.

The bridge class is called Introduction to Technical Studies and was initiated by the bilingual counselor to meet the needs of students entering technical fields. Funding for the bridge class is provided by grant money available for vocational education under the Vocational and Technical Education Act (VATEA). The course is usually taught one semester a year or 15 Saturdays for a total of 60 hours.[3] Posters are distributed across the campus, and all students (ESL and non-ESL) are welcome, but active recruitment is carried out mainly through the Bilingual Center and the upper level ESL classes.[4] In recent years, from 20 to 34 students have enrolled, with some student attrition as the weeks proceed. Officially, the course is conducted as a workshop on a noncredit basis. Attempts are being made to have the class accepted as a regular academic course, but the outcome is far from certain.

The Bilingual Center writes the grant proposals and enrolls the students while the class is held in the regular technology classrooms and laboratories. I am one of the instructors and plan the curriculum as well as teach most of the course. Other technology instructors have taught the quality control and computer repair portions of the class. The extent to which other instructors are enlisted is a variable dependent upon their schedules and how much grant money is available.

The involvement and assistance of the technology instructors has facilitated developing an authentic curriculum, which is of great value in a bridge class. When class materials as well as the cognitive demands made upon the students in the bridge program are similar to those of content classes, the gap between ESL and content classes is substantially reduced. To this end technology instructors have provided textbooks, films and videos, exercises, and suggestions for what to focus on.

Curriculum and Methodology

The basic approach of the course is to teach representative aspects of technology so that students can gain the skills and confidence necessary to succeed in content area classes. The goal is for students to digest a limited amount of material as thoroughly as possible. In contrast to regular content classes, in which students are accountable for mastering all the required material, our focus in the bridge class is on building a foundation and increasing student confidence. This means that we have the luxury of adjusting the time spent in different areas to accommodate student interest and need.

Most students who attend the bridge class need academic skills as well as language development. Because math work is an area of particular difficulty, a lot of time is spent reviewing fractions, decimals, algebra and trigonometry formulas, geometry, and working with hand-held calculators. We also work on such study skills as notetaking, organizing and retrieving information, and reading. The emphasis varies according to student needs. (See Appendix A for a sample outline.)

We use some short readings from an electronics textbook along with practice exercises and videos provided by an electronics instructor. Comprehension questions have been developed to accompany the electronics readings and exercises. We work with examples of charts and diagrams because technical information often comes in this densely packed form. When material has been discussed and well understood, we do short writing exercises, such as explaining why a certain schematic means that circuit A is open or closed. Another example is outlining the step-by-step procedure for selecting and using appropriate formulas for electricity calculations. We practice writing procedures in a precise manner to address the fact that students can often understand how to do something when it is explained or demonstrated in class but cannot take effective notes for later reference. Many have a learning style that involves listening, observing, and practicing without being able to break an operation into specific sequential steps. This leaves them with an impression of how to do something rather than a precise record. Understanding and following procedures is vital to success in technical classes in which instructors rarely write out everything they demonstrate or explain. Therefore, students must be able to clearly identify and record the steps in an operation.

Building Confidence: Difficult Work and Hands-On Activity

To help students past initial barriers in technical studies, it is vital to include content that is cognitively as well as linguistically demanding. If the class is to function as an effective academic bridge, at least a portion of it must approach the difficulty level students will encounter in regular content courses. ESL teachers normally provide a sheltered and supportive environment for their students; in a bridge class this lessens the shock of plunging directly from ESL into content classes. But it would be counterproductive to make the course too easy.

Deliberately including difficult material may seem to contradict what was said earlier about focusing on building confidence rather than on mastery of a full curriculum. However, success with challenging work not only builds more confidence than success with easy work but also better prepares students for regular content classes. Hence, curriculum in a bridge class needs to range from relatively easy to relatively hard. If students go through the entire course without work that is as difficult as the work that they will encounter subsequently, they will not build the foundation of academic skills and confidence that they need. The bridge class is intended to be relaxed in pace but substantive and challenging in content.

One particularly useful technique is to let students know when they are encountering material that will be difficult and to tell them up front that they are not expected to understand it the first time. We tell students that work will continue until they understand the material. Mastering the work should be presented as the joint responsibility of the instructor and the students. This reduces the intimidation that some students feel. Students must experience for themselves the fact that they can learn difficult material if they take the necessary time and exert the necessary effort.

It is also important—at least part of the time— that the instructor not move on until difficult material is understood by slower students. Students with poor academic backgrounds frequently make erratic efforts and give up too quickly. Bridge classes have a tutorial role to play that is undermined by moving on before students have experienced the learning of material that originally seemed too hard.

Success hinges upon persistence, time, and level of effort—attributes which instructors can actively encourage among students. And, of course, allowing instructors more time and repetition greatly assists students with weaker English skills.

One additional and essential curriculum component is hands-on activity, especially with computers. Operating shop machines and completing tasks on a computer are examples of hands-on activities. These activities provide a change of pace for some of the weaker students who struggle with the academic lessons. The highlight of our bridge class is three weeks spent in the computer lab, where students identify and remove components as well as reassemble the computers. The trick, of course, is for the computers to function afterwards. Usually they do.

Challenges for ESL Instructors

Developing a bridge class requires a commitment over time. The instructor must talk to content area instructors, gather and evaluate material, and learn new material well enough to teach it. In preparing this class I encountered areas of technology with which I was unfamiliar, and there was too much new content to develop the curriculum all at once. At first, the course was more heavily concentrated in areas that I knew, but new material has been added and the balance adjusted each time the course has been offered. After four or five repetitions, the course is infinitely better and easier to teach.

It helps for the instructor of a technical studies bridge class to have a technology background and aptitude, but ESL teachers who lack this experience need not feel intimidated. Bridge classes are not a substitute for regular content area classes, and teaching one does not require being an expert. Community college students start at a very basic level of study, and they have often been ill-served in their high school education. They need help with language, technical reading and writing, academic skills, and content learning in English. An ESL instructor can acquire enough basics to provide representative, discipline-based lessons and develop academic skills in such areas as: performing specific math operations; accessing information in charts, tables, and reference sources; and explaining electrical circuits, computer components, and computer procedures. ESL instructors can begin by developing rapport with sympathetic technology instructors, observing some classes, perusing textbooks, and viewing instructional videos. This will provide a feel for the subject matter and some ideas for lessons. They can also conduct a survey of content instructors to help determine student needs.[5] Individual instructors can weight the curriculum to teach to their strengths. The key is to make the classes substantive and relevant, focus on what they do best, and enlist as much help as possible from content instructors; it is neither necessary nor possible to be comprehensive.

Conclusion

ESL teachers who want to develop bridge classes in any academic discipline must be willing to commit the necessary hours and effort to master basic concepts in the content area and to develop close working relationships with content-area instructors. Because there is much new subject matter in a bridge class, curriculum development occurs over time. However, the effort is well rewarded. The bridge class instructor helps ESL students integrate into the regular content classes they will be pursuing. The interest of the students in learning the material and the growth of their academic skills are both strong sources of satisfaction.

Because it is funded by a grant which must be renewed each year, the future of the LASC bridge class is never certain. Documented success would obviously strengthen the case for grant renewal. However, at this point there are no tabulations about rates of student achievement and retention as a result of the bridge class. Student feedback forms (see Appendix B for a sample) indicate high enthusiasm levels for the course, particularly the sections dealing with computers. More formal measures of success may be developed in the future.

It is my hope that the course will continue to be funded and improved. It has been a welcome opportunity to help ESL students as they leave the protected environment of the ESL classroom and enter career-training classes. ■

Endnotes

[1] Schematics are line drawings of electrical circuits, electronic components, motors, switches, etc., whose highly stylized sketches require trained readers.

[2] This center is a student service to aid recruitment, placement, retention, and counseling of immigrant students, which in practice overwhelmingly means Spanish speakers.

[3] Saturday is chosen to avoid any conflict with either daytime or evening ESL classes.

[4] There has been only very limited interest on the part of non-ESL students; however, being open to all students helps the course to gain acceptance in the non-ESL-oriented parts of campus.

[5] See Gee (1992) for a questionnaire used by an ESL adjunct instructor to elicit information from content instructors.

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Appendix A
Sample Technical Studies Bridge Class Outline*

WEEK

1. Review of fractions and decimals
2. Review of fractions and decimals (continued)
3. Blueprint reading basics, visualizing a 3-D item from a 2-D drawing, the meaning of different line styles
4. Using a scientific calculator, using and transposing algebraic formulas
5. Inch-metric conversion with calculators and charts, deciphering screw thread charts
6. Video, introduction to electrical circuits; resistance, voltage and current, schematic representation of electronic components
7. Selecting and applying electricity formulas, worksheets
8. Video, electronic components, resistor color-coding worksheets
9. Quality control, basic statistical concepts, mean median, mode, video and worksheets
10. Continuation of Week 9, math review
11. Application of computers to metal cutting, lab demonstration
12. Video, computer components (cpu, disk drives, etc.), computer terminology (RAM, bytes, etc.)
13. Computer lab
14. Computer lab
15. Computer lab

*This list should be taken as an example only—the actual course plays out differently each time.

Appendix B
Sample Class Evaluation

Date: ______________ Name of course: ______________________________

Name of instructor: ____

1. What is your major? Cual es su especialidad?

____

5=highest (maximo) 1=lowest (minimo)

2. How much do you think this course will help you in studying your major? Cuanto cree usted que este curso le ayudara en el estudio de su especialidad?

5 4 3 2 1

3. Do you feel you have been prepared to enter your major? Siente que ha sido preparado pare empezar su especialidad?

5 4 3 2 1

4. Did this course add to your self-confidence in studying your major? Ha aumentado este curso su confianza en si mismo en el estudio de su specialidad?

5 4 3 2 1

5. What were the most helpful parts of this course? Cuales fueron las partes de mas valor en este curso?

6. Do you have any suggestions for future classes? Tiene algunas sugerencias para clases futuras?

7. Additional comments on back (Comentarious adicionales al reverso):

Optional

Name: ____

Social Security Number: ______________________________________

The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Reexamining the Role of Adult Educators

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The three broad areas of legislation that are currently being processed by the Federal government, immigration reform, welfare reform and employment training program reform, will all have significant impact on the student population served by adult education programs. Proposed immigration reform measures contain stringent limitations on immigrants' access to funding for adult education programs. Welfare reform initiatives reflect a dramatic change in the approach to moving adults from welfare to work. The "skills development model," which aims to facilitate long-term self sufficiency, is being replaced by a "work attachment model," which aims to get welfare recipients into work of any kind as quickly as possible. In the work attachment model, initial education and training are replaced by services such as job searches, which support early job entry. Adult education funding is at risk of being consolidated into generic employment training program block grants with no specific authority granted to state education agencies for expenditure of funds. Undereducated adults risk having their specific instructional needs ignored within the general, exclusively employment-oriented perspectives of block grant administrators. This legislative overhaul coincides with a rising tide of anti-immigrant feeling and increasing pressure to evaluate language-training programs in a goal-oriented manner directly linked to job placement. Proving that a language-training program enhances a student's overall employability is becoming an increasingly insufficient justification for the program's existence. Demands are being made that programs justify their existence by virtue of their ability to place individuals in specific jobs. This redefinition of the role of adult education programs carries with it some widespread implications and prompts us to reexamine what we believe our role as adult educators should be.

Change in Focus

Many people will agree that an impetus which compels adult educators to accept more responsibility for how their students will apply the knowledge acquired in their classrooms is very positive. Such an impetus will involve closer investigations into the purposes for which adult students seek out education programs and should result in curriculum driven by the needs of students. However, some educators are concerned that if a workplace preparation focus becomes too overbearing, other more humanistic functions of adult education programs may be threatened. These functions could be described as socialization, cultural orientation, and community-participation training. The call for stronger connections between schools and the workplace has come from many different directions. Included are the School-to-Careers initiative for systemic change and the U.S. Department of Labor Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS, 1991). Both are part of a widespread response to the concerns of industry and labor leaders that the public education system is not producing students with the types and level of skills needed to be successful in a high performance workplace. The School-to-Careers initiative focuses on instructional integration of knowledge, skills and real life experiences considered essential for productive working adults. Participation of business and labor in the development of School-to-Careers plans is integral to success. The SCANS commission was asked to determine the demands of the workplace and whether potential workers were capable of meeting those demands. The report produced by the commission identified effective job performance as being defined by "workplace know-how." This in turn is comprised of two elements, competencies and a foundation. Mastery of both elements are considered essential preparation for all future workers.

Until fairly recently, ESL classes provided through adult education programs could be characterized as linguistically focused. The goal was to teach students to read, write and speak English, with little consideration as to how the language skills being taught were to be applied to the life situation of students. This consideration was not thought to be the concern of the instructor but rather the responsibility of individual students. In recent years, the demographics of the adult education student population have changed. The influx of welfare-reliant refugees caused a shift in orientation toward the concepts of survival English and a more functional approach to the presentation of material in the ESL classroom. However, as the provision of ESL classes and the structure of the welfare program continued to interact over a protracted period of time, new concerns started to arise. Welfare-reliant refugees and immigrants were referred to ESL programs for language-skills improvement to a level considered to demonstrate that they were employable. Once referred to a program, many preliterate students and those with limited formal education in their country of origin found it extremely difficult to attain the prescribed level of language proficiency and were therefore unable to exit programs swiftly. ESL classes for refugees and immigrants started to be characterized as feel-good-soft-option-go-nowhere programs that were believed to do little to promote employability since students were staying in programs for six, seven and eight years, time periods that resulted in labels such as the "black hole of ESL," and the "ESL vacuum." Growing awareness of this bottleneck in ESL programs for such students fueled the trend to refocus employment preparation away from skills development and toward work attachment.

Though enhanced employability for its students must surely be a significant goal of any adult ESL program, those of us who have been involved with adult students can list countless other benefits that students derive from participation in ESL classes. For example, for students who live in low-income, gang-infested, crime-ridden neighborhoods, the ESL classroom may be the only place where they encounter individuals from other ethnicities in a nonviolent, nonthreatening situation. The cross-cultural learning that takes place in adult ESL classrooms may represent a vital tool in efforts to promote racial harmony and peace in troubled neighborhoods. Adult ESL classes can represent a life line which determines the difference between an individual functioning moderately well in this society or being overtaken by the multiple pressures he or she faces.

The current trend, which seeks to define adult ESL programs in terms of employment preparation alone, ignores and thus renders invisible some of these vitally important roles that both adult education programs and adult educators fulfill. Whether by choice or default, the responsibilities of adult educators go far beyond the need to teach the appropriate and specific language skills required by an individual seeking employment. In its 1990 *English as a Second Language Handbook for Adult Education Instructors*, the California Department of Education acknowledges that counseling is one of the major roles that adult educators play. "In many instances, they will be the only counselors their students will ever have. At times they will have to serve as referral persons to different agencies" (p. 13).

In the recent *California Refugee English-Language Training Task Force Final Evaluation Report*, it was stated that the purpose of English-language-training programs for refugees is to promote and sustain long-term self-sufficiency for the refugee family unit (California Department of Social Services, 1995). The report goes on to say that "the path to self-sufficiency cannot be represented as a one-dimensional linear process from English language training to employment. It is rather an integrated set of experiences in which English-language training, further education and employment training are integrally combined with real life experiences, most importantly, work" (p. 3). Implicit in this statement is an acknowledgment that the role of an adult ESL instructor is not just to provide functional, work-oriented ESL instruction but also to instill students with certain life skills that will enable them to effectively pursue a path toward self sufficiency. It is not just what is communicated that is important but also how it is communicated since it is from the method of instruction that students learn socialization and coping skills.

In an article entitled "ESL Techniques for Peace," Barbara Birch (1993) states that "learner-centered classrooms characterized by cooperative learning, affective-humanistic activities, cross-cultural instruction, and Freire's problem-posing method promote successful language learning because they create peaceful oases in which people learn easily. They are microcosms of a just world order based on the global values of positive interdependence, social justice, and participation in decision-making processes" (p. 7). It is exactly the commitment to the promotion of such a learning environment, instructional strategies, and socialization skills that some educators fear will be at risk as the drive to establish firm workplace connections moves forward.

Is it necessary for a peaceful oasis of an ESL classroom designed to promote the values of positive interdependence, social justice, and participation in decision-making processes to be at odds with an ESL classroom firmly committed to realistic employment preparation and viable linkages to the workplace? How do we tread the middle path? How do we construct meaningful, empowering ESL programs that are driven by the comprehensive needs of the student body? How do we define our role as adult educators to acknowledge the need to galvanize our students with a sense of work-oriented urgency while also responding to the broader need to provide socialization, conflict resolution, and self-empowerment skills? How do we create coherent ESL programs which have viable links to the workplace but do not ignore the other vital roles that ESL classrooms and adult educators have fulfilled in the past and must be able to fulfill in the future?

In a response to the U.S. Labor Department's SCANS report, Allene Guss-Grognet (1997), the vice president of the Center for Applied Linguistics, commends the commission for being aware of and taking seriously the special challenges that limited English proficient individuals face as they enter the workforce. She suggests that overt acknowledgment of language and culture as critical factors in acquiring workplace skills indicates a trend that we would all do well to follow. It is perhaps in this idea that a marriage between humanistic, participatory education and hard-hit-ting, intensive, employment-focused education can be imagined. The call made by the SCANS report for the development of workplace know-how skills leaves ample space for interpretation that allows for the promotion of instructional approaches characterized by Birch (1993) as "ESL techniques for peace."

As described in the SCANS report, workplace know-how skills rest on a three-part foundation of basic skills, thinking skills, and personal qualities. *Basic skills* include the traditional reading, writing, and the ability to perform quantitative operations as well as active listening, oral communication, and interpreting and organizing information and ideas. *Thinking skills* cover the ability to learn and reason, think creatively, make decisions, and solve problems. *Personal qualities* include responsibility, self-esteem, sociability, self-management, integrity, and honesty. These foundation skills support five workplace competency areas of *resources, interpersonal competency, information, systems, and technology*. The interpersonal-competency area calls for the ability to work on teams, teach others, serve customers, lead, negotiate, and work effectively within a culturally diverse milieu. Many of these foundation skill areas represent abstract concepts that do not necessarily spring to mind when specific, employment-oriented ESL programs are characterized. They are also skill areas that are more than adequately addressed by instructional techniques which seek to "foster an ESL classroom based on positive interdependence, respect for diversity and human dignity, social justice and participation" (p. 7), as advocated by Birch.

In the SCANS report, the skills students need to be productive, working citizens are outlined clearly. Recommendations are made to help schools teach students these skills. Adult educators are being asked to establish more viable links between ESL programs for adults and the workplace. If the structure depicted by the SCANS report is used as an instructional model, there need be no threat to the socialization, empowerment, and social support mechanisms that adult education programs and adult educators feel it is so important to protect. The SCANS report offers solace to committed educators who fear that the soul risks being beaten from ESL instruction when it is required to be directly employment-focused in its application. The report's recommendations in fact give ample validation to participatory educational models. The fact that educators are being asked to accept greater responsibility for the application of skills acquired by students in the classroom can be represented as a positive extension and reinforcement of the role of teacher as opposed to a threat to the role which already exists. ■

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The CATESOL Journal

CATESOL EXCHANGE

Conducting Teacher Training Workshops in Vietnam: Imposition or Exchange?

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The end of the Vietnam War in 1973 ended two decades of near silence between the U.S. and Vietnam. The 1990s have witnessed a change of policy—the lowering of trade restrictions, the establishment of diplomatic relations, and increased educational exchanges between the two countries. This report describes one such educational exchange initiated by California State University, Fullerton (CSUF)[1] in which several English teacher training workshops were conducted during the summer of 1995.

As would be expected considering past language, cultural, and political barriers, this exchange required a great deal of advance planning and organization. In 1994 and, subsequently, in January, 1995, university representatives visited Vietnam and met with representatives of seven universities, colleges and schools and with the director of higher education in the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET). These educational leaders spoke of the overwhelming demand for instructional training in American language and culture.[2] Many Vietnamese expressed the opinion that Americans were a key to their future, especially given the government mandate that all government employees be proficient enough in English by 1997 to conduct governmental business without the use of an interpreter.[3] They further stressed their need for additional English language teaching materials and resources, such as VCRs, TVs and computers, and for more trained English teachers. Finally, they also recognized that access to English language instruction could be increased through the use of distance education technologies.[4]

As a result of these initial meetings, the campus' extended education office secured funding from California State University's Commission on the Extended University to plan and deliver workshops in American language and culture and in the use of distance education technologies. The purpose of this report is to describe how the workshops were conducted, including coordination and content, and to summarize some important knowledge gained about participants, materials, and methods which might assist others wishing to conduct similar workshops in Vietnam or in other developing countries in Southeast Asia.

Description of the Workshops: Logistics, Staffing and Participants

When the workshops were conducted in June 1995, the program was guided by a team of four which included the coordinator of the MS TESOL program, the chair of the foreign languages and literatures department, and the dean and the ESL program director from university extended education. Additional instructors from Mt. San Antonio Community College and the University of California at Santa Barbara served as the instructional staff. Further support was provided by three bilingual Vietnamese-American consultants with expertise in cross-cultural relations. This team was also assisted by eight in-country staff identified by MOET. These individuals handled the many organizational, administrative, and logistical details involved in offering workshops to over 400 teachers at four locations: Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), Hue, Hanoi, and Nam Dinh. Participants were drawn from the faculty of the universities, colleges, and secondary schools in Vietnam.

The workshops, which were titled Advanced Training in TESOL and American Language Program, were held during Vietnam's school break in June/July of 1995 to accommodate working teachers. A three-day workshop was presented in each of the four cities. Each site had 16 hours of American language and culture training and eight hours of distance-education methodology and instructional-technology training.

Instruction was delivered through plenary sessions attended by all participants, followed by concurrent workshops in small groups. Plenaries focused on the following areas: cross-cultural understanding, ESL methodology, the reading/writing connection, pronunciation, and technology and language teaching. Follow-up concurrent sessions provided opportunities for participants to apply and adapt information presented in the sessions to their present practices. Each participant had the opportunity to attend each of the concurrent sessions in sequence. Students who attended the entire program received a university extended education certificate of completion. An agenda for one of the three-day programs is given in Figure 1.

Figure 1

California State University, Fullerton School of Extended Education
Advanced Training in TESOL and American Language Workshop
June 21–23, 1995
Hue

Day 1

8:00-8:30 a.m.	Registration
8:30-9:00 a.m.	Session Opening
9:00-9:45 a.m.	Plenary: Cross-cultural Understanding
9:45-10:00 a.m.	Break/Network
10:00-12:00	Plenary: ESL Methodology
12:00-2:00 p.m.	Lunch
2:00-4:00 p.m.	Plenary: Reading and Writing Connection

Day 2

7:30–9:25 a.m.	Plenary: Pronunciation
9:25–9:35 a.m.	Break/Network
9:35–10:25 a.m.	Concurrent Sessions:
	Group 1: Methodology
	Group 2: Pronunciation
	Group 3: Reading/Writing Connection
10:25–10:35 a.m.	Break/Network
10:35–11:25 a.m.	Concurrent Sessions:
	Group 1: Reading/Writing Connection
	Group 2: Methodology
	Group 3: Pronunciation
11:30–1:30 p.m.	Lunch
1:30–3:30 p.m.	Concurrent Sessions:
	Group 1: Pronunciation
	Group 2: Reading/Writing Connection
	Group 3: Methodology
3:30–4:00 p.m.	Plenary: Video and Language Teaching

Day 3

7:30–9:25 a.m.	Concurrent Sessions:
	Group 1: Viewing and Using Video
	Group 2: Computer-Assisted Language Learning
9:35–11:30 a.m.	Concurrent Sessions:
	Group 1: Computer-Assisted Language Learning
	Group 2: Viewing and Using Video
11:30–1:30 p.m.	Lunch

1:30–3:00 p.m.	Lesson Planning and Group Presentations
3:00–3:15 p.m.	Break/Network
3:15–4:15 p.m.	Graduation: Certificate Presentation
4:25–4:30 p.m.	Refreshments

Needs Analysis: Preworkshop Questionnaire

Additional information gathered from a preworkshop questionnaire assisted the team in identifying their audience's experience, education, and teaching. Over 60% of the participants identified themselves as secondary school English teachers, about 35% as college or university English instructors, and the rest as adult English instructors. In general, the teachers were quite knowledgeable. Their teaching experience ranged from one year to over 30 years, with a majority of participants having taught two to five years. Approximately 25% had previously taught Russian and 10% Mandarin. Most had studied in a language teacher training program at one of the cosponsoring institutions and had received a degree similar to a bachelor's degree or teaching certificate in the U.S. In addition, some of the participants had participated in or were involved in master's degree programs sponsored by Australian institutions. Others had attended similar workshops provided by the British Council or Australian ESL/EFL trainers.

In their English classes, the teachers stated that they used a variety of methods including audio-lingual, grammar-translation, the direct method, and the communicative approach. These approaches corresponded with stated student performance goals of communicating with native speakers, reading English business journals, and passing the national secondary school exams. To support these goals and instructional methods, teachers indicated that they had a limited variety of texts and an almost nonexistent availability of audio- and videotapes. They had their own in-house, government approved texts and British Council series such as *Headways* and *Streamlines*. Audiotapes of these series were sometimes available. Videotapes and VCR equipment were used for special occasions only, usually being kept under cover and locked . To assess these goals, teachers said that they used a variety of tests such as grammar-translation, multiple choice, reading comprehension, and writing. Speaking or listening tests were mentioned by fewer than ten of the workshop participants. In direct relationship to this, workshop participants overwhelmingly indicated a desire for listening/speaking and pronunciation training.

Summary of Workshop Evaluations

The training effectiveness of the workshops was measured by a simple questionnaire. Participants indicated the usefulness of various sessions on a four-point scale. Table 1 reports the rating results of participants attending the first three workshops.[5]

Table 1
Mean Ratings of Training Sessions in Hanoi, Hue, and Ho Chi Minh City

Session Title	Mean[a]	Rank[b]
Cross-cultural plenary	3.44	3
ESL methodology plenary	3.39	4
ESL methodology concurrent workshop	3.35	7
Reading/writing plenary	3.27	9
Reading/writing concurrent workshop	3.36	6
Pronunciation plenary	3.60	1
Pronunciation concurrent workshop	3.56	2
Technology and language teaching plenary	3.28	8
Computer-assisted language learning	2.89	11
Concurrent session: viewing and using video	3.16	10
Concurrent session: materials development and group presentations	3.37	5

Note: $n = 281$.

[a] 1 = not useful 2 = fairly useful 3 = quite useful 4 = very useful

[b] 1 = high 11 = low

Most respondents rated the sessions as quite useful or very useful. The most useful session was the pronunciation plenary and the least useful was the CALL session. However, all of the sessions differed by less than one point on our rating scale.

Discussion

Overall, the content of the workshops appealed to the participants, as indicated by their usefulness ratings and the small discrepancy between overall ratings. However, certain generalizations can be drawn about why certain sessions were more effective based on specific details of the presentation and participant feedback during the sessions. To provide insights into these factors, the four highest and four lowest rated sessions will be described in more detail below.

Confirming the trainees' expressed need for listening/speaking and pronunciation training, the pronunciation plenary and the pronunciation concurrent workshop received the highest ratings. The plenary covered a wide range of concepts from segmentals to suprasegmentals, with multiple, clear examples to illustrate each. Participants learned how to incorporate a segmental contrast (/l/ vs. /r/) into controlled versus more communicative activities. In the workshop, teachers formed small groups to discuss the sequencing and appropriateness of various hands-on activities which focused on the vowel contrast /ɪ/ vs. /iy/. The teachers seemed motivated because they were not only learning teacher-training techniques but simultaneously improving their own English pronunciation.

The session rated third highest was the cross-cultural session taught by two Vietnamese Americans in Vietnamese. This session, which dealt with the *dos* and *don'ts* of social interaction and relationship building, served as an ice-breaker for the workshop and as an important means of opening communication with participants, focusing on ways to improve intercultural communication and avoid negative stereotyping. The audience especially enjoyed hearing anecdotes about cross-cultural experiences the speakers themselves had had after first arriving in the U.S.

The communicative-methods plenary received the next highest rating but was less well received than expected, considering the group's request for listening/speaking training. As previously mentioned, workshops from Australia and Britain had already covered communicative teaching concepts; yet communicative methods seemed too radical a shift from the Vietnamese teacher-controlled, traditional teaching paradigm. Realistic dialogs, role plays, games, and information gap activities using various charts and pictures, which work so well in the U.S., appeared difficult to implement in Vietnam, especially considering the difficulty of organizing groupwork in classrooms with heavy, semistationary benches. Of the many varied activities in this plenary, the one which seemed to hit a respondent chord was a simulation in which students role-played a son discussing with friends and family whether to drop out of school to work in order to support his needy family or to continue his education.

Shifting to the end of the spectrum, the lowest rating was received by the CALL session. This was somewhat disconcerting to the presenters, as demonstrating the use of distance-education technologies was one of the major objectives of the workshop. The trainees had an opportunity to view a sophisticated presentation which presented computers and their many advantages: repetitive grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation drills, faxes, e-mail, Internet, and so on. However, in this case, an overreliance on technology proved a hindrance. It is likely that the inadequate equipment available for demonstration purposes (e.g., poor quality microphones, VCRs, and overhead projectors) and the lack of reliable electrical current during the sessions caused many of the participants to find those sessions less relevant to the Vietnamese context.

Also rated second and fourth least favorable were the concurrent session on viewing and using video and the plenary on technology and language teaching. Similar to the CALL session, difficulties with the technology may have discouraged some teachers who had little access to this medium in their schools. The negative attitude prevailed even though by U.S. standards the concurrent session—which involved trainees viewing a teaching technique on video, constructing a similar activity (i.e., a dictation) for their own classroom, and then demonstrating the activity and receiving a critique from their colleagues and workshop faculty—provided an excellent example of participatory education.

Finally, the reading/writing plenary was rated third least favorable. This session focused on ways of integrating reading and writing skills and used an authentic text to demonstrate the processes involved in reading and the ways in which writing about reading (e.g., through double-entry reading journals) assists learners in comprehension. Part of the reason for the lower rating could have been the scheduling of the session in the sweltering heat of the afternoon. Also, the session was rather theoretical and was delivered lecture style with few opportunities for communicative interaction.

Recommendations for Future Workshops

Several recommendations could be made to those wishing to conduct similar workshops in the future. The suggestions involve logistics and management, materials, and teacher delivery.

Logistics and Management

First, in the area of logistics and management, the team would have benefited from a clearer definition of coordinating roles and duties before the program began (although this is difficult if the workshop location is unfamiliar). Ideally, two coordinators, one with decision-making power in the area of site arrangements (making room assignments, arranging for equipment, photocopying and printing materials, arranging for the final graduation party, etc.) and the other in charge of curriculum (overseeing the content of workshops, serving as a liaison between trainees and trainers, making suggestions for adaptations of content from site to site based on evaluations by the participants, etc.) could streamline the management process.

Another important suggestion would be to plan a conference that lasted 40 to 60 hours instead of 21. The language proficiency of many of the teachers, especially in the north of the country, seemed weak. Longer training sessions would have been appreciated, simply to give many of the teachers a chance to practice speaking with native speakers. More small breaks for socializing and free discussion in smaller groups would have facilitated more interaction in the workshops. Trainees often needed a longer lunch break than two hours because many teachers would need to ride their bicycles home in order to cook their meals or prepare food for their families and could not get back in time for the afternoon session.

Although perhaps less possible, all participants could have been more attentive if the workshops had been held in air-conditioned rooms with moveable chairs which would allow for more interaction and cooperative groupwork. It was difficult to demonstrate interactive language-teaching techniques while trainees were sitting on hard benches and dozing off in the heat of the afternoon.

The workshop booklet, which contained the materials for all of the sessions, should also have been distributed to the participants before the workshops. The booklet contained a great deal of material (some of which was not covered specifically but was to be used for later reference). If trainees had had a chance to study the material a week or so in advance of the workshops, the understanding of new vocabulary could have improved their overall comprehension and increased their participation during the sessions.

Materials

Because MOET has an existing syllabus, recommended textbooks, and examinations, training should have focused more precisely on how teachers could use their own materials, demonstrating with these rather than with materials brought from the U.S., which teachers could not purchase in Vietnam.[6] If the activities had had more immediate utility to the participants (i.e., could have been transferred into their classrooms the very next day), feedback would have been more positive. Although quite a few materials were included which could help teachers work on listening and speaking skills, helping them to overcome resistance to and insecurity with communicative methods would have contributed to more authentic communication.

Trainer Delivery

Finally, in the area of trainer delivery, several suggestions can be made. Sessions which allowed for peer interaction and questions and answers during presentations seemed to be more comprehensible and better received. Nonetheless, it remains important to adapt the presentations to fit the participants' level of English proficiency. This often means using visual aids, rephrasing terms, elaborating on concepts, writing key terms on the blackboard, and so on. In addition, the team found that presentations which relied too much on technology were less successful.

Conclusion

Conducting teacher training workshops in Vietnam (or in any foreign country for that matter) can be a challenging yet rewarding experience for the presenters, especially when carried out for the first time. Yet, in order for there to be any long-term benefits for the participants, the workshops must ultimately include an exchange. Introducing innovations without being fully aware of their implications in a new environment and without proper understanding of the cultural context will be resisted or ignored at best. Every attempt by the team to accurately identify trainee needs before the workshops begin and to provide immediately relevant classroom materials and activities during the workshops will be well worth the effort. ■

Endnotes

[1] California State University Fullerton is situated close to Little Saigon, with a population of more than 150,000 Vietnamese immigrants, which explains the university's interest in this project. The campus also graduates the largest number of Vietnamese-American students (350+ graduates annually over the past four years) in the country.

[2] *American language and culture* is used as a linguistic reference, rather than *English* or *British English* or *Australian English*, to which the Vietnamese have, in the last two decades, received more exposure.

[3] By 1997, those government officials under the age of 55 will have to pay for their own interpreting needs. The government will no longer provide this service free of charge.

[4] Distance education technologies includes Interactive Televised Instruction and accompanying videotapes, along with CD-Rom computer-driven language-learning resources.

[5] The last workshop at Nam Dinh was not entirely comparable because the team had lost four of its members and had to modify the structure of the workshop.

[6] Using English materials published in Vietnam would also make the illegal photocopying of copyrighted American materials less tempting.

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REVIEW

Challenges: A Process Approach to Academic English

H. Douglas Brown, Deborah S. Cohen, and Jennifer O'Day.
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents. 1991.

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If it would delight you to present your writing students with authentic reading materials that will not only give them a glimpse of their future but also help them learn how to learn, then *Challenges* by H. Douglas Brown et al. may be just the text for you. An overall theme of global challenge is presented through reading materials that address the influence of science and technology. Offering more than just process-oriented reading materials and writing instruction, the text provides materials for discussions and activities that help students become more aware of their own cognitive development—and hence become more discriminating readers and writers. In this process students learn which reading strategies to apply, how to synthesize information, how to use reference materials, and how to produce informative essays.

The textbook is composed of 10 theme-based units. Each unit is divided into three lessons: the first two lessons provide instruction on skills development that are then put to work in lesson 3. These lessons present two related article excerpts from a diversity of contemporary American publications such as *Sports Illustrated, Omni, U.S. News and World Report,* and *Science,* and from popular science authors such as Carl Sagan and Isaac Asimov. Reading and writing skills are introduced in ascending order of difficulty, for example, Unit 1 concerns identifying main ideas and brainstorming; Unit 5 concerns recognizing thesis statements and peer editing and revising. Skills are recycled and built upon throughout the text, culminating in Unit 10, which deals with comprehension and summarizing. A teacher's manual and student workbook are available that provide useful exercises for lesson development, including vocabulary building, crossword puzzles, and word clues (e.g., suffixes).

The authors recommend this reading/writing text for university-level prefreshman and freshman ESL courses. I have recently used it in a prefreshman composition class with ESL students. Because I was curious about the students' reactions to the assigned text, their first homework assignment consisted of prereading the entire text by skimming at least the titles and headings. When the class met again, I asked the students what they thought about the book, hoping to gain an insight into their personal interests. The first comment offered was not too encouraging: "The articles seem real general . . . kind of boring." A first impression like that is likely to alarm any teacher. However, as the class progressed, students' feedback indicated that the text did not confirm their first impressions of "general" and "boring." Instead, their interactions with this text made my students become more interested in themselves as readers, writers, and learners.

The major strength of this textbook is its clear presentation of process-oriented reading skills such as scanning, skimming, and inferring; and writing skills such as free writing, clustering, and avoiding logical fallacies. Some grammar is dealt with tactfully when the grammatical elements appear in the reading materials. For example, one of the postreading exercises offered after Rick Gore's "Between Fire and Ice: The Planets" in Unit 4, is titled "Comprehending a Sequence: Verb Tense Clues" and asks students to use verb tense to decipher the chronological order of events in the article.

The strengths of this textbook, however, are somewhat diluted by omissions. For example, some of the learning skills discussed in the text are not fully listed in the index. This book is designed to help students develop cognitive self-sufficiency, but one of the main tools for accessing information—the index—is not comprehensive. In addition, opportunities for the students to learn new vocabulary are limited because very few words are recycled, and there is no glossary. I also found it a bit frustrating that the writing prompts in the first six units elicit essays based mostly on personal experience in response to the article topics. Even though these assignments expose students to various analytical practices like comparing and contrasting, it is not until Unit 7 that the students are encouraged to include supporting information from the articles in their writing, which is one of the goals of academic writing. However, I found it easy to modify the essay assignments to give my students more practice using supporting evidence in their writing.

Many ESL students fail to recognize that they have the ability to be good readers and writers. In response to this dilemma, *Challenges* provides numerous opportunities for students to discover hidden talents within themselves. When students discover that the process of brainstorming, free writing, outlining, and composing can deliver a good first draft, they approach writing with more confidence and enjoyment. Not only will *Challenges* encourage students to develop themselves into self-sufficient writers, it will also provide teachers with materials that are relevant to their many students who will be entering the fields of science and business. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"

James Crawford.
Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. 1992.

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María, one of my adult students, came to me about a year ago concerned about her daughter's progress in elementary school. After one year in a bilingual program, her bright eight-year-old had been deemed ready for an English-only class. She entered in the fall as the only Spanish speaker in the room. Unable to communicate with her teacher or peers or to comprehend her texts and assignments, the child's grades, motivation, and self-esteem fell. Moreover, though she routinely received *D*s and *F*s on class assignments, her report card registered *B*s and *C*s. María felt that her daughter was not only *not* learning, but also that she was getting the wrong message about school achievement—you will be rewarded with good grades if you are quiet, well-behaved, and try hard. After half a year of written and oral requests, María finally succeeded in having her daughter placed into a bilingual class. Yet the transfer was not altogether happy; it was accompanied by open disapproval and foreboding on the part of the school administration.

The experience of my ESL student is not unique though her daughter's successful reassignment to a bilingual class perhaps is. ESL and bilingual language teachers hear many such stories from our students; at this critical junction in the history of U.S. language policy, we have an important role to play. And we are faced with trends that are truly alarming:

- The passage of Proposition 187 in California in 1994 aimed to deny education and health services to undocumented immigrants. Though blocked by the California Supreme Court, many in Congress are now seeking to enact other laws similar to Proposition 187;

- The Welfare Reform Act of 1996 included a rider terminating most social welfare benefits to legal, permanent residents;

- In 1996, the House of Representatives endorsed English as the official language of the U.S.;

- Discussion of the denial of citizenship rights to the U.S.-born children of foreign, short-term residents has been revived and is gaining support.

James Crawford's *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"* provides a rich political and social context with which to interpret these trends and the stories our students share with us. Though published in 1992, this book could not be more timely. Crawford links antibilingual attitudes and the drive for an official English or English-only policy to misinformation, misperception, nativism, and racism. Language policy, immigrant rights, and education are inextricably tied. Understanding the nature of these ties should inform our work as ESL teachers.

In chapter 1, "Guardians of English," Crawford presents two case studies from 1980s California. In Monterey Park, the drive for the "legal protection of English" was ignited by a donation to the public library of 10,000 books in Chinese from the Lion's Club of Taiwan. In rural Fillmore, the push for an official English policy began after the school board's decision to make all classrooms in the small district bilingual. Crawford points out that the focus on English often serves as a front for deeper and more disturbing concerns. Former Monterey Park mayor, Barry Hatch, remarked in an interview with the author that the Taiwanese "want Southern California to be an Asian part of the country. These people have devious manners. And language is one of the most important tools they can use. *Language is the key that opens the door to taking this country and breaking it apart*" (p. 3).

Crawford notes with irony that when the proposition that made English the official language of California passed in 1986, more than 40,000 people were on waiting lists for ESL classes in Los Angeles alone.

He further notes that there is no evidence to date indicating that immigrants are learning English less quickly or assimilating less rapidly to American culture. In fact, English has become the preeminent international language; the notion of it being threatened is rather ludicrous.

In subsequent chapters, Crawford juxtaposes historical examples with contemporary ones. He notes that the U.S. has had a strong multilingual tradition since its birth as a country. Furthermore, the idea of a prescribed national culture was anathema to the liberal democratic impulse of the 18th century. Most early leaders felt no need to make any statements whatsoever about the position of English, even though Germans made up roughly the same percentage of the population (about 9%) in the early republic as Hispanics do now. Benjamin Franklin was one notable exception. He feared Germanization in tones resonant with much of today's rhetoric: "'Why should *Pennsylvania*, founded by the *English*, become a Colony of *Aliens* . . .?" (p. 37). Franklin later modified his views and even helped to establish a German-language college. In 19th-century America, Crawford reminds us, it was religion, not language, that aroused suspicion and prompted divisions.

Throughout his book, Crawford makes clear that official English movements have Spanish as their primary target. In the cases of New Mexico, Texas, and California he demonstrates that the real issue has been exclusion, not separatism. He writes: "Such was the predicament of Mexican Americans: limited in their chances to acquire English, yet penalized and disparaged for speaking Spanish" (p. 71). Before the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, punishment for speaking Spanish was often corporal. Yet, total submersion in English did not assure school success; in fact, due to inferior, segregated schooling and discrimination, Hispanic children consistently scored lower than their Anglo counterparts and dropped out sooner and in greater numbers. Even Miami (where Spanish has actually achieved a status in commerce similar to that of English) was not immune to an official English backlash movement in the 1980s. To conservative and liberal Hispanics alike, English-only can be read as a code for anti-Hispanic.

Chapter 8, "Problem or Resource," is one of the most relevant and interesting to ESL teachers. Crawford situates bilingual education within culturally based attitudes toward language. He summarizes the conclusions of Richard Ruiz of the University of Arizona:

> "Language-as-problem" is our dominant orientation . . . as opposed to "language-as-resource." Hence the treatment of bilingual education as a compensatory program for disadvantaged chil-

> dren. The prevailing transitional emphasis focuses on overcoming a disability—students' lack of English—rather that on cultivating abilities that could be useful to this society. (pp. 207–208)

Crawford reviews the many arguments for and against bilingual education and the paltry number of research projects that have seriously studied bilingual and immersion approaches. First, he affirms that there is no such thing as a uniform meaning to *bilingual education*. Programs vary from state to state and district to district as does their implementation. Second, although children show similar achievement in early-exit bilingual and total-immersion programs, there is evidence from a widely praised 1991 U.S. Department of Education study that late-exit bilingual programs provide for more sustained academic growth. Crawford assesses these findings as consistent with second language acquisition theory as elaborated by Jim Cummins (linguistic interdependence) and Stephen Krashen (comprehensible input).

Crawford succeeds in dispelling, or at least neutralizing, many of the myths feeding the English-only movement. However, his book does falter at times. He only superficially analyzes the thorny and complicated relations between immigrants and other disadvantaged groups, particularly African Americans. In addition, the book is laced with quotes and statistics that support Crawford's arguments, but the references are buried, placed after the bibliography, and there are no page numbers leading you to them. These criticisms, however, do not diminish the book's value as a broad and deep picture of language in America. *Hold Your Tongue* is an eloquent reminder that a simplistic and misguided call for English only will not serve to unite us. On the contrary, the obsession with English only widens the divisions. ■

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REVIEW

America Now: Short Readings From Recent Periodicals

Robert Atwan (Ed.).
Boston: St. Martin's Press. 1994.

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America Now is a reading text that challenges students to become better writers by promoting informed discussions of current affairs. Organized into tightly focused chapters that afford ESL instructors a variety of themes and topics to incorporate into their reading/writing curricula, the text presents 41 selections from 34 popular periodicals that deal with timely social and cultural issues like date rape, plastic surgery, TV talk shows, gun control, interracial relationships, and ethnic identity. Such topics can be effectively addressed in high-intermediate to advanced ESL classrooms where students are preparing to begin university study or are involved in language-abroad programs.

A particular strength of *America Now* is that it offers multiple readings on a single topic. These reading selections range from personal writing to informative and persuasive writing and are provocative enough to evoke informed discussions—either in small groups or among the whole class. In addition, each reading selection is followed by useful exercises, the first of which, "Discussing Vocabulary," reviews the difficult words and idiomatic expressions found in each reading selection. Prefixes, suffixes, connotations, denotations, tone, and etymology are explored, and students are taught to extend this knowledge to future readings.

The second exercise, "Discussing Writing," focuses on the author's writing strategy—that is, style, thoroughness of argument, use of quotation, and so on. Students are encouraged to interpret the purposes of the author and to reflect on their own purposes in writing. This exercise also asks students to consider the author's audience (i.e., age, sex, personality type, and relevant values). A writer's appeal to audience is becoming increasingly important in contemporary literacy theory (Johns, 1993); encouraging students to be conscious of their audience will enhance the scope and effectiveness of their writing.

The third exercise, "Challenging the Selection," invites students to read the text critically. The discussion questions in this exercise ask students to analyze the text in terms of its accuracy, presentation, and the author's viewpoint. Once students exchange opinions and, consequently, broaden their viewpoints, the fourth exercise, "In-Class Writing Assignments," directs their expression into thoughtful, concise composition. The writing prompts in this exercise help students narrow down social values and analyze the presence of these values in their own lives. For example, in "Daytime Inquiries," an essay by Elayne Rapping that discusses the political nature of daytime television, students are challenged to respond to the following question:

> Rapping contends in paragraph 25 that talk shows are "as close as television gets to open discourse on serious issues." Write a few paragraphs discussing why you agree or disagree with this statement. Be sure to define the phrase "serious issues."

In a multicultural ESL classroom, such a question can lead to thoughtful analysis and interesting writing. All of the readings in *America Now* can be adapted and/or expanded to meet the needs of any theme-based ESL writing curriculum.

Because most of the selections in this text critically examine the darker mores of America, students might interpret the views presented as pessimistic. This is not necessarily a problem. As students in my classroom began to grapple with aspects of our society that—in having no comparison to theirs—they deemed ridiculous, it became my responsibility to present the culture fairly, to share my interpretation of American ethics, and to promote the positive aspects of a society quick to self-scrutinize. Students should be reminded that loud public opinion is crucial to public change. ■

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REVIEW

Writing from Sources. A Guide for ESL Students

George Braine and Claire May.
Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co. 1996.

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Finding a satisfactory text for ESL composition classes is no easy task. Few books are able to strike a balance among the various aspects of language use and literacy in composition courses. *Writing from Sources*, designed for freshman or lower division ESL university composition classes, is an excellent compromise that provides students with strategies, models, and exercises to help them become proficient academic writers.

The authors' aim is to build upon the skills that students at these levels have already acquired, specifically personal writing, and familiarize them with the conventions of academic prose. Thus, the text functions as a bridge from the familiar to the unfamiliar. The 10 chapters are organized into two major sections. Chapters 1 through 4 provide an overview of the academic writing process that mirrors process discussions in other textbooks. Chapters 5 through 10, which constitute the heart of the book, are concerned with the development of a portfolio on a chosen research topic. It is through the completion of this project that students apply the concepts covered in the first section and experience the writing process from start to finish.

The portfolio consists of three papers on a single topic. Students choose topics from a list provided in the book, the motivating theory being that ESL students write best on topics that interest them. The three papers, which require students to fit similar information into different rhetorical forms, build nicely on each other. First, after selecting a general subject in chapter 5, students are asked to use the techniques presented in chapter 2 (listing, free writing, and clustering) to narrow the subject into a topic. Once they identify a topic, students write assignment 1 (a 500-word personal essay/narrative using personal experience and knowledge).

The next step is a research proposal and working bibliography. The proposal consists of a thesis statement and a description of what the student intends to do in assignments two (writing to inform) and three (writing to persuade). Finally, two research papers are assigned in which students are to use the ideas and sources identified in the preceding steps. The purpose is to build upon previous work rather than to work on a series of isolated assignments.

In addition to this clear, logical organization, there are several other general strengths of the book worthy of note. One specific aspect is the planning-evaluating-reviewing process. Before each draft, students are expected to plan their paper using a form provided in the book, which can also be used to self-evaluate drafts. The next step involves peer reviewing, which is also done using a form from the book. Clarity and specificity are emphasized in the peer reviews, and writers are encouraged to carefully review and consider the comments. Students produce final drafts using the guidance from these review processes, as well as any help they can get from available resources such as writing labs, computer tools, and their instructor. Through a general description of writing labs and the various computer applications available, the authors encourage students to explore possibilities for getting assistance before scheduling a workshop with the instructor. They then provide a useful list of suggestions for students to help make the workshop more productive.

In chapter 2 the authors compare the process of writing a paper with building a house. This building theme is referred to throughout the text, as several concepts are introduced and reintroduced from different angles. "Methods of Development," for example, first appears in chapter 6 (for assignment 1), the focus being on ways to express ideas in a coherent form that can be easily followed by a reader. The topic is then readdressed in chapter 8 (assignment 2), with suggestions specific to academic writing, and again in chapter 9 (assignment 3), focusing on techniques specifically for persuasive writing. Similarly, the concepts of audience and purpose, two often-ignored issues in composition classes, are raised throughout, with comments specific to the current assignment.

Particularly helpful are the many models the authors provide. There are numerous examples of papers for each writing assignment, including both rough and final drafts. The source of the models used is important—real ESL students in the authors' classes. Such use of authentic texts will most likely appeal to ESL students and might also serve as a source of inspiration for them. One possible problem with this technique, however, is the exceptionally high quality of the papers, which might actually discourage and frustrate students who are unable to produce such polished products.

In addition to the text models, there are many shorter, sentence-level models provided in the text. For instance, chapter 4 presents lessons on major sentence errors, and on problems with verbs and pronouns, illustrated by many models showing both good and bad usage; following each lesson is an exercise in which students must identify and correct the errors. The exercises themselves also contain helpful models that provide guidance for students in the writing process.

The only real limitation of the book is its lack of thematic content reading. Aside from student papers (which, by the way, are followed by useful discussion questions), there is no reading material. Supplementing with outside readings, however, should easily solve this problem, and can be done, as the authors suggest, with magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, or with something else according to each instructor's taste. For example, at San Diego State we have used a collection of essays and articles on contemporary California issues with a great deal of success—these issues, such as immigration and higher education, are ones in which almost all of our students have a personal interest and thus fit very nicely with the authors' philosophy.

Writing From Sources is a valuable resource for teachers of ESL composition classes. By breaking the writing process down into steps that build on each other, this book makes the task of research-paper writing more accessible and manageable for students, which leads to higher quality papers. Our students who have successfully learned how to build a paper through this method are proof that the authors of *Writing From Sources* have an idea that works. ■

The CATESOL Journal

REVIEW

Across Cultures: Universal Themes in Literature

Phyllis Lim and William Smalzer.
Boston: Heinle & Heinle. 1994

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Using literature in the ESL classroom is a venerable teaching tradition; in fact, literature has dominated foreign language teaching for centuries. Written as authentic materials for a native audience, as opposed to materials written especially for ESL/EFL learners, literature contains rich content and language information. This richness can help the reader master vocabulary and grammar in context and develop a deeper understanding of the target culture.

By the 1960s, however, literature had lost its dominant position in most ESL classrooms in North America (Stern, 1991), mainly because the traditional ways of using literature in language classrooms were so often unsuccessful. In recent years, literature has begun to regain importance in ESL teaching. The whole language approach (WLA), for example, views language as a whole; any attempt to fragment it into parts (such as grammatical patterns, vocabulary lists, or phonic families) destroys it. This approach treats each learner as a member of a culture and as a creator of knowledge, and advocates that curriculum and instruction need to be based on meaningful materials.

Across Cultures is a literature-based reading textbook for high-intermediate and advanced ESL students. Taking a whole language approach, the book presents meaningful materials and allows students to link their knowledge of the world to their reading. A variety of literary works are selected, including short stories, excerpts from novels, and poems. These materials are organized into four universal cultural themes: Beginning (Learning About Life), Love (Winning and Losing), Misunderstanding (Between

People, Generations and Cultures), and The Individual (Values and Integrity). These themes are quite accessible to the target audience.

The design of the exercises is the most successful part of *Across Cultures*. Utilizing the content and cultural richness of the literature selections, the exercises in each lesson show a good balance of prereading, during-reading, and postreading strategies. Discussion is the most frequent prereading activity in the book; drawing upon the content or language clues from the text or upon background knowledge, the prereading discussions activate students' existing knowledge about the topics they encounter in the readings. Background reading is another prereading activity often used in the book. Students are also asked to preview segments from the text that contain special linguistic features (for example, African-American English expressions, lesson 1). During reading, students are usually required to read the text two or three times—the first time they are asked to follow the story line and to get a global idea of the reading; the second (and the third) time students must have a more detailed understanding of the text. Comprehension questions are asked after both readings, especially the second one. The postreading activities, which include summarizing, role playing, writing, discussing, comprehension questions, and vocabulary in context, not only cover a wide range of reading strategies such as scanning and skimming, but also integrate reading with speaking and writing.

Integrating reading with other language skills is thus a key feature of *Across Cultures*. The cultural themes selected in the book stimulate discussions. These themes also provide motivating topics for the postreading writing activities.

Another thoughtful feature of the book is that it comes with an audio cassette recording of the selected reading passages. One prereading activity, for example, asks students to enter the material by listening to the tape because the passage is a poem (lesson 8)—a natural way to integrate reading with listening.

One intention of *Across Cultures* is to present universal cultural themes through English literature; Lim and Smalzer have selected readings "from the literature of countries where English is a first or a second language, including the United States, England, Nigeria, India, Australia and Ireland" (p. ix). Thirteen of the 18 selections are written by authors from the U.S. or Great Britain, although Lim and Smalzer chose to include several writers from these countries whose vision is not mainstream and represents minority points of view within these cultures. Nonetheless, in this reviewer's opinion, the cultural themes presented as universal seem mostly to reflect American and British perspectives. This characteristic of the book could be considered a cultural limitation; on the other hand, *Across Cultures* can be viewed as an excellent exposure to American and British culture, especially for students who do not have direct contact with these cultures.

Across Cultures is a literature-based reading textbook that successfully combines literature with the teaching of different reading skills. English is treated from a whole language perspective in this book and authentic materials are provided to the reader. It is a very suitable high-level textbook for ESL/EFL reading classes. ■

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Peter Freebody *(Griffith University, Australia)*

Constructions of the L2 Learner
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Countries in Transition: Implications for Language Policy
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